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Language Attitudes and Identities in Multilingual China

A Linguistic Ethnography

Springer

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Printed on acid-free paper

Transcription Conventions

Symbols and different fonts are combined to represent the language choices of the participants. Words or alphabets in the angle bracket "<>" indicate the original language of the excerpt. For example, C is short for Cantonese, and <C> indicates that the segments that followed were spoken in Cantonese. Its counterpart used in the Chinese transcript is <粤>. Moreover, different fonts are used in the English transcripts to visually reconstruct the linguistic diversity of the original Chinese discourses, which is otherwise underrepresented. Understanding this slightly complex system of transcription is essential for understanding the much more complex language situation and language use in multilingual China.

Examples	Explanation
<P> It's Sunday today.	<P> and the Times New Roman font indicate that "It's Sunday today" was originally spoken in Putonghua.
<C> No need to go to work.	<C> and the Century Gothic font indicate speeches of Cantonese.
<T> Speak Teochew dialects.	<T> and the Comic Sans MS font indicate speeches of Teochew (or Chaozhou) dialects.

Other conventions of transcription are as follows:

Purpose/feature	Examples	Explanation
Emphasis	Du: <C> So they think they MUST NOT speak Baak-waa.	Capitalisation is used to indicate speaker emphasis.
	Du: <C> So they think they **_must not_** speak Baak-waa	Double underlining and bold are used to indicate analyst emphasis.
	→	is used to draw attention to a specific line of analytical interest.
Pause	Tina: <C> It's (.) how should I put it	(.) indicates a noticeable pause lasting up to a good half of a second. Longer pauses are described in words.
Inaudible speech	(xxx)	(xxx) stands for inaudible speech of any length.
Overlap	Liang: ‖ <C> He even has not been here for a year.	Whenever two or more utterances happen at thesame time, the beginnings of the overlaps are marked with ‖ and aligned vertically.
	Du: ‖ <C> Can you? Speak!	
Lengthening	Wong: <C> Er:: I feel that…	Lengthened syllables are marked with ::
Unfinished/interrupted speech	Liang: <P> Do you mean they can speak Putonghua or they…	… indicates trailing off, incomplete sentence or unfinished speech due to interruption.
	Lei: Often use Putonghua	

Continuation	Liang: <P> ‖ Wu came (to Guangzhou) = Du: ‖ ((to Chen, provocatively)) Can you speak Cantonese? Liang: =the latest, didn't he?	= is used at the end of a turn and the beginning of a following turn indicates different parts of a single speakers turn. This is used when part of the speaker's turn overlaps with other people but the speaker continues talking without being interrupted.
Laughter	Du: <P>((@@)) I said it wrong.	@ = a smile or short laughter @@ = laughter @@@ = loud and long laughter
Omissions and analysts explanations	Liang: <C> Why was it opposite (to the usual language policies)?	The analyst's suggestions on omitted utterances or additional explanations are given in parentheses.
Contextual descriptions or "stage directions"	Yan: <P> Yeah. You two…((Fan, Rain, Qiu all looked at Yuan and Rou. Rou lowered her head)) Useless.	Conversational events that the analyst considers important are put in double parentheses (( )).
Phonetic transcription	Jiaxin: <C> ((Read from the dictionary)) [Daai gai] (" 大 鸡 ", "big chicken)	Phonetic transcriptions are given in square brackets. Putonghua is transcribed according to Hanyu Pinyin, and Cantonese according to Cantonese Pinyin. Cantonese Pinyin is chosen, out of the various Romanization systems for Cantonese , mainly because it is used in the Cantonese dictionaries accessible to the researcher.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Meaning	Page
BCE	Before Common Era	
CCP	Chinese Communist Party	
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	
D1	first dialect	
GDBS	Guangdong Bureau of Statistics	
GZBS	Guangzhou Bureau of Statistics	
GZTV	Guangzhou Television	
Language Law 2001	Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standa Spoken and Written Chinese Language	
MDS	Multidimensional scaling	
MOE	Ministry of Education	
MGT	Matched-guise technique	
MT	mother tongue	
PAP	People's Action Party	
POD	The Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CCP	
PSC	Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi (Putonghua Proficiency Test)	

SARFT	State Administration of Radio, Film and Television
SLC	State Language Commission
SMC	Standard Modern Chinese

Part I
Introduction: Sociocultural and Sociolinguistic Backgrounds

Chapter 1
Dialect Issues in Multilingual China: A Dog That Has Barked

China is a multilingual country with hundreds of different languages spoken within its borders. The Chinese language, with more than a billion speakers, can be divided into seven or eight regional dialect groups that consist of hundreds of mutually unintelligible dialects. Cantonese is an influential regional dialect with a large number of speakers in the Pearl River Delta region, Southern China, and in overseas Chinese communities. Sociolinguists, dialectologists, and language activists will find the three sentences above problematic in various ways. The debates are heated and open as to whether the "Chinese language" should be in plural form, how to distinguish "language" and "dialect", and whether it is institutionally downgrading a linguistic variety (Cantonese) by defining it as a "dialect" while "it is in fact a language". These issues are controversial and highly relevant for any academic who tries to think clearly about languages in multilingual China. Therefore, we will come back to them later in the book, but for the time being, we will be temporarily content with this oversimplified definition of Chinese multilingualism to examine debates on language issues beyond academia.

1.1 The Report and the Denial of the "Cantonese Day"

On the morning of December 24, 2008, a news item was published on the front page of Guangzhou Daily (Fig. 1.1). Guangzhou is a major city in southern China, my hometown, and the setting of the current book. Guangzhou Daily is a widely circulated local newspaper issued by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) committee in Guangzhou.

According to a report (He 2008), a downtown school started a campaign called "Cantonese Day" because they allegedly found that many Guangzhou children were no longer able to speak Cantonese. The news contained a number of features that would excite a fledgling sociolinguist like me. Firstly, the main title was written in vernacular Cantonese, or Cantonese vernacular written language—to emphasise the existence of a distinct written language for Cantonese. Two of the three follow-up

好多广州细路唔识讲白话

先烈中路小学每周设"广州话日"扫"粤语盲" 提倡该日学生讲普通话不要超过20句

Fig. 1.1 Main title in *bold:* Many Guangzhou kids cannot speak Cantonese. Smaller subtitle *underneath:* XLZ Primary School designates 1 day each week to be "Cantonese Day" in order to eliminate "Cantonese illiteracy". It is advocated that the students should not speak more than 20 Putonghua sentences on that day

articles in the same newspaper also used titles written in vernacular Cantonese. On the other hand, the subtitles and the body of the reports were written in Standard Modern Chinese (SMC), just like other articles. As these reports talked about literacy and illiteracy in Cantonese, it was interesting to see how both the construction and consumption of the texts required some level of biliteracy in Cantonese and SMC (see more detailed sociolinguistic analysis of the title in Liang 2014). Secondly, one issue often mentioned but glossed over by the reports is language identities and language loyalty in the multidialectal city of Guangzhou. What defines "Guangzhou kids", why are they bound by the responsibility to speak "good Cantonese", and additionally, what is "good Cantonese"? Thirdly, the school in the report officially promoted Cantonese on campus, which may or may not be interpreted as going against the current Putonghua[1]-promoting language policy. I had only seen reports about schools banning Cantonese on campus before, so what does such an unusually proactive role of the school imply? These questions became the inspiration for my doctoral research project from which the current book draws data.

The idea of doing fieldwork in that particular school was very tempting. Three months after the report, I wrote a letter to the headmistress of XLZ, introducing myself and indicating my interest in the "Cantonese Day" activity. The letter was passed through an acquaintance of hers and I was surprised to be told by this acquaintance that there was no such activity in that school. Nevertheless I managed to make an appointment with the headmistress on a school day in late March 2009, hoping that a face-to-face discussion might be helpful. The first thing she did after we sat down in her office was to accuse the newspaper of dishonest, exaggerated, and distorted reporting only to get public attention. She even had to explain to the municipal officials about this matter. She stressed that the so-called "Cantonese Day" was a really small part of a series of activities introducing the culture of Guangzhou, for support of the 2010 Asian Games. Then she formally refused my request of carrying out fieldwork there and gave a number of different reasons. Towards the end of the meeting, she came back to the topic of the "Cantonese Day" and talked about national language policy. She said national language laws required that Putonghua must be promoted at school. It would be against the law if she, in the capacity of a

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[1] Putonghua is also widely known as Mandarin. It is spoken SMC and the official lingua franca of China. More discussion of its history and relationship with other Chinese linguistic varieties will come in later chapters.

headmistress, had promoted Cantonese instead of Putonghua on campus. That was why the Municipal Bureau of Education paid close attention to this matter. After the meeting, an anonymous source told me that the local education authority gave the headmistress a hard time because of the "Cantonese Day". That seemed to explain her preoccupation with the event and defensive attitude during the meeting.

This "setback" gave me a hint of how controversial and sensitive the topic of my study could be. I took note, learned to be "diplomatic", and chose other schools for fieldwork. At the time, I thought the news report about the "Cantonese Day"—while causing debates and attracting follow-ups from even central media like the People's Daily (the overseas version) —would be yet another story quickly forgotten by the masses. I was wrong. It was the prelude to a "saga" that caught national or even international attention.

1.2   The Protest triggered by a Survey

What made the "Survey Incident" different from others is a historians' puzzle. Maybe it was because the introduction of Sina Weibo (a Chinese hybrid version of Twitter and Facebook) in September 2009 shook the authority and monopoly of the state media. Now ordinary people not only have instant access to information, but they themselves can be the sources of information for anyone, not just their friends. Censorship is not lifted but delayed because of massive internet traffic. People also learn to dodge censorship for as long as they can by using euphemisms, writing in dialects (!) and foreign languages, and creating new words, some of which eventually become widely used. The website China Digital Times provides an interesting collection of comics and articles on these Chinese netizens' vocabulary, and there is scholarly research on the topic too (Meng 2011; Tang and Yang 2011). On the other hand, maybe it is just time for accumulated social problems to break out in the guise of language issues: massive internal migration that completely changed the city's demography, systematic unequal allocation of socially valuable resources according to household registration status[2], and residents struggling between multiculturalism and local identities.

In any case, on June 7, 2009, a Monday morning, a locally well-known Sina Weibo user posted a shocking tweet claiming that the Guangzhou Television Station (GZTV) was planning to stop broadcasting in Cantonese. He/she asked everyone to participate in the online survey by clicking the link provided to show their positions. It was a survey on the website of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Guangzhou Committee, a political organisation that plays an important and regular role in policy-making under the leadership of CCP (China Consulate 2007). By the time I saw the tweet in the evening and went to the website, the visitor count of the webpage was already over 7 million (I took a screenshot), while on any regular day that number would not go over two digits.

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[2] The exact Chinese terminology is *Hukou*, which will be explained later in the book.

The questionnaire was short, containing only ten multiple choice questions and one open question. The questions asked about the participants' biographical information, usual language preference, and preference for television broadcasting language. The whole questionnaire was rather badly designed, but the most controversial questions were number eight and nine. Question eight asked: "Is it better for the Guangzhou Channel and the News Channel (the two major channels) of GZTV to broadcast in Putonghua or Cantonese?" The participant had to choose one from the two options: Putonghua or Cantonese. Question nine asked which adjustment to the broadcasting language the participants approved of. There were three options this time. Option one was to use Putonghua as the sole broadcasting language during the prime time of the Guangzhou Channel and use Cantonese during other periods. Option two was to change the broadcasting language of the Guangzhou Channel completely from Cantonese to Putonghua and set up another Cantonese channel. Option 3 was to maintain the status quo. The centre of the debate was on whether the questionnaire indicated the government's intention to replace Cantonese with Putonghua as the main broadcasting language of GZTV. Some "sidetracks" included whether Cantonese would be endangered, whether or why people in Guangzhou do not abide by the national Putonghua-promoting language policy, and who exactly are "the Cantonese". Cantonese soon became a trending phrase on Sina Weibo. Many personnel working in the printed and broadcasting media participated in the debate. It certainly seemed that the debate would be on the front page of newspapers on the next day. There was nothing. Mr. Han Zhipeng, a CPPCC Guangzhou Committee member and owner of a local newspaper, posted a tweet on Sina Weibo in the afternoon. He claimed that the local newspapers did write a lot on the matter but could not put the articles in print because they received certain directions that stopped them (Han 2010)

June 9, the next day, Yangcheng Evening Post, another influential newspaper founded and owned by CCP, covered the news. The report quoted comments from Sina Weibo, interviews of the person (unnamed) in charge of the matter at the CPPCC Guangzhou office, and a respected dialectologist in Guangzhou (Zhang 2010). The points included that (1) the questionnaire had been misread, and (2) Putonghua is not the enemy of Cantonese. Several reports or editorials appeared in the local newspapers in the following 2 weeks and the debate seemed to quiet down.

However, the CPPCC Guangzhou Committee did not launch the online survey for nothing. On the morning of July 5, the standing committee held a meeting and passed a motion on how to improve the "soft environment" of Guangzhou for the Asian Games in the coming year. One suggestion was to use Putonghua as the base broadcasting language for the Guangzhou Channel or News Channel of GZTV. The motion was submitted to the mayor of Guangzhou who also attended the meeting. The CCP-supervised Yangcheng Evening Post briefly reported on the motion. As can be expected, discussion about the matter on Sina Weibo exploded immediately. The next day, all major local newspapers gave heavy weight to the debates. Through these reports, readers knew that the online survey page had over 520,000 visitors in half a month, and more than 30,000 people participated in the survey. The CPPCC committee was well aware that nearly 80 % of the participants approved the use of Cantonese, but they decided to go ahead with their motion. They intended to "guide

the vast majority of television viewers in Guangzhou through publicity and education, to the correct understanding of the relationship between Guangzhou as a 'national core city' and Putonghua as the base broadcasting language of GZTV"[3] (Sun 2010). That was all the report had to say to irritate the pro-Cantonese communities online and offline. Then a report by Yangcheng Evening Post on July 9 (Hu and Zi 2010) further fuelled the heated debates: a downtown primary school required its students to speak Putonghua at all time on campus. An unprecedented sense of urgency was felt by many in the city.

Local newspapers devoted columns or even whole pages every day to discussing the matter. Nonlocal media started to pay attention to the debate, such as Lianhe Zaobao in Singapore, People's Daily in Beijing (not the overseas version this time) and various newspapers and television stations in Hong Kong. On July 11, a "flash mob" of around 100 young people gathered in a downtown park, sang a few famous Cantonese songs, and quickly dispersed (Zhu and Tan 2010).

The municipal officials remained silent for 2 weeks until there was a "rumour" that people were planning a "walk"[4] on July 25. "Planning" may not be the right word because there was no chief organiser or leader. Time, location, and dress code (anything white) had been nominated and people spontaneously spread the information using social networks. On July 20, the vice secretary of CCP Guangzhou, Mr Su Zhijia's interview was published on major local newspapers, in which he denied that the Guangzhou government had ever had the intention to abolish Cantonese (Qin 2010). In the case of "serious" events, it is now an open secret that the media cannot report the story in their own way, but only disseminate the official version. Several initiators of the "walk" had been summoned by the police for questioning. The tension increased. On July 25, the "walk" happened regardless of the disapproving, if not intimidating, official attitudes. There was a huge crowd: protestors, spectators, media workers, the police, and passers-by. No reliable estimate is available as no one was in charge and as it also depended on who was counting. The "authorities" said there were hundreds, some participants and spectators said thousands, and some overseas media said 10,000. Photos of the event quickly spread on Sina Weibo, but were also soon taken down by website administrators (or whoever was doing it). Keywords such as the location of the "walk" (Jiangnanxi Underground Station) became taboos. Weibo users could neither search for those words or post tweets containing those words. It also became extremely difficult to upload any photos to Weibo. That was less than a year after Sina Weibo was introduced and, thanks to the dialect issues in Guangzhou, for the first time for many of the ordinary users to experience real-time censorship.

Hong Kong television stations reported the event in their evening news, but their broadcast through the cable network in Guangzhou was interrupted. No local

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[3] "通过宣传教育，引导我市广大电视观众，正确认识国家中心城市的地位与广州电视台以普通话为基本播音用语的关系。"

[4] This is a euphemism for "protest" because assemblies or protests that have not been officially approved are illegal in China. Therefore, using the word "walk" instead strategically portrayed the campaign as more moderate and less threatening to the government, although the government apparently did not agree. Using euphemisms also helped to dodge censorship for a long time.

newspapers covered the event on the next day for sure, but some overseas media paid attention such as Reuters (Blanchard 2010), The New York Times (Branigan 2010), and The Guardian (Wong 2010). Two days later on July 27, the municipal government held a press conference and made two main points, whose exact quotes appeared on all local newspapers the next day. Firstly, the so-called "Promoting Putonghua and Abolishing Cantonese" policy is totally a "false proposition". "Whether it is according to legal regulations or sentiments or common senses, the Guangzhou government will by no means abolish Cantonese". Secondly, the official warned that the acts of spreading rumours and organising any illegal rally would be strictly punished according to law. However, the next Sunday afternoon, August 1, was July 25 all over again, except that there was a parallel protest in Hong Kong the same afternoon.

An Economist author (Johnson 2010) wrote: " …when I saw the second report of such protests—admittedly small—in the past few weeks, I took note. Language policy (and language resentment) has been the dog that hasn't barked in China. Now it has barked meekly—twice." This is where the title of this chapter comes from. People who are used to protests of larger scales may find these protests small. However, I hope my descriptions of the development of the events and media censorship can give the readers some sense about what these protests and debates felt like locally.

The book is not about these social movements per se, but they shaped it in important ways. Firstly, these movements provide a window on the kind of sociolinguistic situation that the book is about and the context in which the empirical study was embedded in. Dialect issues have become a delicate and politically precarious topic in contemporary Chinese cities, especially in highly multidialectal cities such as Guangzhou and Shanghai.

Secondly, while only a few thousand participated in the movements directly, the questions they raised applied to the everyday life of all living in multidialectal cities. What are our mother tongues? What are our relationships with the languages we know or use? Who are the locals and who are the outsiders in this multidialectal city? These questions are about language attitudes and identities, both of which are inextricably linked at the heart of the current study. Another vital question asked is what language we are going to teach our children in Guangzhou. The ban or restriction on dialect use in public spheres such as the media and schools, especially kindergartens and primary schools, raises concerns about language loss among the younger generation. This is the reason why I chose to study language attitudes and identities in two primary school communities.

Thirdly, the attention the debates got from regional, national, and international media suggests that the issues of "local dialects" are not merely local issues. People from other dialectal regions, Shanghai for instance, sympathised with the situation in Guangzhou as they had similar concerns for their local dialects. People in Hong Kong, where more than 90 % of the population speak Cantonese, showed particular strong support by initiating a parallel protest. A number of media serving the Chinese population overseas also expressed concerns. After all, Chinese dialects are not just China's languages, but are world languages. In particular, many dialects

have spread widely around the globe. The change, shift, and maintenance of these dialects in one community are likely to affect the situation in others. Hence, the issues we examine in these small-scale case studies of language attitudes in Guangzhou are simultaneously local, national, and global. It is an analytical perspective essential to the book.

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Chapter 2
The Politics and Sociolinguistics of Chinese Dialects

2.1 The Language–Dialect Issue in the Chinese Context

The perception and definition of a linguistic variety as a "language" or a "dialect" can be an ideological issue at the societal level and an attitudinal decision for each individual. If there is any consensus among linguists on the distinction between "language" and "dialect", it would be that a clear-cut distinction is largely unattainable. In a descriptive, synchronic sense, a language may refer to a group of related linguistic norms or a single norm, and a dialect is presumably one of the norms (Haugen 1966). Hence every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect. Language as a generalised notion means that every speaker of a language is a speaker of at least one dialect (Chambers and Trudgill 2004)—standard English is, for example "just as much a dialect as any other form of English" (p. 3). The generalised and specific dual sense of the term "language" in its synchronic dimension adds to the muddle of the issue, and thus scholars have proposed the term "variety" to be used instead as a descriptive label for a single linguistic entity in a "neutral" and ad hoc manner. While this is methodologically convenient, the superordinate–subordinate model of the language–dialect relationship cannot avoid the question of genetic relationship. How closely related would a group of linguistic norms need to be considered as dialects of the same language? When would these norms be considered separate languages? To what extent does mutual intelligibility play a role in determining answers to these two questions?

Suffice to say that the criterion of mutual intelligibility is highly problematic, and it is never the sole criterion determining the identification of languages and dialects. The ideological desire to minimise internal differences and maximise external ones (Haugen 1966) frequently overrides linguistic criteria. The differentiation of the Scandinavian languages (Chambers and Trudgill 2004) and between Hindi and Urdu (Wardhaugh 2006) are well-known cases of the maximisation of external differences. Conversely the major "dialects" of the Chinese "language" are mutually unintelligible (see Tang 2007 for quantitative research on the linguistic distance between Chinese dialects). By this criterion, each of these major dialects is a lan-

guage, while their subvarieties are dialects, but instead they are all officially defined as dialects of the Chinese language.

Then there is the functional approach, which focuses on the social role of linguistic varieties. A "language" has wider functions than a "dialect"—it may be the medium of communication between different dialects; it may be more "developed" in the sense of being codified and standardised. A "language" also usually enjoys higher prestige than a "dialect". This approach reflects many nonlinguists' perception of the difference between language and dialect: a "mere" dialect being compared to an underqualified, undeveloped language. The risk with this approach is that what is an ideological phenomenon becomes naturalised. As pointed out by Haugen (1966), all the "great" languages of today were once undeveloped. There is not a linguistic variety that is inherently handicapped so that it cannot be developed to serve the full range of social functions. The prestige of a linguistic variety or, in other words, people's attitudes towards the variety hinges on its degree of development and the ideological significance of such development.

The case of Chinese dialects again is an exception to the functional approach. Within each major Chinese dialect group, there are usually one or two more prestigious varieties that serve as the regional lingua franca, such as the Guangzhou variety in the *Yue* (Cantonese)[1] dialect group, the *Meixan* variety in the *Kejia* (Hakka) dialect group, the *Suzhou* or *Shanghai* variety in the *Wu* dialect group, and the *Xiamen* (Amoy) or *Fuzhou* (Foochow) variety in the *Min* dialect group. This would justify consideration of the major dialect groups as languages.

Two frequently cited linguistic arguments against regarding Chinese dialects as separate languages include the existence of a shared written language and the lack of an established writing tradition in dialects (apart from Mandarin) (Norman 2003; Chen 1999). Yet these arguments are only partially true.

Sharing One Written Language or Not From 211 BCE, when the first Qin emperor burned books and buried scholars who wrote in scripts and languages other than the standard (Zhou and Ross 2004; Hansell 2003) till the "Mandarin Movement" in the early 1900s (Barnes 1982), *Wenyan* ("literary language") or Classical Chinese has been the unified written language for over 2000 years without interruption. It was a sacred language used in a large body of respected literature and mastered only by a very small privileged group. Also, it was strictly a written language. Regional dialects, which were the contemporary vernaculars used for daily communication, were completely divorced from Classical Chinese. In this sense, although Classical Chinese was a unified written language used by the literate and "shared" by all, this language did not transcribe the spoken forms of the dialects. With a stretch of the imagination, the divide between Classical Chinese and the regional dialect vernaculars is comparable to that between Latin and the contemporary Romance tongues in Europe in the Middle Ages (Ramsey 1987).

Writing Traditions of the Regional Dialects The written language of the dialects were the written vernaculars, which first appeared in the form of Buddhist texts dur-

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[1] Terms in brackets are those more frequently used overseas by ordinary people and in previous research literature.

ing the Tang Dynasty (618–907) (Snow 2004). By the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), vernacular literature written in "白话" (*Baihua*, "plain speech, the vernacular") was flourishing, which was a written language that approximated to the Mandarin dialects. The current written Standard Modern Chinese (SMC) is a modernised version of *Baihua*. However, Mandarin was not alone in developing its vernacular written language in this period. Other major dialects, such the *Yue* and *Wu* dialect groups, also had popularised vernacular written languages used in religious texts, local operas, folksongs, and published literature. The circulation of these vernacular written texts helped to spread basic literacy among ordinary people, and contributed to the development and standardisation of the vernacular written languages. From the mid-nineteenth century, vernacular writing styles became associated with the modernisation and democratisation of China. During the language reform of the early twentieth century (to be discussed later), the vernacular written language based on Mandarin dialects was chosen as the prototype of written SMC and rigorously promoted. The vernacular written forms of other Chinese dialects gradually became marginalised and faded away in the process. However, some have remained strong against the odds, such as vernacular written Cantonese, which we will discuss in the next section.

In summary, while Classical Chinese used to be and written SMC continues to be the officially shared written language, neither corresponds closely to the vernaculars of the regional dialects. Some regional dialects do have established writing traditions. The two linguistic arguments mentioned earlier cannot withstand close scrutiny. A more powerful reason for regarding Chinese as a single language is related to ideology. The unification and standardisation of the written language and writing system more than 2000 years ago marked a symbolic Han Chinese ethnic identity and a cultural unity. The Chinese language has since been known as the Han Language until today (Zhou and Ross 2004). Although the interconnections between Chinese dialects are as complicated as those connecting a family of languages, such as the European languages, most Chinese people feel that they belong to the same nation "in ways that no European alliance could begin to approximate" (Ramsey 1987, p. 6).

The complicated language–dialect issues mentioned above have significance for the current study in several ways. Firstly, mutual unintelligibility between the major dialect groups means people are less likely to perceive dialectal vernaculars as "deviant", "incorrect", or "corrupted" forms of the standard variety, Putonghua. The standard/nonstandard dichotomy is highly inappropriate for characterising the relationship between Putonghua and Chinese regional dialects. The dichotomy, driven by a Standard Language Ideology (Milroy 2001), assumes the standard variety as definitive and central, while dialects are regarded as "satellites that have orbits at various distances around a central body—the standard" (p. 534). Even if we accept that ideology for the moment, the Southern dialects do not orbit around Putonghua. While Putonghua is a standardised variety and the official common language for all Chinese citizens, it is technically "just" a standard variety within the Mandarin dialect group. The other unstandardised dialect groups have their own more-or-less recognised "standard varieties" (Downes 1998; Snow 2008), and thus do not look to Putonghua for norms. With some stretch of imagination, it is like the way in which Spanish and French would not regard the Received Pronunciation of English

as their standard variety. This means that the relationship between Putonghua and other Chinese dialects is different from that of the usual "standard-and-dialects" or "standard-and-nonstandard" relationships. Dialect-influenced Putonghua varieties instead of the regional dialects should be regarded as the "nonstandard varieties" in such a dichotomy. Such differences must be taken into account when comparing studies of attitudes towards Chinese linguistic varieties and studies of attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties elsewhere.

Secondly, as we shall see in the next section, the Mandarin-speaking area is larger, both in area and population, than the sum of all the other dialectal areas, mainly due to continuous political domination by the Mandarin-speaking North (Ramsey 1987). While the size of each dialect group is just as big as that for any national language of an individual European country, when compared to Mandarin dialects, all the other dialects may be considered "minority languages" in terms of ethnographic and political power. It is therefore worthwhile to take note of language-attitude studies conducted in minority language situations, while noting potential differences.

Thirdly, the fact that Chinese dialects are officially regarded as dialects of a single Chinese language means that there will not be any "multilingual" language education policy for the Han Chinese population. The role of regional dialects is either completely disregarded or seriously underrepresented in teacher training, school education, and most institutional domains. While people in practice know that different dialects are mutually unintelligible, they unfortunately have to live with a reality that assumes otherwise. This is why I have decided to use the term "Chinese dialects", despite the objection of some linguists (Mair 1991). I choose to use terms that are phenomenologically meaningful to the participants, in order to foreground the ideological and linguistic paradoxes. Due to the complications, it is only proper to draw on studies conducted in both bi-/multilingual and bi-/multidialectal language situations.

2.2   A Historical and Sociolinguistic Overview

2.2.1   General Introduction

The subgrouping of Chinese dialects is debatable, but the most commonly used scheme classifies Chinese dialects into seven or eight major dialect groups (Ramsey 1987; Chen 1999): *Beifang* (Northern, also known as Mandarin or *Guanhua*), *Wu*, *Xiang*, *Gan*, *Min* (some distinguish between Northern *Min* and Southern *Min*), *Kejia* (also known as Hakka), and *Yue* (often loosely referred to as Cantonese). The last six dialect groups are also collectively called the Southern dialects.

As can be seen from Fig. 2.1, the Mandarin dialect group is by far the largest among the seven groups in terms of area. It is estimated that at least 70 % of native Chinese speakers speak a dialect of Mandarin as their mother tongue (Norman 2003). The word "mandarin" was believed to be first used by foreigners in China during the Ming Dynasty to refer to "Chinese officials" in the 1580s, and the
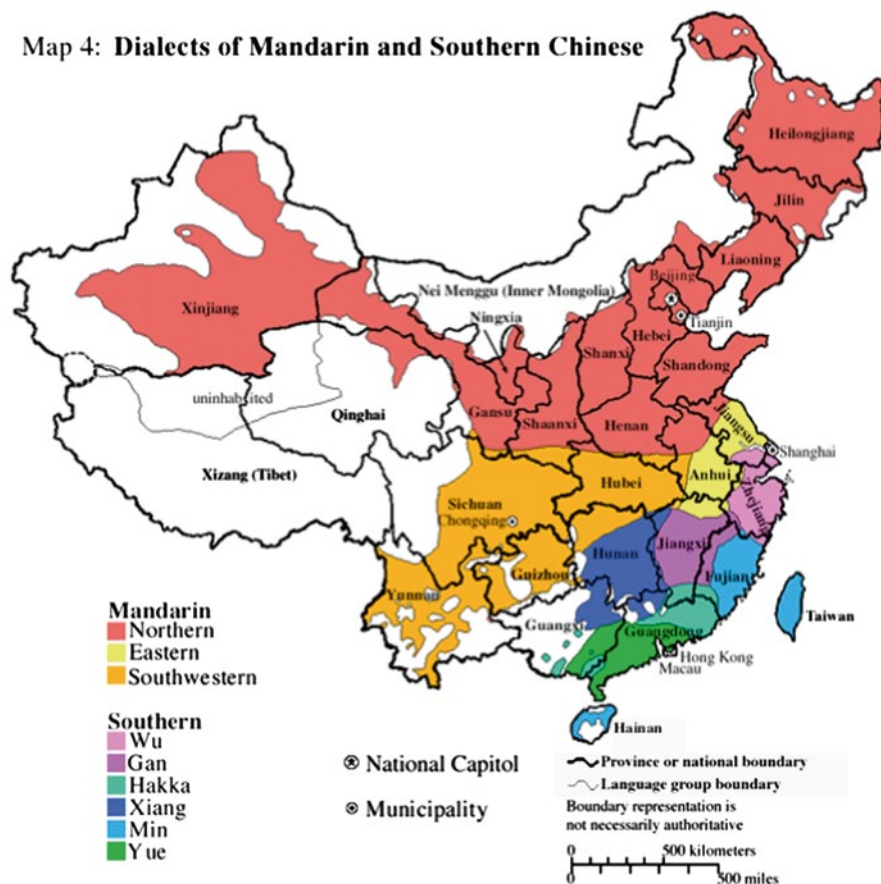
Fig. 2.1 Geographical distribution of the Northern dialects and Southern dialects (Mowry 2003). (Copyright © 2003 Trustees of Dartmouth College. Reprinted by permission of Professor Hua-Yuan Li Mowry)

dialects spoken by such officials since 1600 (Harper 2001). As successive political capitals of the country have been in the Mandarin-speaking areas, the common speech for officials has always been dialects of Mandarin. However, this "language of officials" was by no means the "standard language". Without standardisation, mass education and frequent interdialectal migration, this "language of officials" played a very limited role as Southern-dialect speakers carried out all sorts of business in Southern dialects.

Compared to the Southern dialects, the Mandarin dialects are much more homogeneous. In the process of convergence, the Mandarin dialects have lost many phonetic features documented in ancient dictionaries, such as *Qieyun*[2], including

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[2] The oldest existing rhyme dictionary, published in 601 CE, the Sui Dynasty and revised in the Tang Dynasty.

tones[3] and consonant endings (Norman 2003; Ramsey 1987; Ho 2003). Consequently, Classical Chinese works no longer rhyme properly when read aloud in the Mandarin dialects. In contrast, the Southern dialects often outperform the Mandarin dialects in this aspect. This historical linguistic heritage is an important component of Southern dialect speakers' pride in their own dialects.

Among the Southern dialect groups, some groups are more well-known than others in language-attitude studies. For example, the Wu dialect group is the second largest dialect group with 80 million speakers and a long-established vernacular writing tradition. The most representative varieties are the Suzhou variety and Shanghai variety (Shanghainese). In language-attitude research, Shanghainese is known as a strong regional variety competing with Putonghua (Zhou 2001; Angus 2002).

More relevant to the current study are three major dialect groups: the Hakka, Min, and Yue dialects. They are the three major dialect groups in Guangdong Province, the location of the study, and the majority of participants spoke at least one variety of these dialects. They are also the dominant ancestral mother tongues of the overseas Chinese communities around the globe.

The Hakka-speaking population is widely scattered in Southern China, as well as in Southeast Asia. Hakka or "*Kejia*" means "guest family" in Chinese, which reveals a core historical aspect of the group: migration. Hakka people believe that their ancestors originally migrated from the Central Plains (cultural and political centre of Ancient China) in successive waves to settle in South China. In the clashes between the Hakkas and the Puntis (literally "local people") in Guangdong Province during the Qing Dynasty, the Hakkas used the label "guest family" to differentiate their group from the "local people" (Eitel 1867; Yan 2006). The Hakkas are famous for preserving their language and cultural heritage, which is articulated in the Hakka family maxim: '宁卖祖宗田,不卖祖宗言' (One would rather sell one's ancestor's land than one's ancestor's language) (Yan 2006, p. 167).

Min-dialect speakers are mainly found in Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, and Taiwan. A large Min-dialect-speaking population also lives in South Asia and the USA. For example, more than 60% of the Chinese-speaking population (which make up 78% of the country's population) in Singapore speak a variety of the Min dialects (Li et al. 1997). The population of Min-dialect speakers around the world is estimated at over 70 million (Ethnologue 2009). The Min dialect group is the most heterogeneous among the seven dialect groups, comprising several mutually unintelligible subgroups, but scholars differ in their exact categorisation (Yan 2006; Norman 2003). The Southern Min subgroup consists of several varieties well-known in the language-attitude research literature. These include the variety of Amoy (named after the city of Amoy (*Xiamen*[4]) opposite Taiwan across the strait), Taiwanese, and

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[3] The Sinitic/Chinese languages are tonal languages, which means changing the tone of a syllable changes the meaning of the word.

[4] Xiamen is the romanisation according to Hanyu Pinyin, the phonetic script constructed in the 1950s for transcribing Putonghua. "Amoy" is the transliteration according to the dialectal pronunciation of the name of the city, which has been in use for centuries possibly due to early contacts

Teochew dialects. The former two are very similar and are also collectively known overseas as Hokkien. Teochew dialects are named after the city of Teochew (潮州, *Chaozhou*[5]). The term "Teochew Speech" (*Chaozhou Hua*) in its everyday usage refers to the collection of Min dialects spoken in the north-eastern part of Guangdong, as Teochew was historically the most important cultural capital of the region. In more official and formal usage, it is called "潮汕话" ("Teochew and Swatow Speech", *Chaoshan Hua*)—named after the two major cities in the region.

The Yue dialect group is the most well-known Chinese dialect group in the field of language attitudes, thanks to the unique status of Cantonese, the most prestigious variety in the group. Speakers of the Yue-dialect-speaking population in China are mainly found in Guangdong Province, Southeastern Guangxi Province, Hong Kong, and Macau. Overseas, the Yue-dialect-speaking (mostly Cantonese-speaking) diaspora is scattered over South Asia, North America, and Europe. The total population around the world is estimated to be more than 55 million. Traditionally, the speech of the municipality of Guangzhou (also known as Canton) is considered the standard variety of Cantonese. It has been the genuine regional standard and lingua franca at least since the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) (Ramsey 1987, pp. 98–99) until quite recently.

2.2.2   Nearly a National Standard?

Until the language reform of the twentieth century, the prestige of different dialect groups was more or less equal. Nevertheless, the sheer size of its area, speaker population, the popularity of the Baihua literature (although not prestigious) based on the Northern dialects, and the political dominance of the Northern dialect group gave it a lopsided advantage in competing to become the norm for spoken SMC when the time came.

Political unrest and the quest to modernise China at the turn of the twentieth century became an opportunity for language reform. The once glorious Classical Chinese was associated in the revolutionary minds with backwardness, while dialectal diversity was seen as a hindrance to a strong, united, and modernised nation (Chen 1999; Zhou 2006; DeFrancis 1984). *Baihua*, the vernacular written language based on the Mandarin dialects, was chosen as the new written standard. As mentioned earlier, vernacular literature during the imperial times was mainly in the form of popular culture, and cannot be compared with Classical Chinese in terms of status. Reformers, such as Hu Shi, strove to elevate the status of the new written standard by producing "serious" writings in *Baihua*, as well as rewriting the history of Chinese literature, so that previous *Baihua* literature was represented as mas-

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between the local and the foreigners. These dialectal transliterations such as Hakka, Teochew, and Swatow are more frequently used in the overseas research literature, while the Hanyu Pinyin counterparts—Kejia, Chaozhou, and Shantou—are used instead in research done by Chinese scholars from the mainland of China, and increasingly by others too.

[5] See Footnote 8.

terpieces rather than "vulgar" literature (Snow 2010). In effect, the prestige of the new written standard comes not so much from respected literary tradition, but more from its assigned role in modernising, or even "saving", the nation (Barnes 1982). Since *Baihua* is based on Mandarin dialects, and the distance between Mandarin dialects and the Southern dialects is substantial, this choice met with opposition. Some proposed that the Southern-dialect speakers deserved to have separate written languages based on their vernaculars. Yet this proposal for diversity was apparently not in line with the mindset favouring unity at the time, and eventually, a policy of "强南就北" (to force the South to follow the North) was decided upon (Li 2003).

The process of deciding on a national, commonly spoken language was much more complicated. Within a few months of the establishment of the Republican (or "Nationalist", "Kuomintang") government in 1912, the new Ministry of Education commissioned a "Conference on Unification of Pronunciation". The aim of the conference was to decide on the standard pronunciation of Chinese characters (each character can be read differently in different dialects) and the phonetic transcription system for the standard pronunciations. As Ramsey (1987) points out, in commissioning such a conference, the officials did not seem to realise how ambitious these aims were and how important these decisions would be for years to come. Delegates from the South and the North, who spoke different dialects, met and debated fiercely at the meeting. With some surprising drama lasting for 3 months (See Ramsey 1987), the Mandarin-speaking participants succeeded in setting the new standard according to Mandarin pronunciation. The new spoken standard was named *Guoyu* ("national language"), a term borrowed from Japanese. Yet it was not until 1932, when a new dictionary was published, that the national standard pronunciation was set to follow the pronunciation of the Beijing dialect. In the 1950s after the People's Republic of China was founded, *Guoyu* was officially redefined as "Putonghua" and promoted as the common speech across the country.

A century has passed since the Conference on Unification of Pronunciation, and stories about the conference are widespread among ordinary people. You would hear different versions at different places. The main storyline is always how the local dialect, Cantonese for example, was a strong competing nominee for the national language at the conference, and only lost by the small margin of one vote. There was nothing close to that storyline in historical documents, but people tend to believe what they want to believe. They want to believe that their dialectal mother tongues were once at least as good as Putonghua since they were equal competitors for the same position. There is also a sense of regret that their dialects lost the once-for-a-lifetime opportunity to become the most powerful language of the country.

2.2.3 Cantonese: A Dialect of Prestige and Exception

Cantonese is perhaps the single most studied Chinese dialect in the literature of language-attitude research. Cantonese has wider influence in- and outside China than any other Chinese dialect because of a number of historical, social, and lin-

guistic conditions, some of which are quite exceptional. Cantonese has not only been learned by the numerous immigrants to Guangzhou, but it has also reportedly been replacing other regional varieties in nearby areas and is advancing northwards (Zhan 1993; Snow 2008). The widespread Cantonese diaspora overseas and the economic superpower of its base Guangdong Province (the leading economy in China since the 1980s) are two obvious factors. However, the historical, geographical, and cultural connections between Guangzhou and Hong Kong have also significantly influenced the status of Cantonese.

To resist the impact of Hong Kong media on the Cantonese-speaking Guangdong Province, the National Broadcasting Bureau (now the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television [SARFT]) gave permission to several television channels in Guangzhou to broadcast in Cantonese, including a satellite television channel (Wu 2004). Such "privilege" makes Cantonese stand out as the only regional dialect in mainland China that is extensively used in the broadcasting media.[6] Such policies were not widely publicised so that many assumed that the permission was tacit until the recent debates on what the legitimate broadcasting language of the GZTV should be (Deng 2010). That is the scenario described in Chap. 1—how a survey about changing the broadcasting language eventually triggered a joined protest by Guangzhou and Hong Kong.

Moreover, at the end of 2011, the news came out that Guangdong Province was going to enact a new language regulation (Wu 2011). The main point of the regulation was that all broadcasting media must apply for permissions to use dialects. Heated debates were immediately sparked by the news, and the major concern was that Cantonese might be abandoned as a legitimate broadcasting language. The regulation came into force from March 2012, but so far there has been no noticeable change in this respect. Similar debates have happened more frequently in recent years and government officials have often accused the media for overreacting to language issues. It has been repeated again and again in official statements that Cantonese would not be abandoned, but the continuing suspicion voiced in the media indicates an increasing sense of insecurity about the future of Cantonese in the face of rigorous national Putonghua promotion campaigns.

Having a well-established written language is what differentiates modern Cantonese from other regional dialects (except Mandarin dialects). Despite the absence of clear prescriptive norms for written Cantonese, there is a high level of consensus on how most of the words should be represented in writing (Li 2000; Bauer 1988; Snow 2004). Moreover, written Cantonese looks to spoken Cantonese rather than written SMC for its norms. Such a degree of autonomy and norms are considered as attributes of a standard language (Downes 1998). However, in mainland China, written SMC is the only legitimate written language to be used in public domains and the only written language taught in school. Nevertheless, the use of spoken Cantonese in Guangzhou broadcasting media has helped written Cantonese to "creep in" in the form of subtitles. Once in a while, vernacular Cantonese words or

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[6] Some other dialects, such as Shanghainese and Teochew dialects, are also used in regional broadcasting, but not as extensively as Cantonese.

quotes may be found in newspapers and magazines in articles written predominantly in SMC. *Southern Metropolis Daily* (南方都市报,), a major local and nationwide newspaper[7], dedicates one whole page to articles written in Cantonese.

In people's private lives, written Cantonese is much more pervasive. It is usually used in text messages, online chats, and on social network websites. As David Crystal (2006) observes, written languages in such media approximate actual speech to give a sense of "talking texts". Hence the younger generation of internet users are more likely to use written Cantonese. Several small but active groups[8], which advocate speaking and writing Cantonese correctly, also mainly consist of young people. As important vehicles for computer-mediated communication, some Cantonese input software has been developed (e.g. CPIME 2009). Moreover, Hanyu-Pinyin-based input software has also paid attention to facilitating dialect input (LALS 2009). Siri, the newly launched, built-in, intelligent speech-recognition software developed by Apple Inc., can understand, transcribe, and respond in Cantonese (Pantovich 2012). These commercial products indicate that there is clearly a market for written and spoken Cantonese in and beyond mainland China. Significantly, "Hong Kong" is put in parenthesis after "Cantonese", which seemingly indicates that the Hong Kong variety of Cantonese is commercially more well-known and important.

It can be seen in this section that the status of Chinese dialects has been changing over time. These changes, however, influence not only speakers in mainland China, but also other Chinese communities. The mutual influences exist not only in social scientists' minds or in the form of figures, but also in very concrete forms such as the protests I described in Chap. 1, the language policies to be discussed in the next section, and the daily lives of the participants to be presented later in the book. Therefore, a study of language attitudes and identities in multilingual China would not be complete without an international dimension.

2.3　Language Policies Regarding Chinese Dialects since the 1950s: an International Dimension

As mentioned earlier, Classical Chinese was replaced by *Baihua* and a new spoken standard (*Guoyu*) emerged during the language reform of the early twentieth century. These were life-changing events and a shared sociolinguistic history that have affected the Chinese community at home and abroad. After the Second World War, these Chinese communities went through separate courses of language modernisation. Despite the different routes, however, spoken SMC (Putonghua, *Guoyu, Huayu* or whatever it is called in the community) has grown to prevail in most

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[7] It is a member of the *Nanfang (South) Daily* Group which is one of the top ten media corporations in China (Lu and Lan 2009). *Southern Metropolis Daily* started distribution in Hong Kong from December 2010.

[8] For example, see the website of 粤语协会 (Cantonese Association), URL: http://www.cantonese.asia/

Chinese communities often thanks to official support, while regional dialects keep losing territory.

2.3.1   Mainland China: A Web of Language Policies for the Promotion of Putonghua

In the 1955 Symposium on the Standardisation of Modern Chinese, the national spoken standard—Putonghua—was officially defined as follows:

> … being based on the vocabulary and grammar of the Northern (Mandarin) dialects with Beijing pronunciation as the standard for the national language, its written grammar to be derived from works written in contemporary vernacular literary language (Baihuawen) (Rohsenow 2004, p. 24).

The systematic programme of Putonghua promotion was interrupted by nationwide political and economic turmoil during the 1960s and the 1970s. After 1978 when the Reform and Opening Up began, the programme was resumed. According to the inventory published on the website of the State Language Commission (SLC) (2007), from 1978 to 2005, Constitutional amendments, dedicated language laws, and education law have been issued which contained language policies promoting Putonghua. Notably, the 1982 Constitution added an article on the development of education (Article 19), in which it is stated, "The state promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation)", providing the legal basis for Putonghua promotion. At the end of 2000, the first ever dedicated language law, *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* (2000) (hereafter referred to as Language Law 2001), was issued. It is stated in Articles 9 and 10 that Putonghua shall be used by state organs as the official language and used in schools and other educational institutions as the base language for education and teaching. Moreover, the State Council and the central government issued eight national regulations and directives on language use, while the Ministry of Education (MOD), the State Education Commission and other state educational authorities promulgated 57 national language policy documents that more or less directly relate to language use at school.

In addition to national language laws and directives, there are many regulations that help to reinforce the dominant position of Putonghua in educational institutions. In 1998, the First Putonghua Promotion Week was held, which is an annual campaign requiring the participation of schools and other institutions (The Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CCP [PD] et al. 1998). The *Decision on Carrying Out Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi* ("PSC", Putonghua Proficiency Test) (SLC et al. 1994) marked the official requirement of Putonghua proficiency as a professional qualification for school teachers. The MOE and the SLC specified the national standards (MOE and SLC 2000a) and issued provisions afterwards accordingly (MOE 2003), further institutionalising the PSC. For example, it is advised that students at teacher training colleges must reach the required PSC standards before they can get their degree.

These interrelated laws and regulations make sure that younger teachers will have reached the required PSC level by the time they graduate. More senior teachers also have to go through training and obtain the relevant PSC certificates, which is ensured by means of various campaigns, such as "Assessment of City Language and Script Work" (MOE 2000b) and "Founding Model Schools of Standardised Language and Script Use" (MOE and SLC 2004) (hereafter referred to as the "Model School Assessment"). Although the participation of individual schools appears to be voluntary, governments at different levels have to make sure that their region reaches certain standards. Hence, schools often still find themselves forced into participation. In addition to administrative pressure, incentives have also been introduced. For example, certified schools will be awarded "medals of certification", which are usually hung prominently at the school gate to signify honours of the school. With the successive and interconnected effects of administrative orders and instrumental incentives, it is difficult for schools to escape from the web of Putonghua-promoting language policies.

Concerning language policies towards regional dialects, the official attitudes seem to have changed over the years (Guo 2004). From the 1950s to the 1980s, the goal of language planning was to eventually replace regional dialects with Putonghua in ALL domains of language use. However, the scope of dialect use did not reduce as "smoothly" as expected, and the resurgence of dialect use in public domains during the 1980s took the language planners by surprise. This phenomena, though negatively criticised at the time, attracted research interest into the relationship between Putonghua and dialects in society. Guo (ibid.) suggests that thanks to such research, the goal of subsequent language policies was redefined in the 1990s to a diglossic (Ferguson 1959/2007) one. That is, Putonghua will take the leading role at the official and national level, while regional dialects will complement Putonghua and their scope of use will be limited to the regional and local level[9].

Guo (2004) argues that the Language Law 2001 (see translation of the whole document in Rohsenow 2004) officially defines the functional distribution of Putonghua and regional dialects in different domains, which will be beneficial for both promoting Putonghua and maintaining regional dialects. However, there are reasons to believe that the prospects are not as bright as they appear. The Language Law 2001 and other policy documents only specify when and where Putonghua must be used without setting boundaries. In other words, the laws and regulations aim to prevent regional dialects from entering the public domain, but do not prevent Putonghua from entering the private domain. Many Putonghua promotion measures actually encourage people to use Putonghua more frequently in the private domain, as we will see later in the book.

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[9] Some researchers distinguish between the subcategories of diglossia. The readers may refer to Don Snow's work (2012), *Revisiting Ferguson's defining cases of diglossia*, for an in-depth discussion. In this book, the term diglossia is adopted mainly for its sense of power contrast between the high and low varieties, functional compartmentalisation, and the theoretical absence of native high-variety speakers.

2.3.2   *Hong Kong: Linguistic Autonomy and Dependence*

The language situation in Hong Kong was no different from that in mainland China when Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842[10]. Classical Chinese was used by a small elite group for written purposes while regional dialects were the mother tongues and served complementary purposes. After 1842, English, the language of the coloniser, became the official language for formal and institutional use, and again it was mastered by a very small elite group (English expatriates and Chinese linguistic middlemen) (Lai 2001; Snow 2010). At the beginning of the colonial period, Hong Kong was but a small, scarcely populated fishing village. The ethnolinguistic composition of the population was parallel to that in Guangdong Province. The three major groups were the Punti ("local people", the Cantonese), the Hakka, and the Hoklo (Min-dialect-speaking people) (Bolton 2003). These groups were migrants or descendants of the migrants from Guangdong Province. In other words, Hong Kong was a microcosm of Guangdong Province in terms of the demographic structure and the sociolinguistic situation. Hence it is worth noting how Hong Kong and Guangdong Province have ended up with different language situations after a century of independent development under different sociopolitical conditions.

Language policies in mainland China did not affect Hong Kong directly during the colonial period. Yet until the 1970s the Hong Kong colonial government adopted a laissez-faire approach to cultural affairs in the indigenous Chinese community (Postiglione 1988), seldom interfering in local matters. As a result, the language situation in the multilingual Hong Kong Chinese community evolved without official support or intervention for over a century before the 1970s.

The consequence is threefold. Firstly, Classical Chinese as a written language for the Hong Kong Chinese community was not abruptly abolished but gradually replaced by written SMC. The early twentieth-century discourse associating written SMC with modernisation and revitalisation of the Chinese nation helped to reduce resistance towards giving up Classical Chinese (Snow 2010). During that period, printed media had a more important social role than broadcast media, and written SMC spread in Hong Kong through its use in print. The sense of linguistic insecurity of the Hong Kong Chinese community as an immigrant society, however, helped to "fossilise" the written SMC used in Hong Kong in the form of a more conservative style than that used on the Mainland (Bolton 2003). The traditional script rather than the simplified script also continues to be used. Secondly, without governmental promotion, educational planning and the support of broadcasting media, spoken SMC (Putonghua) did not gain a significant place in Hong Kong. Meanwhile, Putonghua was promoted on the Mainland as the official common speech with full governmental support. Thirdly, Cantonese has emerged as the dominant spoken language in Hong Kong since the 1970s after decades of dialect levelling, despite influxes of migrants from the Mainland (Gibbons 1987; Bolton 2003; Pierson 2003). Accord-

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[10] The island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842, and later other parts of present-day Hong Kong were ceded or leased to Britain according to the 1860 and 1898 Sino–British treaties (Postiglione 1988).

ing to the 1971 census, it was clear that the younger the speakers, the more likely they were to use Cantonese as their usual language (Gibbons 1987). Statistics from subsequent censuses in 1991, 1996, and 2001 show that over 95 % of the population reported competence in Cantonese (Pierson 2003), and in the 2006 census, 90.8 % reported Cantonese as their usual language (0.9 % reported Putonghua) (Lai 2012). Cantonese has apparently been established as the most commonly used spoken language in Hong Kong. It is believed that the rise of Cantonese as the lingua franca in the Hong Kong Chinese community is reciprocal with the creation of modern Hong Kong and a distinct "Hoenggongjan" (Hong Kong person) identity since the 1970s (Bolton 2003). Simultaneously, the Cantonese entertainment industry, comprising Cantopop music and films, has become influential not only in Hong Kong, but also in Southeast Asia.

In 1974, Chinese was recognised as an official language in addition to English, but the meaning of "Chinese" was left deliberately undefined and ambiguous (Bruche-Schulz 1997). The miniconstitution of Hong Kong SAR states that the social system and life style of Hong Kong will remain unchanged for 50 years after the handover. As Cantonese had become part and parcel of Hong Kong lifestyle long before the handover, it is often assumed that spoken Cantonese in addition to written SMC is what Chinese refers to in Hong Kong. Hence the de facto language situation in Hong Kong is that English and written SMC and a formal register of spoken Cantonese serve formal and institutional (including educational) functions, while informal spoken Cantonese and written Cantonese serve complementary functions.

In the 1990s, as the handover was drawing closer, the Hong Kong government adopted a more interventionist approach to encouraging mother-tongue (Cantonese) education. Shortly before the handover in 1997, the last colonial government suddenly announced the policy of mandatory mother-tongue education (Bolton 2003; Snow 2010). There is speculation that apart from educational considerations, the enforcement of Cantonese-medium education aimed to strengthen the local Hong Kong identity, as opposed to the colonial identity or the mainland Chinese identity. Research on language attitudes in Hong Kong seems to validate the speculation. Cantonese continues to enjoy great vitality as a major symbol of the Hong Kong identity, and as a "neutral" language that symbolises "decolonisation" without arousing sentiments of "recolonisation" by the PRC (Lai 2012, p. 4). It is the dominant language used in the mass media, entertainment, and music industry. Government officials and members of the Legislative Council must speak Cantonese to win solidarity and votes. Written Cantonese is increasingly being used in the printed media (Snow 2004), and the advancement of new technology, such as smart phones and social media, has boosted the use of written Cantonese. As Chinese is taught through Cantonese at school, students formally learn the Cantonese pronunciation of the characters, which effectively contributes to the ability to write Cantonese and the de facto standardisation of spoken Cantonese. The new generations are more used to speaking Cantonese in school and at work, and Cantonese is being used in Hong Kong more than before, in terms of both frequency and domain.

However, there are also undermining factors. Bruche-Schulz (1997) argues that Cantonese is in fact a banned language in schools. Although Cantonese is used as

the medium of instruction, it is never taught in its own right, and therefore "banned from the speakers' perception as a rightful and an effective means of communication in speaking and writing" (p. 308). It is only in books intended for foreigners that Cantonese is presented as a language having norms and standards, while the locals are left with the impression that Cantonese is just a set of variable habits and a mere disorderly "dialect". When school teachers are teaching the "conversion rules" that Hong Kong students need to write written SMC and speak Putonghua (see classroom discourse examples in Bruche-Schulz 1997), they also constantly pass on the subtle message that Cantonese cannot be written, and is somehow not good enough (Groves 2008).

Part of the resistance to mother-tongue education also has to do with this "covert stigma" of Cantonese. As most Hong Kong people consider Cantonese as their mother tongue, they are against using Putonghua as the medium of instruction in mother-tongue education. However, some are also against the idea of using Cantonese, a "mere" dialect, as the medium of instruction, and their position can be illustrated by the following statement made by an educationalist, "Cantonese is a dead end, it has no future … No other place in the world uses a dialect as the medium of instruction. It is killing [the students]" (Tacey 2000, see other examples in Groves 2008, p. 69). This statement is of course not true, but the fact that such opinions are articulated by educationalists and professionals in major newspapers shows the stigma suffered by Cantonese.

Cantonese is not seen as a language providing upward or outward social mobility, but simply a taken-for-granted part of everyday life. Lai (2012) claims that it is for such reason that more than a decade of mandatory mother-tongue education has not resulted in more positive attitudes towards Cantonese than those held by the earlier generations. On the contrary, the recent relaxation of the mother-tongue education policy even seems to suggest that government officials consider it a mistake to adopt Cantonese as the medium of instruction.

2.3.3   Singapore: The Speak Mandarin Campaign and the Redefinition of "Mother Tongues"

Singapore is chosen for comparison with mainland China and Hong Kong because it not only has a significant Chinese diaspora population, but also rigorously promotes Chinese as one of its four official languages. The "Speak Mandarin Campaign" (Bokhorst-Heng 1999) is in some sense similar to the Putonghua promotion campaign in mainland China; having English as an official language is identical to the situation in Hong Kong; while promoting Standard Mandarin to a multidialectal Chinese community resembles promoting Putonghua in Guangdong Province. The similarities and differences in language situations and language policies make Singapore a valuable case for comparison with Hong Kong and the Mainland.

Singapore is a small Southeast Asian country situated at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, encircled by predominantly Malay-speaking countries. It has a

population of 3.77 million, mainly comprising three ethnic groups: 74.1% Chinese, 13.4% Malay, and 9.2% Indian (Singapore Department of Statistics 2010). This ethnic composition of the population has remained relatively stable since the 1950s (Bokhorst-Heng 1999). When Singapore became an independent country in 1965, the basis of legitimacy of the People's Action Party (PAP) government was that it stood for a multicultural Singapore for all Singaporeans, in contrast to the Malaysian government which seemed to promote a monocultural Malay Malaysia (ibid.). On this basis, four languages are recognised as the official languages of Singapore: English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil. English is promoted as the official working language, the language for science, technology and economy, as well as the lingua franca for crossethnic communication. The latter three are defined as "mother tongues" and the languages for culture and values. The goal of the official language policy is to encourage Singaporeans to become bilingual and biliterate in English and their own mother tongues (Kheng Chua 2004; Bokhorst-Heng 1999). However, it has been pointed out that the PAP government's idea of bilingualism is not very far removed from the ideology of monolingualism.

The "one-nation-one-people-one-language" assumption has been repeatedly articulated by high-ranking officials to justify the language policies, except that the "Western" notion of "nation" is replaced by "ethnicity" in Singapore (see examples in Bokhorst-Heng 1999). Therefore the de facto goal of the language policy in Singapore, "English-knowing bilingualism" (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003), is based on the homogeneity within each of the constituent ethnic communities. One's mother tongue is officially defined according to one's father's ethnicity, and thus it may not be one's first language or usual home language. Similarly, the meanings of "First Language" (L1) and "Second Language" (L2) in Singapore are also different from how they are usually understood in other parts of the world. The main medium of instruction at school is defined as the L1, while any other official languages taught alongside are defined as the L2s. Between the 1950s and the 1980s, when schooling in languages other than English was still available, students learnt English either as the L1 or L2. Since 1987, when English became the main medium of instruction at school, all students started to learn English at L1 level and their mother tongues at L2 level. Thus the students are no longer allowed to learn an official language other than their mother tongues as their L2 (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon 2009; Gupta 1994). The Singapore government has clearly adopted a highly centralised authoritarian approach to language planning. The government not only has a very specific ideology as to what kind of language practice is good for nation-building and individual success, but has also gone all out to redefine its citizens' realities by redefining their linguistic repertoire.

The Chinese community in Singapore is arguably most affected by such redefinition. Mandarin is the only officially recognised mother tongue, despite the fact that only 0.1% of the Chinese population in Singapore identified Mandarin as their mother tongue in the 1957 census. Eleven Chinese regional dialects were identified as mother tongues, with the three largest groups being Hokkien (39.8%), Teochew (22.6%), and Cantonese (20%) (Bokhorst-Heng 1999). The Singapore government sees such linguistic diversity as not only detrimental to the maintenance of Chinese

cultural roots, but also as incompatible with the overall development of the whole nation. Therefore a large proportion of national language planning has specifically targeted the Chinese community, with the annual "Speak Mandarin Campaign" from 1979 being the most famous measure.

The PAP government announced in 1980 that in order to take the Speak Mandarin Campaign further and enhance the official status of Mandarin as the mother tongue, all students would be required to register in their Hanyu Pinyin (associated with Mandarin) rather than dialect names. Such a measure was also presented as a way of unifying the Chinese community. However, parents showed their resistance towards this dialect-eliminating measure by continuing to register their children in dialect names. The percentage of children registered with full Pinyin names dropped from 22 % in 1983 to 12 % in 1987. Moreover, some showed their resistance by voting in a member of the Worker Party in the 1991 election who used dialects in his campaign. The PAP government then gave up that policy, but the category of "dialect" was no longer indicated in new Singaporean ID cards from 1991, indicating firm official determination.

However, resistance to strong, explicit dialect-eliminating policies does not mean total opposition to government policies. Rather it is found that members of the Chinese communities have accepted most of the official language ideologies and explained their shifting home-language-use patterns by citing these ideologies (Li et al. 1997; Gupta and Yeok 1995). The official Mandarin-promoting discourses in Singapore often place Mandarin and other Chinese dialects in seemingly irreconcilable contrasting positions, so as to elevate the status of Mandarin and degrade dialects (Gupta 1994; Bokhorst-Heng 1999; Gupta and Yeok 1995). Bokhorst-Heng summarises the following five types of contrast from official discourses:

- Dialects are vulgar; Mandarin is refined and associated with the literary culture.
- Dialects are divisive and the causes of misunderstanding; Mandarin is unifying, and facilitates communication between different Chinese dialectal communities.
- Dialects are unnecessarily taxing for the young who would then need to learn two Chinese varieties when they go to school; Mandarin facilitates academic success.
- Dialects have no cultural or economic value; Mandarin provides access to the Chinese heritage and the burgeoning market of China.
- Dialects represent the past; Mandarin is the future.

The former Prime Minister Gob Chok Tong was quoted as saying: "… wise parents will never let their children speak dialect at all" (cited in Bokhorst-Heng 1999, p. 252). Such discourse sends a strong, negative message about the nature and value of dialects. It is similar to the words of the Hong Kong educationalist mentioned above, and would also sound familiar in China and other standard-dialect or minority language settings. The degree of explicitness is astounding though. There is no doubt that the government is trying to kill the regional dialects.

Yet the messages are also conflicting in many aspects (Kheng Chua 2004; Bokhorst-Heng 1999). Firstly, the argument that ONLY Mandarin provides the key to Chinese heritage cannot hold because of the relatively short history of Standard

Mandarin. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Nationalist government replaced Classical Chinese with *Baihuawen*, and later used Standard Mandarin (Guoyu) as the medium of education, Singapore followed suit rather quickly. During the 1930s, Mandarin was already increasingly used in Chinese-medium education instead of Chinese dialects (Gupta 1994). It is notable that Singapore followed suit much more quickly than Hong Kong, which is geographically closer to mainland China. Nevertheless, Cantonese, probably the most prestigious variety of all Chinese regional dialects, served as the lingua franca in the Chinese community, and it was used in radio and television programmes until being practically banned by the PAP government (Gupta and Yeok 1995; Li et al. 1997). Hence although Mandarin is not the only key to access to Chinese cultural activities and heritage, it is the only one allowed.

Secondly, the notion that multilingualism divides the ethnic Chinese community contradicts the assumption underlying its multilingual language policy at the national level. The claim that learning two Chinese dialects is putting too much burden on the young ignores the fact that a Singaporean Chinese person born between the 1940s and the 1960s could usually be expected to be skilled in three Chinese dialects, English, and some Mandarin and Malay (Gupta 1994). The claim that the level of bilingualism among the Chinese group has increased is based on the assumption that skills in nonofficial linguistic varieties (i.e. Chinese dialects) cannot be recognised as being "officially bilingual". In other words, unrecognised multilingualism is simply not multilingualism and thus worthless.

The economic argument for learning Mandarin is very "real" though. The timing of the Speak Mandarin Campaign in 1979 followed the "Reform and Opening-Up" of mainland China in 1978, which is an intriguing coincidence. The rapid economic development of mainland China after the reform has made it an especially appealing market. The ethnic and linguistic link between Singapore and China gives Singapore an edge over its Malay-speaking neighbours. As mentioned earlier, Hokkien, Teochew, and Cantonese are the three dominant subgroups within the Chinese community in Singapore. It is convenient for them to do business with the related ethnic groups in Guangdong Province, which has become the fastest developing province since the 1978 Reform. Such an ethnolinguistic link also lends power to the respective dialects in Guangdong, especially to Cantonese.

As time has moved on, however, the power of Cantonese and other dialects has subsided with the spread of Putonghua in mainland China and beyond. The effect is reciprocal. The more widespread Putonghua is on the Mainland, the more appealing it is for Singaporeans to learn Mandarin; the more Mandarin Singaporeans learn, the less economically advantageous are dialects on the Mainland; in turn, the less profitable it is for Singaporeans to maintain them, and the less profitable the dialects become for the Mainlanders.

Yet the truth value of these ideologies does not matter as much as how people appropriate them into their own belief systems, which guide their language practice. A rapid language shift in home language use from Chinese dialects to Mandarin and English can be observed since the launch of the Speak Mandarin Campaign. The percentage of Chinese households that use Chinese dialects as the dominant

language has dramatically dropped from more than 80 % to less than 20 %, and the trends among the three major dialect groups are similar (Kuo 1985; Lee 2001; Singapore Department of Statistics 2000, 2010). There has not been any significant immigration in Singapore since the 1960s, and thus the effect of language policies (though not language policies alone) is most likely to be the reason for such changes.

When discussing the language shift in the Singaporean Chinese community, researchers often emphasise that the situation is unique because the Chinese community is the majority in Singapore. I would argue that against the background of globalisation, we need to take a more dynamic and translocal view in our understanding of "majority" and "minority". While the Chinese community in Singapore is the majority when compared to the Malay and Indian groups, each dialect group (Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese) becomes a "minority" when compared with the sheer number of Mandarin-dialect speakers in mainland China and around the world. As Putonghua (Standard Mandarin) is forcefully promoted as the official language of China, a rising major economic and political power of the world, (Standard) Mandarin becomes an ethnographic, economic, and political "majority language" of the world. This translocal majority/minority contrast becomes more meaningful for diasporic Chinese communities, such as Singapore, when the contact with China becomes more frequent.

2.4   Summary

In this chapter, we have systematically examined the sociolinguistic, historical, and political aspects of Chinese dialects. This is essential for having a relatively clearer understanding of language issues in multilingual China, and fundamental for the rigor of sociolinguistic research.

The discussion of the language–dialect issue in the Chinese context helped to clarify the rationale for terminology use. Yet more importantly, it serves a common ground for understanding the stigma suffered by regional dialects in Hong Kong and Singapore. The historical process of how Mandarin dialects rose to become the prototype of Standard Modern Chinese, one of the most powerful languages in the world, is thought-provoking. Historical chance and political manipulation helped to change Mandarin from "one of the regional dialects" to "the one" dominating all other dialects in China. It is easy to lose sight of the ideological factors underlining language shift. Many people in China have taken for granted that the current Putonghua-dominating language situation is the result of "natural selection", and that Putonghua is the only possible common language. The case of Hong Kong shows another possibility: Cantonese not only has become a common language for everyday life through dialect levelling but also can be a working language for the official and institutional purposes that Putonghua currently serves in mainland China. In yet another case, the language policies and ideologies in Singapore show how Mandarin turned from a local "minority dialect" (0.1 %) to a powerful official language

within half a decade through linguistic and ideological engineering. Hence, in many ways, the language situations in Hong Kong and Singapore are like looking glasses for studying mainland China, showing different facets and possibilities that may otherwise be ignored.

The review of history and policies gives us a big picture of language change, language shift, and some of the macrosocial forces contributing to the changes. However, we would not know how and why these changes actually happen until we critically investigate language use, attitudes, and identities of individuals in everyday interactions. In fact, we have already mentioned, in one way or another, people's attitudes towards dialects, language change, and language policies. In the next chapter, I will define what I mean by language attitude in this book, how I may go about investigating language attitude, and what sort of sociolinguistic phenomena we may come to understand through this analytical lens.

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Part II
Conceptual and Methodological Frameworks

Chapter 3
Researching Language Attitudes in Multilingual China

Attitude has allegedly been the single most researched topic in social psychology (Augoustinos et al. 2006), and language attitudes have also been a frequently found topic in language-related research. Giles and Billings (2004) provide an impressive list of seminal works (Labov 1966; Lambert et al. 1960/1972), large-scale investigation programmes (Riagáin 1997), and, journal special issues (Ryan et al. 1994) and books (Baker 1992) on language attitudes in their comprehensive review, one of the many in the field (e.g. Riagáin 2008; Ryan et al. 1982; Edwards 1999; Garrett et al. 2003).

Sociolinguists chart language shifts and evaluate the effect of language policies in relation to language-attitude changes (Riagáin 1997; Smagulova 2008; Moriarty 2010). When studying education in multilingual settings, language attitudes are often included in the discussion (Garcia 2009), especially in settings where the linguistic hierarchy is more prominent, such as in bi-/multidialectal, creole, heritage language, and minority language situations (Siegel 1999; Riagáin 2008; Li and Hua 2010; Yiakoumetti and Esch 2010). Munstermann (1989) observes that "almost every study on the problems of dialect and education (in the Netherlands) emphasises the importance of teachers' attitudes towards dialect" (p. 166). In the school setting, the main concerns are that students' school performance, self-esteem, and language attitudes may be negatively affected if their first dialects/languages are excluded, stigmatised, or marginalised explicitly in the educational system or implicitly by the teacher (Seligman et al. 1972; Papapavlou and Pavlou 2007). In the family setting, the parents' language attitudes may contribute to those of the children's (Li et al. 1997; Luykx 2005; McEwan-Fujita 2010).

With so much at stake, however, a "notorious" enigma that haunts general attitude research also affects language-attitude research: the incongruence between language attitudes and behaviours. Researchers constantly find differences between the attitudes deduced from questionnaires and "guised" experiments, and people's language choices or related decisions in everyday life. Solving this problem is crucially important because the assumption underlying most language-attitude research is that by understanding language attitudes and their relationship to language behaviours, it may be possible to change one by changing the other. For example, by

cultivating more positive language attitudes towards the target language, we hope to motivate students to make more effort to learn it (Gardner 1985). By training prospective teachers in schools with lots of dialect-speaking pupils, it is hoped that the teachers may develop more open and positive attitudes towards using dialects in education (Munstermann 1989). Therefore, it seems that "there wouldn't be much point in studying attitudes if they were not, by and large, predictive of behaviour" (Gass and Seiter 1999, p. 41)

I would argue that the lack of correspondence between language attitude and behaviour has much to do with how we conceptualise language attitude. The language attitudes inferred from questionnaires, experiments, and language use in interaction are all valid but at different levels of specificity. LaPiere (1934), a pioneer in attitude research, argues that attitudes measured by questionnaires are symbolic responses to symbolic attitudes rather than to actual social situations. Such symbolic attitudes do not necessarily predict actual behaviours in real-life situations. Thus, the so-called discrepancy between attitude and behaviour is caused by comparing the more symbolic and "controlled" attitudes with behaviours in more complicated social situations. Therefore, we as researchers should consider what type of attitude is the target of our study, and choose appropriate research methods and contexts accordingly. We must clarify as far as possible the assumptions about language, language attitudes, context, as well as the research procedures and limits. Language attitudes are highly contextualised, situated communicative achievements that should not be interpreted independent of the contexts in which they are constructed/investigated.

3.1   Researching Language Attitudes

Psychologist Irving Sarnoff (1960) conceptualises attitude as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects", which can be inferred from an individual's observable responses to the relevant objects "toward which he has an attitude". This definition considers attitudes as "real" entities in the human mind, which are relatively consistent and durable. "Having an attitude" is similar to having a nose and a hand. The second part of the definition suggests "facial expressions, postures, locomotion, sounds of voices, and verbalisations" (p. 261) as examples of observable responses from which attitudes may be inferred. Most examples in the second part fall into the category of contextualisation cues (Auer 1996; Gumperz 1992) and interactional features of face-to-face discourses. Generally speaking, the cognitivist approaches to attitude mainly focus on the first part of the definition—attitudes as durable mental constructs, while the discursive approaches capitalise on the second part—the social, discursive, and interactional dimensions.

3.1.1   Attitudes as Mental Constructs

The most frequently used cognitivist language-attitude model is the tripartite model (Cargile et al. 1994; Riagáin 1997; Baker 1992; Ladegaard 2000), also called the ABC model, which views language attitudes as being comprised of affective, cognitive, and behavioural aspects. The cognitive component refers to people's beliefs about the attitudinal object, for example, the correctness of different language varieties. The affective component refers to how people feel about the attitudinal objects, for instance, whether people approve or disapprove of a certain way of speaking. The behavioural component refers to people's predispositions to act in certain ways.

   With regard to such a model, researching attitudes becomes a matter of developing appropriate techniques of identifying and measuring these components which are readily available in the human mind. One major approach is using self-reporting surveys and interviews, customarily categorised as "direct methods" in the field. Apart from practical issues, such as asking hypothetical questions or strongly slanted questions (Garrett 2010), the main criticism of direct approaches centres around whether participants' self-report attitudes and behaviours in situated contexts are manifestations of the same set of underlying dispositions (Riagáin 2008). Social desirability bias (Oppenheim 1992) is often mentioned as the risk. Such kind of bias occurs when participants seek to present socially appropriate views to the researcher rather than what they think or say in private. When the researcher's questions concern socially, culturally, or politically sensitive issues, social desirability bias is believed to be more influential. Another type of bias is called the "acquiescence biases" (Oppenheim 1992), that is, participants tend to agree with the questions and give answers they think would please the researchers. Thus, both the formulation of the questions and the identity/personality of the researcher contribute to this bias.

   Despite the problems, direct approaches remain the most frequently used methods for researching language attitudes. For example, national language surveys were widely used from the 1970s to the 1990s in Canada, Finland, Ireland, Wales, and the Basque Country (Garrett et al. 2003; Riagáin 2008). Similar policy rationales can be observed in various settings: in post-Soviet countries, such as Kazakhstan (Smagulova 2008), postcolonial states, such as the Malaysian state of Sarawak (Ting 2003) and autonomous regions, such as Catalonia (Woolard and Gahng 1990). It is observed that the burgeoning use of national language-attitude study (by survey and/or experiment) coincides with emerging language issues on the policy agenda of states. As a result, such studies are often connected with language planning, language revitalisation and maintenance, and ideology of nationalism. Historical, social and economic contexts are often addressed at some length, together with the sociolinguistic setting, to link them to language-attitude patterns. However, the links between sociopolitical theories, social contexts, and the empirical data are not always clear-cut (Withers 1994). The inferences are significant, but are often at the level of logical speculation rather than firmly grounded in, and substantiated by, the details of the data. It is often suggested that fuller understanding of language attitudes and

language-use pattern depends on ethnographic and qualitative approaches, but very few ethnographic studies of language attitudes have been done so far.

Another influential approach to language attitude within the cognitivist tradition is called the "indirect methods", which is almost used as a synonym for the matched-guise technique (MGT) (Lambert et al. 1960/1972) and its modified versions (Ladegaard 2000). Proponents of the indirect methods frequently speak of the virtue of accessing people's more private, covert attitudes that are inaccessible through questionnaires or interviews. MGT was introduced by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert et al. 1960/1972) in a seminal study, which lay the foundation for the interface between social psychology and sociolinguistics, thus helping to establish the cross-disciplinary field of language-attitude research (Giles and Billings 2004). MGT has inspired an enormous amount of language-attitude research worldwide, for example, in Spain (Woolard and Gahng 1990; Echeverria 2005), Canada (Bourhis et al. 1975), Britain (Garrett et al. 2003), France (Hoare 2001), Hong Kong (Ladegaard 2000), and mainland China (Kalmar et al. 1987). It is arguably the single most influential research technique in the field of language attitudes.

The original MGT study (Lambert et al. 1960/1972) used speech samples produced by English–French bilinguals as the stimuli, and asked Canadian college students to evaluate the speaker's personality according to his or her voices. The students thought each sample represented one speaker, while in fact the bilingual speakers produced samples in both languages they spoke. Therefore, the voices became "guises" of the speaker's identity, and students' evaluation of different speech samples produced by the same speaker could be "matched". It is intended to investigate how the use of different languages alone may cue stereotypic judgments.

The study was ground-breaking in several respects. First, it was the first time to find out that people (the French-speaking college students) can hold unfavourable attitudes towards their own group. The situation was attributed to powerful social stereotypes of different speech communities, which is in turn explained by linguistically mediated socioeconomic hierarchies. It suggests that the minority or dominated groups in a society may adopt the stereotypical values of the majority or dominating groups, and thus denigrate their own groups—a linguistic "minority group reaction" observed in many subsequent studies (Edwards 2011). The participants are not necessarily aware of, or willing to admit, such attitudes, and thus MGT can help to tap into such private attitudes. Second, hardly any of the variables from the questionnaire correlated systematically with the MGT results. This discrepancy between attitudes elicited by questionnaires and MGT is consistently mentioned in later research. Third, one of the bilingual speakers in Lambert et al.'s study (1960/1972) spoke Parisian rather than Canadian French and the participants' evaluation of this French guise observably differed from that of other Canadian French guises. This has inspired subsequent investigations of attitudes towards not only whole languages (Echeverria 2005), but also more finely grained aspects of language use, such as speech accommodation (Bourhis et al. 1975), dialectal varieties (Luhman 1990), and accents (Creber and Giles 1983).

In addition, the traits used in the semantic differential rating scale for the speaker evaluation tests have given rise to many now well-recognised dimensions of language attitudes: status (or competence, superiority), social attractiveness (or solidarity), and dynamism (Garrett 2010). Hence, it reveals that language attitudes are multidimensional, so that people may have positive attitudes towards one dimension and negative attitudes towards others.

The MGT has attracted much criticism since its introduction. The main concerns include: ethical issues regarding deception, exclusion of contextual factors, availability of "ideal" bi-/multilinguals, unavoidable bias in the selection of texts, whether participants are evaluating the intended style features of the test, and the possibility of one style feature covariating with others (Garrett 2010). By addressing these problems, researchers continue to refine and develop the MGT, which significantly contribute to our understanding of language attitudes.

For example, Bourhis et al. (1975) switched the focus from attitudes towards individual style features to attitudes towards the process of speech accommodation. The researchers investigated participants' evaluations of a female Canadian speaker's switch between formal Canadian French, Standard (European) French, and informal Canadian French when responding to a European French speaker. There was no need to disguise the number of speakers, and the content of the speech samples was closer to real communicative situations. The participants also indicated if they thought there was a shift of styles in the speech samples. The study found studying such processes of identification is significant for language-attitude research. The communication accommodation theory (Giles et al. 1973) underlying this study foregrounds the dynamic aspect of attitude construction and negotiation in interaction:

> Making adaptations as we communicate with others may be (or may be seen as) a behavioural signal of our own attitudes, and these adaptations may themselves also evoke attitudinal responses in our communication partners…communication accommodation theory can also be seen as the implementation of attitudes in discourse. (Garrett 2010, p. 105)

Arguably, this dynamic, interpersonal aspect of language attitudes cannot be fully explored by the MGT.

Garrett et al. study (1999) on attitudes towards Welsh English accents view dialect performance and people's responses to such performance as holistic rather than a simple combination of single variables. The speech samples approximate naturally occurring discourses as the researchers simply asked the speakers to tell stories in their local English dialects. In this way, the researchers were not able to use "neutral texts" for the experiments, which is a significant divergence from a typical MGT study. It is argued that the search for "neutral texts" is fundamentally in vain because social contexts inevitably leak through situated discourses. Therefore, instead of trying to conceal social contexts embedded in the speech samples, the researchers placed considerable weight on analysing the content. They suggest that dialect features cannot fully explain the students' and teachers' preferences. Narrative styles and their different social roles also influence their decision. Cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling (MDS) were used

to explore the "structure" of the data. Overall, the study demonstrates that people's evaluation of discourse performance is multidimensional and conditioned by many social and contextual factors, and some of the dimensions contradict and compete with each other. They argue that social evaluation works in more localised and contextualised ways than has often been assumed by previous MGT studies and future research must address language attitudes as a more complex phenomenon in its situated discursive context. In particular, the ideological property of dialects means the study of language attitudes towards dialects should be "linked coherently to the current emphases in the analysis of discourse" (Garrett et al. 1999, p. 323).

3.1.2 Attitudes as Discursive Practice

As mentioned above, researchers in the cognitivist tradition suggest conducting ethnographic, qualitative study of language attitudes in relation to discourses, in order to compensate for the limitations of quantitative methods. However, investigating language attitudes in discourses, such as interview texts, is not the same as conceptualising attitudes as discursive practices. The latter requires a complete reconceptualisation of the nature of language and language attitude.

To take the discursive approach to attitude, the emphasis is shifted from considering attitudes as underlying mental constructs to focusing on people's practices of evaluation in particular settings (Potter 1998). Moreover, the link between the evaluative and the factual features in the discourse is considered inextricable, so that "what we see is the entity constituted in discourse in such a way that the evaluation is part of a description of the object", and that the discourse works as a package—"a seamless texture of talk" (Potter 1988, p. 65). This discursive approach to attitude does not deny the existence of human cognition, but deliberately moves the analytic focus from the cognitive processes to discursive practices in situated activities.

One important distinction between the two approaches is the view of the relationship between contexts and attitudes. The cognitivist approach seems to suggest that the participants' "true" attitudes are modified and distorted by social and contextual factors in the process of expression. In contrast, the discursive approach sees the attitudes constructed in discursive practices as legitimate attitudes in their own right and as products of the interactions of all relevant interpersonal, contextual, ideological, and social factors. These attitudes are not simply views or ideas conveyed in communication but "are also components of our own communicative competence that underpin…our moment-to-moment deployment of linguistic, non-verbal and discursive resources to achieve our communication goals" (Garrett 2010, p. 120). In other words, attitudes are both the resources and outcomes of the meaning-making and social positioning processes (Wetherell 2007; Wetherell et al. 1987). It has been found that such attitudes systematically vary from moment to moment, which

fundamentally challenges the basis of cognitivist attitude research—the stability and durability of attitudes (Garrett 2010; Riagáin 2008).

Compared with the cognitivist tradition, there have been very few language-attitude studies to date explicitly utilising discursive approaches (except Soukup 2009; Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009; Giles and Coupland 1991). While the "societal treatment studies" have dealt with the meaning of discourses, they have generally been concerned with written and published texts rather than engaging with interactions (Garrett 2010). On the other hand, language-attitude data used in the field of language socialisation (Garrett 2007; Ochs 1996), language ideology (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 2008, 1982), and many others have rarely been reviewed in the literature of language attitudes. It is fair to say that the discursive approach to language attitudes is a broad umbrella term for methodologies informed by various theories that share similar commitments: studying social meanings in situated discourses (particularly in interaction) and construing languages as resources for constructing social meanings rather than transparent reflexes of meanings. Specific studies strategically combine several theories and methods relevant to their purposes.

Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) differentiate between three different levels of analysis in a discursive approach to language attitudes: content-based approaches, turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches, and interactional approaches. They argue that the "privilege" of MGT—accessing language attitudes discretely—is equally possible through such three-level analysis. At the first level, content-based approaches are characterised by the qualitative elements found in direct approaches. Narratives are analysed for their articulated meanings. Researchers usually try to discover themes and patterns in such utterances to supplement quantitative findings (Hoare 2001; Riagáin 1997; Garrett 2010).

The second level of analysis requires the researcher to pay more attention to specific linguistic and rhetorical features within the turn of each speaker. Such analysis may make use of linguistic categories, such as assertions, presuppositions, comparison, contrast, and others (Levinson 1983). Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) illustrate the difference between the first and second levels of analysis by citing an excerpt from Dailey-O'Cain's earlier study (1997). The second level of analysis helped to discover how confident the speakers were in the points they made. Another example comes from McEwan-Fujita's study (2010) of adult Gaelic learners in the Western Isles of Scotland where the language situation is characterised by language shift and revitalisation. A "dance of disclosure" discursive pattern was found in that study. McEwan-Fujita concludes that by doing so, the speaker "subtly indexed a stance of negative affect" towards the intergenerational language shift, implying her strong and complex affects toward the Gaelic language.

The third level of analysis encompasses the first two levels, but looks beyond individual turns to take account of discourse and interaction features. It draws heavily on analytical notions in interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and linguistic anthropology, such as contextualisation (Gumperz 1992), footing (Goffman 1981), language preference (Auer 1995), language crossing (Rampton 1995),

translanguaging (Gutiérrez et al. 2001), heteroglossia (Ivanov 1999), and language socialisation (Ochs 1996). Thanks to such analytical tools that this level of analysis can convincingly link the microanalysis of interactional texts to wider social and cultural processes, which results in a sense of groundedness that cannot be achieved by either correlational statistical analysis or purely content-based discursive study. The "discursive approach" of the current study refers to the third level of analysis. However, the first two levels are the basis on which the third level is built.

3.1.3   Previous Research on Chinese Dialects

Since the 1980s, researchers have been investigating language use and language attitudes concerning Chinese dialects in mainland China. The cognitivist approaches are the dominant, if not the only, approaches adopted in the published studies (for example, Zhou 2001; Miao and Li 2006; Kalmar et al. 1987). Most of the work involves Cantonese (and sometimes also Shanghainese) which is considered a major competitor for Putonghua and a hindrance to Putonghua promotion. Comparing these studies among themselves and against research elsewhere, we may note two phenomena concerning the language attitudes towards and the language use of Chinese dialects over the past decades.

The first notable phenomenon is a gradual but rapid language shift from multidialectalism to Putonghua-dominant diglossia. Take the case of Guangzhou for example. In the early 1990s, the government issued several directives to urge more rigorous efforts to promote Putonghua in Guangdong Province (such as Guangdong 1992), indicating dissatisfaction with the Putonghua promotion work there. It is against this backdrop that Leung (1993) conducted a survey in the Cantonese-speaking Pearl River Delta area (centred on Guangzhou) to investigate the language situation and people's language attitudes. Sixty-two percent reported that the Chinese language class in primary school was conducted in Putonghua. While there is no data from earlier periods, I believe that, that was already a considerable "progress" due to 40 years of Putonghua promotion campaign, but it was seemingly not up to official standards. Moreover, the study showed that Cantonese dominated most situations of communication and socialisation, and it was a strong competitor with Putonghua in the public domains. There was no functional compartmentalisation in these domains at all. However, it is significant that people had realised by then the instrumental value of Putonghua, especially in achieving educational success. Putonghua was preferred as the preschool language at home, although Leung (1993) suggests that this was a "pure" attitudinal choice and hardly any parent executed the plan.

Thirteen years later, another study of secondary school students in Guangzhou (Tang 2006) demonstrated that the language-use pattern in Guangzhou has noticeably changed to a relatively clear diglossic pattern (see Table 3.1, the "*" marks the biggest figure in the same row.).

Table 3.1 Language-use pattern of secondary school students in Guangzhou

Domains		Cantonese (%)	Putonghua (%)	Mixed (%)
At home		63*	17	16
School	Teacher use	11	76*	12
	Student–teacher	18	61*	20
	Student–student	60*	23	17
Public places		27	62[a]	11

Apart from the shift from Cantonese to Putonghua in the education and public domains, another notable change is that 19 % of the students reported speaking Putonghua as their first dialect. It indicates that a group of native speakers of (a variety of varieties of) the national standard language have emerged. They are different from previous native speakers of the Mandarin dialects. What they speak may be described as "a supralocal dialect" (Britain 2010), which has significant implications for sociolinguistic theories but has not yet been researched in the context of Chinese. Moreover, while 19 % of the participants in Tang's study (2006) claimed to be Putonghua-D1 speakers, another 6 % reported starting to learn Putonghua at home. This means the "attitudinal" choice of the parents in the early 1990s has become reality in the 2000s—parents start to teach Putonghua at home before their children go to school. Another study (Wang and Ladegaard 2008) conducted in 2002 also noted that 15 % of local parents use Putonghua at home with their children, but simply glossed over this phenomenon. Both the "native Putonghua speakers" group and the use of Putonghua at home for preschool population become even more noticeable phenomena in the current study, which we will address in detail in later chapters.

The second phenomenon in previous language-attitude research on Chinese dialects is the nonconformity to classical contrasts and patterns consistently found elsewhere, namely, the status–solidarity dichotomy and the gender dimension of language attitudes.

The status–solidarity dichotomy is one of the most consistent findings in a "standard" vis-à-vis "nonstandard" language situation (Luhman 1990; Ladegaard 2000; Trudgill 1972; Preston 1999). The standard voices are often associated with traits conveying social status and mobility, such as education and ambition, while the non-standard voices are "rewarded" with group solidarity and social attractiveness, which is considered the "covert prestige" of non-standard varieties. This dichotomy has been found true in bilingual settings too, such as the minority language setting of San Sebastian (Echeverria 2005) and Catalonia (Woolard and Gahng 1990). The solidarity value of non-dominant, stigmatised varieties and their potential for indexing personal authenticity (Woolard 1998) are considered the main reason that people continue speaking them, despite their low instrumental values. When we look at the studies of language attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou, the picture is more complicated (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Findings on the solidarity and status of Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou

Study	Participant	Voice samples	Findings (significance level $p < 0.05$)
Kalmar et al. (1987) fieldwork 1983	Twenty-four university students (8 Cantonese, 16 non-Cantonese)	Two Putonghua with near-native accent (P)	P guises were rated the highest on career prospects and parents' social backgrounds (status)
		Two Putonghua with heavy Cantonese accent (CP)	Non-Cantonese judges did not rate CP guises highly on any traits
Zhou (2001) (fieldwork 1997–8)	Forty Cantonese university students	Four Putonghua samples (P)	P guises are rated the highest on intelligence (status) and likability (solidarity)
		Four Cantonese samples (C)	C guises are rated the highest on humour (solidarity)
			Results of the Shanghai comparison group:
			P guises are rated the highest on thoughtfulness and reliability (solidarity)
			Shanghainese guises are rated the highest on looks, humour and entertainingness (solidarity)
Tang (2006) (fieldwork 2005)	Six hundred secondary students (69.5 % local)	One Cantonese (C)	The C guise is rated the highest in ALL traits
		One Putonghua (P)	
		One English (E)	

The three MGT studies listed in Table 3.2 span three decades at a 10-year interval approximately. Kalmar et al.'s (1987) study is a preliminary study with too small a sample to calculate the significance level. While this study seems to confirm that Putonghua had higher status than Cantonese, the configuration of the voice samples caused a major concern. Unlike the other two studies, the voice samples in Kalmar et al.'s study consist of standard and Cantonese-accented Putonghua. It is impossible to tell whether the participants recognised the voices as four native Cantonese speakers with different competence in Putonghua or as two native Cantonese and two Putonghua speakers. We have mentioned earlier that the uncertainty about what the participants are evaluating is one of the pitfalls of MGT studies. However, this problem is arguably more acute in this study because the ratings may be meant for Cantonese speakers with different education levels, rather than two distinct groups of Cantonese and Putonghua speakers. Maybe they just did not like a "mixed" speech style. While this may not change the conclusion that Putonghua proficiency was associated with social status and upward mobility, our interpretation of the study would be different.

The results of the second study (Zhou 2001) show variation from the existing findings on the status–solidarity dichotomy. Zhou's (2001) study consists of two independent groups: Cantonese and Shanghainese. The Putonghua voices are given higher ratings by the Cantonese judges in *both* status and solidarity traits, while

being rated higher by the Shanghainese judges *only* in *solidarity* traits. On one hand, as neither the Shanghainese nor Putonghua voices were rated significantly higher in any social status traits, it seems that the Shanghainese speakers consider the social prestige of Shanghainese and Putonghua as more or less equal. On the other hand, Putonghua voices were given high ratings in some solidarity traits by both the Shanghainese and Cantonese judges, which may imply that Putonghua has been associated with certain affective values in addition to its utilitarian roles. Zhou (2001) tentatively explains the nontraditional language-attitude pattern as being a result of decreasing social distance between Putonghua and Cantonese/Shanghai speakers in changing language situations. As Putonghua is increasingly used for "low" (in diglossic terms) functions, such as communication with family and friends, as reported in the Shanghainese data, it is not surprising that it starts to acquire solidarity values. What direction will the language situation in multilingual China go with Putonghua acquiring more affective and solidarity value? More in-depth and up-to-date research is necessary to answer the question.

Findings from Tang's (2006) study contrasts with the previous findings sharply. The Cantonese guise received significantly higher ratings than the Putonghua guise in *all* traits. While the non-Cantonese student gave lower ratings to the Cantonese guise compared to their Cantonese peers, most of the ratings for the Cantonese guise were still higher than those for the Putonghua guise. While it is well-known that Cantonese is a strong regional dialect competing with Putonghua, this finding is still extraordinary. One problem with Tang's study is that only two voice samples were used. The participants could have realised that they were listening to one bidialectal person speaking in Cantonese and Putonghua alternatively rather than listening to two speakers. If so, did the findings mean people find Cantonese speakers more attractive and competent when they speak Cantonese rather than Putonghua? Another possible explanation is that Cantonese is much more than a traditional "low variety" in a diglossic language situation. While it is not the national standard variety, it has overt (not just covert) prestige in the local community, which is why it is associated with social status traits in MGT studies. These are only theoretical speculations. More research is necessary before we can get the answers.

Concerning the gender dimension of language attitudes, previous language-attitude studies elsewhere have often found that women take the lead in using the standard varieties while men tend to report more use of or more positive attitudes towards the nonstandard local varieties (Trudgill 1972; Ladegaard 2000; Ladegaard and Bleses 2003; Labov 1972; Milroy 1987). It is suggested that women tend to speak the socially more prestigious linguistic varieties in order to elevate their social status. In contrast, men over-report their use of the non-standard variety to show positive attitudes, which will gain them solidarity with the local community—the "covert prestige" (Trudgill 1972) of the nonstandard varieties. Most language-attitude studies on Chinese dialects also investigate the gender dimension, but the findings are inconclusive or even contradictory.

Four studies are listed in Table 3.3, three of which have been discussed above in terms of the status–solidarity dichotomy. The additional study is a large-scale

Table 3.3 Gender differences found in language-attitude studies towards Chinese dialects

Study	Findings related to gender
Kalmar et al. (1987)	(No significance level calculated)
	Males tended to consider the CP guises to be socially more attractive
	Females tended to consider the P guises to have higher social status
Zhou (2001)	Males graded C guises higher on "humour"
	Females graded P guises higher in four solidarity traits
Wang and Ladegaard (2008) (fieldwork in 2002, questionnaire)	Weakly significant gender differences concerning reported language use, with males more likely to use Cantonese while female more likely to use Putonghua whether they belong to the LG or the OG[a]
	No significant gender differences in reported language preference
Tang (2006)	Females gave significantly higher ratings than males to the C guise on politeness and education

[a]*LG* local group, defined as "students who were born and raised in Guangdong and whose first language was Cantonese" in the cited study. *OG* outside group, "students who were born in other parts of China and had moved to Guangzhou and whose first language was (predominantly) Putonghua"

survey study of secondary school students' language attitudes in Guangzhou (Wang and Ladegaard 2008), specifically focusing on the gender dimension.

In the three studies that find gender differences at significance level, the pattern seems to partly confirm previous findings. Taking a closer look, both the Cantonese and the Shanghainese female participants in Zhou's (2001) study take the lead in giving higher grades to the Putonghua voices, but in terms of solidarity value rather than social status. This conforms to the gender pattern found in previous findings, namely, that female speakers tend to use socially powerful high varieties more often and have more positive attitudes towards them. In Wang and Ladegaard's (2008) study, the gender difference in reported language use is much smaller than the LG–OG difference. There is no significant gender difference in language preferences, not even in the way they explain their language preferences. Tang's (2001) study again provided surprising findings: females took the lead in giving higher ratings to the Cantonese guise in social status traits, which is diametrically different from previously found trends. Could the female participants be still doing the same thing—showing preference for socially prestigious varieties, only that it is Cantonese rather than Putonghua in this case? This seems a rather bold speculation. This ambivalent finding on the gender dimension certainly calls for further research.

Apart from findings on the status–solidarity dichotomy and the gender dimension, the potential influence of local cultural factors is worth noting in the study of language attitudes towards Chinese dialects. Tang (2006) found significant difference in the language attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese in different regions of Guangzhou, while Miao and Li (2006) found significant difference between Shenzhen and Guangzhou, two cities in the Pearl River Delta Region in Guangdong Province. Historical, cultural, social and demographic differences between these regions seem to have contributed to language-attitude differences. As a

post hoc explanation, it is suggested that the social network structure in these communities could have played a role. However, the design of these studies prevents them from substantiating their claim empirically.

Above all, the conflicting trends found in language-attitude towards Chinese dialects in China suggest that language attitudes in this vast country are far from uniform. Discrepancies exist not only between different cities, different home-language groups, but also between different regions of the same city. Individuals in the same group are simultaneously members of differing numbers of other groups and it is possible to enact more than one identity and membership in specific situations, which can further complicate the explanation of their language attitudes.

Such multiplicities and complexities pose problems not only for cognitivist but also discursive approaches to language attitudes. Predominantly, quantitative studies tend to simplify or "tidy-up" the complexities in order to make it feasible. In contrast, qualitative studies, especially when informed by the discursive approaches, aim to reintroduce the complexities. They do not attempt to totalise the language attitudes of individuals or take into account all the complexities. Instead, the researchers modestly and critically examine just a finite number of complexities integratively according to the research purpose, and try to understand how these complexities contribute to the participants' language-attitude construction activities. By doing so, a discursive study of language attitude may be able to shed light on some of the questions left unanswered by cognitivist approaches.

3.2   Conceptual Framework of the Current Book

3.2.1   Basic Assumptions

The current book takes a discursive approach that is informed by Alvesson's approach to postmodernism (2002). The postmodernist view of language and discourse is the most important assumption underlying the current study. Postmodernists reject a naive "representational view of language", and so do most social science researchers after the "Linguistic Turn" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Language is not seen as transparent or as a vehicle carrying meanings in the way that a train carries passengers. Rather, language consists not only of the meanings of utterances, but also of contexts, relationships, and subjectivities. It is claimed that language "precedes any experience of what is external to it, since experience gains its shape and intelligibility through language" (Alvesson 2002, p. 49). In other words, social realities are always mediated through language—an undeletable "text" (discourse). We are born "into on-going discourses that have a material and continuing presence" (Alvesson 2002), and our experience of the world is structured by the way in which discourses make us attend to it, and as we acquire such discourses more fluently, the discourses more properly speak through us. For such reason, discourse is always given primacy in social research informed by postmodernism, and a social

constructionist position is taken when discussing the origin of meanings. In analysing such discourse, a restricted conversation analysis approach that attends only to the immediate interactional contexts rather than including wider social, historical processes is inadequate. The framework of language attitudes in the current study, which includes language ideology, contextualisation, heteroglossia, and language socialisation, is in order (to be delineated in the next section).

Another postmodernist tenet is the rejection of a fixed, coherent, unitary identity for the individual. Instead of subjects, postmodernists talk about subjectivities, or subject positions that the individual occupies, constructs, and shifts in given discursive practices (Silverman 2006; Cheek and Gough 2005; Alvesson 2002). As a result, identities, relationship, and membership should not be assumed but investigated and proved to be relevant. Such identities and membership are fluid and flexible. What is "found" in one context may be inconsistent with, or may even contradict what is "found" in other contexts. Therefore, I try not to "tidy-up" the contradictions and multiplicities to produce a totalising coherent account in this study.

3.2.2   Empirical Foci and Analytical Concepts

3.2.2.1   Contextualisation

The notion of contextualisation (Auer 1996; Gumperz 1992) differs from a traditional, narrower sense of "context" in which the relationship between "text" (or the focal events) and "context" is unidirectional. Instead, this relationship is considered reflexive and dialectic. Context is not a collection of material or social facts, but what is jointly and discursively constructed by the participants. Some contexts "might be stated by an objective on-looker … without looking at what takes place in it, but it may also include information not statable before the interaction begins, or independently of it" (Auer 1996, p. 2).

Contextualisation cues, such as prosody, paralinguistic signs, choice of varieties, registers or styles, choice of lexical forms, or formulaic expressions, do not have decontextualised referential meanings. It is through comparison with other possibilities that the meanings and functions of such cues are realised. For instance, in a study of linguistic practices of *waiqi* (foreign businesses) professionals in Beijing (Zhang 2006), it was found that these professionals selectively combine local and supra-local features in their speeches to construct a cosmopolitan Mandarin style, which differs from both Putonghua or the local Beijing dialect. One participant said in an interview: "…in the *business world*, when you reach a certain level, you'll find, that is to say, Greater China *integration*. When speaking in *Mandarin*, you'll meet Taiwanese, Hong Kongers, Singaporeans, and Shanghainese…" The words are underlined by the original author to indicate that they were said in English. The mixing of different languages in speeches was common among the *waiqi* professionals interviewed.

The second notable aspect of the excerpt is the use of the term "Mandarin". Here, Mandarin loosely refers to the common speech of communication among Chinese professionals from Beijing, Shanghai, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other places. The varieties of "Mandarin" are different but mutually intelligible. More importantly, the varieties are named differently in Chinese by these people. For example, the variety used in mainland China is called Putonghua, the variety in Taiwan is called Guoyu, and varieties used in overseas countries are called Huayu ("Chinese (ethnicity) language"). Instead of using one of these labels that may be immediately indexical, the participant used the general English term "Mandarin". This seems to be in line with the emphasis on "integration" in the "business world". However, choosing the word Mandarin in a different situation may not contextualise the same sense of integration. Therefore, the analysts must establish the relevance of contextual information by demonstrating that it has been brought about in specific interactions. Such an emerging and reflexive approach to context means that the analyst's shared knowledge with the participants, familiarity with local norms, awareness of potential sources of contexts, and sensitivity to strategies of contextualisation are crucial in reconstructing meanings of the target interactions.

3.2.2.2   Code-Switching, Translanguaging, and Heteroglossia

Code-switching is a common phenomenon in bilingual communities. It can be broadly defined as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or sentence by bilinguals (Gardner-Chloros 2009). There has been considerable controversy regarding the term "code-switching". Some differentiate between "code-switching" (mixed use of different languages) and "style-shifting" (mixed use of dialects and registers) (Schilling-Estes 2008). Others question the artificiality of putting boundaries between different linguistic varieties, and propose using terms, such as "heteroglossia" and "translanguaging" (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Garcia 2009).

The notion of translanguaging differs from code-switching on the issue of boundedness of languages, but perhaps more significantly, the study of translanguaging focuses not on the speakers or the languages, but on the process of languaging—ongoing language practices (Becker 1991). Garcia (2009) defines translanguaging as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 45). Translanguaging not only includes, but also goes beyond code-switching to include many other bilingual and multilingual language uses. Such multiple discursive practices are not regarded as appropriating the collection, combination or alternation between several monolingual semiotic systems, but as hybrid language use of one coherent multilingual system. Translanguaging describes specific language use as well as the overall discursive practices of both individuals and multilingual communities. The act of translanguaging is considered transformative in nature. It discursively constructs a space for bilinguals to bring together "different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology… into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and

making (to make) it into a lived experience" (Li 2011a, p. 1223). Hence moments of translanguaging provide valuable analytical foci for the current study.

Heteroglossia is similar to code-switching and translanguaging in many respects, but with different theoretical priorities. The notion of heteroglossia consists of two aspects (Ivanov 1999; Bailey 2007): (1) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and (2) the tension and conflicts between them in one text based on the sociohistorical associations they carry. The first aspect covers not only different languages and dialects, but also styles, registers and other variations in language use. This is because the researchers do not assume discrete boundaries between linguistic varieties on an a priori basis. Instead, "languages or codes can only be understood as distinct objects to the extent to which they are treated as such by social actors" (Bailey 2007, p. 258). Hence, heteroglossia accounts for the language practices of both multilinguals and monolinguals, as monolinguals' language use is not necessarily monoglossic. The second aspect of heteroglossia points to the inherent social, historical associations of linguistic forms, which are too often forgotten or glossed over. Such associations are in fact part of the contextualisation mentioned earlier. The interpretation of the word "Mandarin" is an example of how social historical factors are embedded in local interactions and demonstrates how contrast may help reveal such underpinnings.

In short, the three terms subscribe to different views of languages and language-use practices and have different analytical foci. Using the three of them in a principled way lends more dimensions to the current study of language attitudes.

3.2.2.3 Language Preference

Code-switching becomes meaningful in a given speech community, not simply because of the contrast between varieties, but also because of the attitudes towards these varieties (Auer 1996). In other words, code-switching practice may index language attitudes in a reflexive manner. Auer (1988) differentiates between two types of code-switching: discourse-related and participant-related, which are not mutually exclusive. Discourse-related code-switching occurs when some aspects of the discourse are redefined or recontextualised, for example, when there are changes in participant constellation, topic, mode of interaction (such as between topical talk and side remarks). In contrast, participant-related code-alternation happens as a result of the evaluation of participants' attributes, such as linguistic competence, ideological considerations, and preference. Hence "language preference" was introduced as one source of motivation for code-switching. In this case, language preference does indicate favourableness but is used in a "more technical, conversation-analytic sense" as "an interactionally visible structure" (Auer 1995, p. 125). It describes the speaker's tendency to use a particular linguistic variety for whatever reasons. In other words, language preference is the attempt to choose, and the action of choosing, a particular linguistic variety in conversation. Its meaning depends on the wider social, political and cultural contexts of the relevant interaction.

I would argue, however, the explanatory power of language preference as an interactional process and accomplishment goes beyond participant-related code-switching. Consider one instance of discourse-related code-alternation: changing the medium-of-interaction because of the switch between topical talk and side remarks. If one asks why topical talk and side remarks should be carried out in different languages, a possible answer may be institutional constraints. The medium for topical talk is possibly a standard, official variety, while the medium for side remarks may be a nonstandardised local variety. In such a case, the language preference is an institutional language preference performed by an individual abiding by it. In some cases, it seems impossible to distinguish between the larger societal, institutional preferences and the individual preferences, because every individual is continuously being socialised into the wider society, and learning to live with various language preferences is part of that socialisation. Such a state of interwovenness is precisely the reason that a broader, interactional notion of language preference may provide a valuable analytical perspective on language attitudes in interaction.

Language competence and ideological/political considerations are considered the two main factors accounting for people's language preference (Torras and Gafaranga 2002; Auer 1995). Competence-related preference refers to speakers' tendency to choose to speak the linguistic varieties in which they have greater competence and feel more comfortable speaking. Ideology-related preference refers to language choices motivated by episode-external factors, such as institutional norms, membership categorisation, sociolinguistic, and political allegiance (Torras and Gafaranga 2002) (the notion of language ideology will be addressed later in the section). Speakers can display, negotiate and resist certain language preferences in interactions to construct specific personae, group membership and alignment suitable for their purposes. Examples can be found in Torras and Gafaranga's study (2002) of trilingual (Catalan, Castilian and English) service encounters in Barcelona, and in Cashman's (2005) study of bilingual (English, Spanish) conversations during a card game at a senior citizens' activity centre in a Latino community in Midwestern USA. While both studies provide detailed analyses of how participants negotiate language preferences, the researchers' greater knowledge of the participants and the situation in the second study facilitated the interpretation of the motivations for their language preferences. As understanding why and how people negotiate language preferences is important in a study of language attitudes, I would argue that combining fine-grained interaction analysis with an ethnographic approach is essential.

3.2.2.4   Language Crossing

Language crossing refers to code-switching that involves using a language that is not generally considered to "belong" to the speaker (Rampton 1995). The nature of language crossing makes interactions containing such a phenomenon particularly salient in language attitudes. The existence of sharp social or ethnic boundaries

between the languages in question is a prerequisite of the phenomenon, so that the act of language crossing involves a sense of "transgression" and moving across boundaries. If the languages are equally accessible and available to all participants, especially in ideological terms, then language crossing does not happen (Auer 2006).

In Rampton's (1995, 1998) study of Indian, Pakistani, African Caribbean, and Anglo descent adolescents in a British urban neighbourhood, the participants crossed into Punjabi, stylised Indian English, and Creole on different occasions. The adolescents were seemingly aware of the social stereotypes and sensitiveness associated with the different ethnic languages. It was observed that language crossing only happened at moments when "routine assumptions about ordinary life seemed to be temporarily relaxed, suspended, or jeopardised" (Rampton 1995, p. 500), such as in ritual abuse, self-talk, games, and performing arts. In doing so, the adolescents foregrounded and problematised ethnicity, momentarily destabilising the related social stereotypes and prejudices. In doing so, language attitudes that were taken for granted by the participants themselves and the wider community might also have been destabilised and problematised. Thus, language crossing may help bilinguals and multilinguals to constitute a shared multilingual community, in which people can learn to like and live with linguistic and social differences.

Having done his fieldwork in the school setting, Rampton (1998) observes that language crossing frequently foregrounded second language learning, because bilingual/multilingual competence is the prerequisite for effective language crossing. Hence, language crossing can be a potential opportunity for second language learning, both in terms of raising language awareness and practising the target languages. Using code-switching as pedagogy in bilingual and multilingual classrooms has been proposed by different scholars (Garcia 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Walt et al. 2001; Martin 2005). In this respect, the notion of translanguaging is of relevance and significance. On one hand, since translanguaging is the norm rather than the exception in interpersonal communication in bilingual communities, it follows that teachers and students should learn and teach through translanguaging. In other words, languaging experiences at school should reflect rather than be alien to their daily languaging practices (Blackledge and Creese 2010). On the other hand, the "translanguaging space" created through and for translanguaging practices is a "safe space" for students to learn and use languages creatively and critically (Li 2011a, 2011b; Lytra and Martin 2010).

3.2.2.5 Language Ideology

A discursive study of language attitudes is closely related to the study of language ideologies. Both attitude and ideology are evaluative beliefs, but ideology is fundamentally social (Van Dijk 1998). The individual only participates in the ideology and partially shares it as the member of a specific group. Hence, one dimension in the relationship between ideology and attitude is the juxtaposition and connection between the group and the individual. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 62) capture

this dimension in saying that "the intrapersonal attitude can be recast as a socially-derived intellectualized or behavioural ideology". Another dimension implied in the same statement is that ideology often exists in the form of taken-for-granted, rationalised and common-sense "knowledge" rather than "subjective" evaluation (attitude). Yet, since it concerns what is normal, appropriate and desirable, the evaluative dimension is inherent, and thus ideology is always variable and contestable. As a specific type of ideology, language ideology is the social, evaluative belief system related to languages and language practices, which affects the individual and social treatment of languages and interpretation of linguistic behaviours (Mcgroarty 2010). Given its interest in socially shared conceptions, the research on language ideology is generally discourse-based, whether through quantitative approaches, such as corpus research, or qualitative discourse analysis (Mcgroarty 2010; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Kroskrity 2004).

Despite sharing many themes, however, language-ideology research has generally overlooked the large body of quantitative socialpsychological research on language attitudes since the 1960s (Mcgroarty 2010). One explanation may be that it is difficult to incorporate a reductionist notion of language attitude into the contextualised study of language ideology. When language attitude is mentioned, it is often simplified to mean positive or negative ratings obtained from a questionnaire or a MGT experiment. Taking a discursive approach, however, language attitude is inseparable from language ideology. Language attitude is the evaluation of beliefs about language and language practice, and language ideology constitutes those beliefs. The process of construction and expression of language attitudes is an active appropriation, contestation and reconstruction of socially shared language ideologies, based on one's social position and relationships. In other words, by performing language attitudes, the individual is constantly participating in language ideology. Language attitude and language ideology are not two different levels of the delicious mille-feuille (cake), but different forms of egg white—depending on how one beats it, the egg white peaks in different forms and may be used for different purposes. They may be usefully distinguished to certain extent, but at some stages, they become indistinguishable. It is argued that language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk (Mcgroarty 2010), and I would add that language attitudes mediate between language ideologies and forms of talk.

3.2.3   Research Design: Linguistic Ethnography

The purpose of the book is to investigate the perceptions of mother tongues and other tongues, regional and linguistic identities, in contemporary China where massive internal migration, modernisation and widespread multilingualism are changing the old meanings of language, identity and the relationship between the two. Language attitude is an analytical tool for us to slice through the issues to look for possible answers. The main research question guiding the investigation is: "How are language attitudes discursively and interactionally constructed in primary

school communities, and with what linguistic and educational consequences?" The question breaks down to four more specific sub questions that structured the field investigation and data analysis.

1. What are the participants' perceptions of the language situation in Guangzhou? How do they relate to dialects in their linguistic repertoires within such a socio-linguistic context?
2. What are the teachers' usual language practices at school? How do they regard language policies in relation to their own language practices? What are their perceptions of the relationship between dialects and education?
3. What are the students' usual language practices at home and school? How are they socialised to make such language choices? How do they justify their choices?
4. How do the participants negotiate language choices, index language attitudes and identities in interaction? What kinds of competencies and needs can be identified in the process? What are the implications for education in similar contexts?

Discourse is regarded as the "site" in which attitudes are constructed as well as the medium through which attitudes are mediated and represented. It calls for a discursively and interactionally based, linguistically sophisticated, open-ended research programme, which would not only look at the local communicative contexts but would also be sensitive to larger social and cultural influences. Linguistic ethnography (Maybin and Tusting 2011; Rampton 2007), which synthesises tools and insights from ethnography of communication (Hymes 1996), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1992, 2008), and ethnomethodological perspectives (Goffman 1986; Garfinkel 1967; Sacks and Jefferson 1992), seemed to be best placed to fulfil the needs.

Linguistic ethnography is a relatively recent methodological development that stems from linguistic anthropological studies in the USA (Duranti 1997; Wortham and Rymes 2003) and has taken shape mainly in the UK and other parts of Europe during the past decade (Maybin and Tusting 2011). It is closely related to the growth of sociolinguistics during the 1960s and the 1970s, which assumes a view of language different from that of structural linguistics or Chomskian cognitivism (Duranti 2003). Language is seen as constitutive of cultural experiences in various speech communities, which is a social phenomenon in itself that has to be studied in context. Situated language use rather than grammatical systems is the focus of the studies. The theoretical development of the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1964; Gumperz and Hymes 1972) struck a key note which still rings true today: "It is not linguistics, but ethnography—not language, but communication—which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described" (Hymes 1964, p. 3).

Linguistic ethnography is also linked to the revival of social constructionism and the growing influence of poststructuralist social theories (Duranti 2003) in the 1980s and the 1990s. Language is seen as an interactional achievement "saturated with indexical and ideological values" (Maybin and Tusting 2011, p. 516). There is a strong desire within this paradigm to connect macro-level analysis of social

structure with the micro-level textual analysis of everyday communicative moments. Researchers attempt to capture the fluid, temporal negotiation of identities, institutions and communities by analysing linguistic practices, so as to shed light on the reproduction and transformation of persons, institutions and society at large (Maybin and Tusting 2011). Socially and historically laden notions, such as heteroglossia (Ivanov 1999) and language ideology (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), are often invoked. When analysing discourse data, studies guided by this paradigm often conduct fine-grained, moment-to-moment analysis according to linguistic theories, while linking it to social-historical processes (e.g. Rampton 2006b).

The methodology of linguistic ethnography claims to "open up" linguistics through its ethnographic commitment to participation and contextualised description of social and cultural processes, while "tying down" ethnography by drawing on the well-developed, focused means in linguistics for studying communication. The two elements of linguistic ethnography may be seen as complementary, as well as pulling in different directions. For example, it is not easy to reconcile the often emic perspective in ethnography (Cohen and Court 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) and the etic framework in linguistics. The link between textual analysis of local communication and wider social and institutional processes could also be problematic. There is no quick remedy for these tensions. It all depends on the researchers' choices of linguistic theories and ways of conducting ethnography, and more importantly, how they reconcile the potentially different ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying what they have chosen. Nevertheless, the methodology of linguistic ethnography may be adapted for the purpose of researching a wide range of topics involving the interaction between language, culture and society, especially those emphasising language-in-interaction.

3.2.4 Fieldwork and Data Collection

The current book draws data from the ethnographic fieldwork done in Guangzhou from August 2009 to August 2010 for my doctoral research project, when I was reading for a Ph.D. in Education at the University of Cambridge. The fieldwork was conducted in two primary school communities in Guangzhou, one in an urban district and the other in a suburban district. Over a period of two semesters (September 2009–January 2010, March 2010–June 2010), I regularly stayed at one school for a whole week and went to the other school in the following week. During my stay at the school, I divided my time between the classroom, the teacher's office and the playground, and the major school events, extracurricular activities and staff meetings that I was allowed to attend. After school, I paid home visits to key student informants and talked to their families. The original project also targeted language attitudes but also included other issues such as multilingual competence (Li 2011b) and language teaching. This book focuses on the data on language attitudes and identities.

Reasons for choosing these two primary school communities are threefold. First, previous studies on language attitudes in Guangzhou indicate systematic attitudinal

differences between different regions: the traditional city centre, the new city centre and the suburban districts (Tang 2006). Therefore, the factor of region and social network was taken into account in the sampling of the current study. The urban school, Grand-Estate School, situated in the new city centre, while the Sandwood School is located in a suburban district.

Second, primary school students were chosen as it seems that attitudes formed in the early periods of life tend to be more persistent (Augoustinos et al. 2006). A recent language attitude study (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon 2009) note that Singaporean primary school children's language attitudes towards their "mother tongues" and code-switching practices are equally positive. The finding coincides with the trend noted in recent linguistic ethnographic studies (Rampton 2006a; Li 2011a; Blackledge et al. 2008) that young bilinguals discursively create a translanguaging space, in which they are comfortable with their flexible bilingual identities distinct from the more fixed and absolutist linguistic identities of the older generations. It is worth investigating whether similar phenomena also exist in China.

The sampling further narrowed down to Year 5 primary school students (as of the 2009–2010 school year), as they belong to the first cohort of students who received their formal education after the implementation of the Language Law 2001, which established the status of Putonghua. No study so far has investigated how school experience with dialects may have changed since then and with what consequences for language attitudes and language education. Moreover, the primary school stage in China is an important language socialisation period which accustoms children to acquiring basic literacy skills in SMC (Standard Modern Chinese). These skills are very much taken for granted beyond this period. The current period of primary school education in China typically lasts for 6 years. Year 5 students are not yet under direct pressure from the secondary school entry examinations but are supposed to have acquired sufficient skills to express themselves in Putonghua and through written compositions (Ministry of Education 2000).

An informal survey was conducted in both schools for the purpose of socialising with the students rather than generating structured statistical data. The survey included questions concerning their parents' places of origin, their place of birth, length of stay in Guangzhou, first dialect, other dialects that they spoke, and their self-assessment of Putonghua and Cantonese proficiency. It was usually done in the classroom during breaks or after school. No effort was made to speak to each student individually. The students could see others' answers on the form if they wished. As a result, the process of completing the survey sometimes became a group interaction or competition. Some insisted on awarding themselves higher grades for linguistic proficiency, claiming that they were better speakers than someone else was. Some were questioned by others about their self-evaluation and it was the first time for some to find out about their classmates' multidialectal background and competence.

Each key student participant (see their profile in Appendix 1) was interviewed individually at least twice. The first interview was loosely structured and based on the following themes related to their ethnolinguistic background, language use, and language learning experiences. The subsequent interviews were based on language tasks that I assigned to them or comments on what happened in school or at

home. Interviews with parents were not always possible since some worked until late. Whenever feasible, the interviews were conducted at home with parents, or in some cases, the grandparents. The focus was on what role they had played in the language socialisation of their children. Interviews with teachers (see their profile in Appendix 2) were conducted individually in school, usually in their office when no one else was present. The focus was on their learning experience, language use, perception of dialects, and the current language policy.

Apart from individual interviews, I also conducted multiple focus group discussions with students in both schools. I engaged the members of the focus group as "ethnographers" of their own language living by assigning them several language-related tasks (White et al. 2008; Dressman 2006; Heath 1983). The tasks were designed to be "experimental" and educational, directing the students' attention to sociolinguistic phenomena that they might not have noticed otherwise. There was usually a two-to-three-week gap between the two sessions. The participants were interviewed individually about their experiences in carrying out the tasks before the focus group sessions. During the sessions, I often brought up similar topics as prompts for discussion.

I also collected various forms of written texts and documents during the fieldwork, as school is one of the institutional settings where self-documentation and the consumption of documents is a daily matter (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). These documents were not taken as facts but as representations that had been constructed for certain audiences and certain purposes. While the focus of the current study is on face-to-face interaction and spoken discourse, the documentary materials, especially policy-related documents helped to situate the immediate contexts of the school within the wider social and political contexts and discourse (Hornberger and Johnson 2007).

3.2.5 The Roles of the Ethnographer

As this is a linguistic ethnographic study, my autobiographical and sociolinguistic profile has significant impact on what I have access to, what I am able to see in the field, and how I represent what I see in the research text. In Chap. 11 we will have a more detailed discussion on the impact of reflexivity and positionality on this research, which will be illustrated by specific field examples. In this section, I will briefly talk about myself and explain how some of my social identities influenced my access to field sites and relationships.

In relation to the Sandwood community, I am a member by traditional standard. The families of both my parents' belong to one of those major residential lineages in the township. My parents moved away from the villages when I was 2 years old. Over the years, I have maintained contact with the community through my extended family. My grandfather was once the head of River Village in Sandwood Township, and he helped secure access to the school for me. While I had heard about the school from time to time, my first visit there was during the prepilot study. The headmaster,

who was a native Cantonese speaker but not a member of the community, seemed very welcoming to me, saying that it was an honour to have a "celebrity" from the village to stay at the school. This "theme of celebrity" recurred at the beginning of the fieldwork, as some teachers and parents knew about me through my relatives. The benefit was that it was relatively easier to start a conversation and establish trust. The disadvantage was that very much was taken for granted and not explained to me. Hence from time to time, I had to emphasise, if not exaggerate, the fact that I knew very little about village life since I had not grown up there. In this respect, my Cantonese accent worked to my advantage. Since I had not grown up in the township, I had forgotten how to speak with the local accent and distinct local repertoires. Miss Chun once commented, "You don't talk like a local, but I know because they told me you are from Sandwood". So my way of talking set me apart from the local community because it did not match the local standard.

On the other hand, access to the Grand-Estate School was gained through my relatives' business network, and I was introduced to the vice headmistress, Miss Gao, over dinner. The early preparations, such as arranging a time to meet and deciding on which class to follow, were considerably more difficult than at Sandwood School. Moreover, Miss Gao seemingly wanted me to maintain a low profile, having only notified the head teacher of the class that I would follow. Others only knew that there was a new "intern" in the school. I was never invited to any staff meeting or the like. I did not have my own desk in the classroom or the teacher's office at Grand-Estate School, so my status as an outside observer was more physically conspicuous there. In contrast, in Sandwood School, I had exactly the same desk and chair in the office as other teachers did, the only difference being that I used my own computer. In the classroom I sat where the students were seated. These physical arrangements affected my participation not so much in the sense of what activities I took part in. Rather, what matters is the "sides" or "groups" which I seemed to be part of, in other words, being an outsider, or taking sides among the insiders.

The readers may decide, based on the information given above, what my positions are when I write certain descriptions, analysis, and comments, and how those positions may have influenced the text and the readers' interpretation of the text.

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Part III
Becoming Members of a Multidialectal City

Chapter 4
"Mother Tongues" of a Multidialectal City

4.1 Overview of the Setting and the Participants

4.1.1 Multidialectal Guangzhou: Migration and Demographic Changes

Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong Province, China, is located in southern China on the Pearl River, about 145 km inland from the South China Sea, in close proximity to Hong Kong and Macau. Owing to its advantageous location, Guangzhou has been one of the major commercial centres and trading ports in China since ancient times. It currently comprises ten districts and two county-level cities, and covers an area of 7434 km²—almost five times the area of Greater London.

In the past two decades, Guangzhou, and Guangdong Province in general, has been affected by large-scale immigration from other parts of the country, which must be understood in the context of the the modern Chinese *Hukou* system. Founded in the 1950s it is a mechanism for regulating national migration, more or less like a domestic passport system (Chan and Zhang 1999; Mackenzie 2002). People are required to obtain approval for moving to new addresses and must go through procedures to move their *Hukou* to the new addresses. Moreover, there is a distinction between agricultural and nonagricultural *Hukou*, which essentially divides the whole population into two categories with vastly different obligations and socioeconomic resources and opportunities. Some even compare them to "a caste of privileged urbanites against a rural caste of have-nots" (Zhang 2002; citing Tang and Parish 2000).

It is possible to change one's *Hukou*, in somewhat the same way as changing one's nationality. At any rate, success in changing one's *Hukou* largely depends on the social resources available to the candidate. However, before the Reform and Opening Up in 1978 (hereafter referred to as "the Reform"), all living essentials such as food and cloth were rationed, and education, job opportunities were strictly allocated according to the *Hukou* system. It was hardly possible to live without one's *Hukou*. The Reform in 1978 brought market economy and resources readily available in the market made it possible for people to move without attending to one's Hukou. Massive

and continuous internal migration began. Those who move without changing their *Hukou* according to official requirements are called the Non-*Hukou* or "floating population" (流动人口) (Zhang 2002). This population is still often denied access to symbolic and material resources, including education, health care and social welfare, and therefore, becoming part of the "floating population" is a high-stake undertaking.

Comparing the 1988 and 2000 census data (Zhang 2003), the proportion of population living in, but not born in, Guangdong Province rose dramatically from 1.2 to 18.2 %. In 2000, one third of the interprovince migration in the country chose Guangdong Province as the destination. This coincided with the phenomenal growth of the GDP of Guangdong, the amount of which has continuously exceeded that of all other provinces since 1985 (Wang 2008). The new-found prosperity of Guangdong Province brought the first generation of non-Cantonese speakers from all over the country into the province.

Guangzhou was among the top destinations. At the end of 1983, the total population of Guangzhou was 5.2673 million with 99.49 % consisting of permanent population (*Hukou* population). By the end of 2000, the total population of Guangzhou had soared by 88.77 % to 9.943 million while the percentage of the *Hukou* population had dropped to 70.47 %. Nearly three quarters of the migrants came from outside Guangdong Province (Guangzhou Bureau of Statistics (GZBS) 2001). As of 2011 year-end, the population of Guangzhou was around 12.75 million while the percentile of *Hukou* population further dropped to 63.84 (GZBS 2012) % (GZBS 2012).

4.1.2 Profiles of the Two School Communities

The urban school, Grand-Estate School[1], is located in Tianhe District (indicated by 4 on Fig. 4.1), which is a new urban district founded in 1985. In 1999, this district was officially designated as the new city centre of Guangzhou, in addition to the historical city centre, with an emphasis on finance and business. The district has greatly expanded in terms of area, population, and socioeconomic importance over the past two decades. At the end of 2000, nearly 60 % of the population were new immigrants from other parts of the country (THNET 2011). As of 2011 year-end, 45.34 % of the population in Tianhe was non-*Hukou* population.

Grand-Estate School is situated in a newly-developed area of Tianhe District, in a real-estate project, the development of which began in 1999. Founded in 2004, the school was originally a private 9-year integrated school for children of the Grand-Estate residents, but it soon became a public (government-funded) school. The school is extremely modern and well-equipped. This is not at all surprising if one considers that the price of housing in Grand Estate is one of the highest in Guangzhou.

There are several universities and research institutes in the vicinity. According to the primary education enrolment policy of Guangzhou, it is compulsory for stu-

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[1] All the names of the participating individuals and schools and the names of place up to the township level are pseudonyms in order to protect the participants. The names of the districts and cities are real.
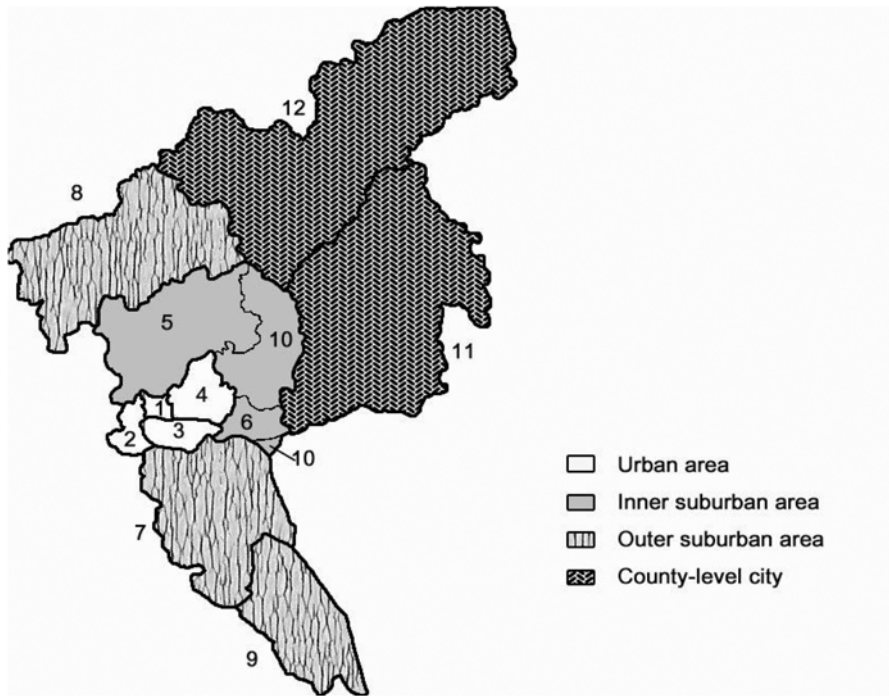
1=Yuexiu District, 2=Liwan District, 3=Haizhu District, 4=Tianhe District, 5=Baiyun District, 6=Huangpu District, 10=Luogang District, 7=Panyu District, 8=Huangdu District, 9=Nansha District, 11=Zengcheng City, 12=Conghua City

Fig. 4.1 The administrative planning of Guangzhou *1* Yuexiu District, *2* Liwan District, *3* Haizhu District, *4* Tianhe District, *5* Baiyun District, *6* Huangpu District, *10* Luogang District, *7* Panyu District, *8* Huangdu District, *9* Nansha District, *11* Zengcheng City, *12* Conghua City

dents to be enrolled at the designated school connected with their *Hukou* residence[2]. Therefore, most students in Grand-Estate School live in Grand Estate, and many others are the children of staff working at the universities and research institutes nearby. A majority of students in the class come from well-off families, and their parents tend to be businessmen, government workers or highly skilled professionals. Teachers in the school come from across the country and many are new teachers.

The other location, Huangpu District (6 in Fig. 4.1), is a historical area of the city, even mentioned in various documents from overseas (Giles 1900, p 314). During the 2000s, as part of the urbanisation of the city, Huangpu District became a developing industrial area that mainly depends on manufacturing, logistics, and heavy industry. Parents of many participants are workers in these industries. There are many townships with a very long history in Huangpu, and Sandwood is one of them. Most local villagers have one of a few major surnames. Each lineage has its

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[2] A number of complications exist for the enrollment of migrant children during the phase of compulsory education. Readers may read a UNESCO report for a general introduction (Han 2009).

Fig. 4.2 Villagers celebrating traditional festivals in a township in Huangpu District (Photos taken by the author)

own ancestral halls, although they all celebrate local traditional festivals together (Fig. 4.2). Since the 1990s, however, the large-scale immigration that has swept other parts of Guangzhou has also affected Sandwood. According to the unpublished statistics of the Sandwood residential committee, the population of the "original" villagers in 2010 was just over 6300, while that of the migrants amounted to over 33,500. Significant changes to the villagers' lives have taken place. The most obvious one is that many villagers have let out part of their self-built, multistorey houses to the migrants. To communicate with their tenants, many villagers try to speak Putonghua. Although the local villagers and the migrants mix in terms of residence, activities related to traditional local customs remain exclusive to the locals.

The villagers distinguish between three categories of residents in Sandwood: "the local", the "Guangzhou local" and the "outcomers" (a coined term). "Local" refers to those whose families have lived in the villages and the surrounding neighbourhood for centuries, the "original" villagers. Most of these adult villagers know, or know of, each other because it is a close-knit community. It is even possible to tell with some precision which part of the village a person is from if the family name is known. "Outcomer" generally refers to those coming from outside Guangzhou, especially those from non-Cantonese speaking regions. "Guangzhou local"

Fig. 4.3 Grand-Estate
school: Distribution of
students based on types of
Hukou

Grand-Estate School

Local 13%

Hukou Migrants 69%

Non-Hukou Migrants 18%

Agricultural 5%

Non-Agricultural 13%
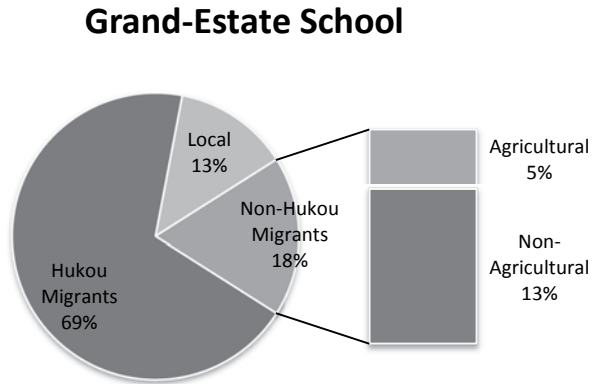
is a "grey" category referring to those from other towns or districts of Guangzhou, necessarily Cantonese-speaking.

James Milroy and Lesley Milroy (1985) reason that linguistic norms are more likely to be preserved across generations in small, tightly knit communities, which is the rationale for choosing Sandwood as the site of the study. Moreover, the fact that Sandwood is a traditional close-knit community experiencing urbanisation adds a modern twist to the study.

Sandwood School is named after Sandwood Township. It lies at the heart of Sandwood Township and has served the community for over 70 years. The township had been the school's main source of financial support until the recent urbanisation. All the local adults went to Sandwood School for primary education, and most of them continue to send their children to the school. Compared with Grand-Estate school, Sandwood School is smaller in size and much more modest in terms of facilities. Teachers at Sandwood School are mostly middle-aged. Many of them graduated from the same teachers' college in Guangzhou which has been the major teacher training institute in Guangzhou for many years. A majority of them come from Sandwood Township or nearby townships. As a result, many students and teachers share similar local cultural experiences—they go to the same local festive events and might have sat next to each other during traditional feasts.

The participating students were starting their 5th year of primary school when the fieldwork began, aged from 10 to 12 years. Comparing the socioeconomic profiles of participants in the two schools, the most obvious difference is the number of migrant families and their *Hukou* status. A majority of the students in the Grand-Estate class are (first-generation) migrant students, and most of them have their *Hukou* registered in Guangzhou (Fig. 4.3).

On the other hand, a majority of the Sandwood class are local students, and of the migrant students, most belong to the category of "floating population" (Fig. 4.4). The percentage of students with agricultural *Hukou* in the Sandwood class is also higher than that in the Grand-Estate class. Based on the economic and symbolic significance of *Hukou*, we can infer from such differences that most migrant students in Grand-Estate School come from socially and economically powerful families, while the opposite is true of Sandwood School.
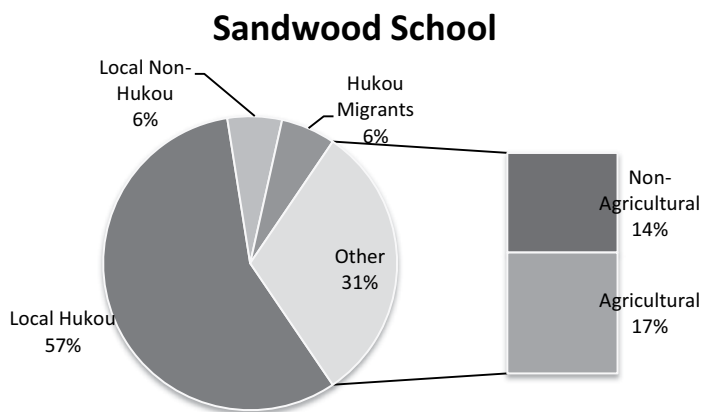
Fig. 4.4 Sandwood school: Distribution of students based on types of *Hukou*

It has probably become clear that the Grand-Estate and Sandwood School differ in many respects, including sociolinguistic history, socioeconomic structure, and types of social networks. Yet it should be emphasised again that the choice of two such schools was not for the purpose of discovering systematic correlations between these different social variables and language attitudes, which is not the task of the current book. Instead, it was to take account of factors that have been shown to be relevant and to include more dynamics and diversity.

4.2   Who Speaks What in Guangzhou

Comparing the results of the informal survey in the two schools, one startling difference lies in the students' self-assigned first dialect (D1). Of the 39 students surveyed in the Grand-Estate class, 18 (46%) claimed Putonghua as their D1 (Fig. 4.5). In contrast, only one out of the 37 students surveyed in the Sandwood class claimed to be a Putonghua-D1 speaker (Fig. 4.6).

What is surprising is not so much that the Putonghua-D1 students outnumbered the Cantonese-D1 students in Grand-Estate School, but the realisation that Putonghua has emerged as a D1, and may be identified as a mother tongue (MT). As mentioned earlier, the emergence of such a group of native Putonghua speakers has been found in earlier studies but simply glossed over (Tang 2006). In MGT studies, Beijing dialect speakers are still used as stereotypical Putonghua speakers (Zhou 2001) because, theoretically, Putonghua is a constructed standard language that has no native speakers—if we may agree to distinguish between native speakers of the Mandarin dialects and those of Putonghua. It has been reasoned that diglossia can be a relatively stable language situation because there is no group of native high speakers which is more privileged within the diglossic community and language

Fig. 4.5 Distribution of students' D1 in Grand-Estate School

Grand-Estate School

Putonghua 46%

Cantonese 33%

Teochew dialects 10%

Hakka 3%

Other 8%
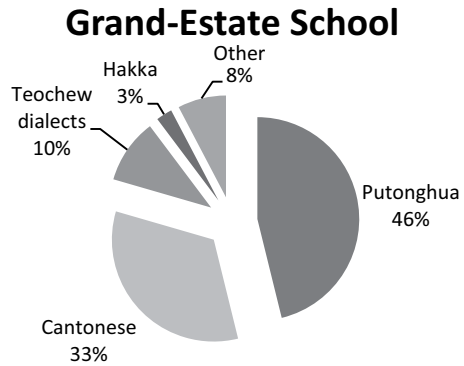
Fig. 4.6 Distribution of students' D1 in Sandwood School

Sandwood School

Cantonese 80%

Putonghua 3%

Hakka 14%

Teochew dialects 3%
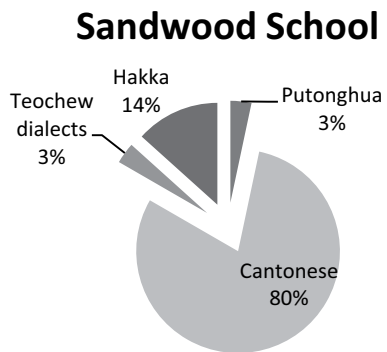
choices are strictly based on occasions rather than social identities (Hudson 2002). As Putonghua becomes a D1 for everyday use, however, the functional compartmentalisation principle of diglossia is violated as well as the stability of the language situation (Landry and Allard 1994). If this trend continues and expands, it may be an important dynamic that leads to massive societal language shift.

On a more interpersonal level, the possibility of Putonghua as an MT challenges a commonly held assumption that one's MT must be a regional dialect. This emergence of a new MT variety and potentially a new ethnolinguistic identity or even a new ethnicity, is significant in terms of the participants' construction of language attitudes, perception of language learning, and hence the family and school language education practices.

4.2.1   I Speak Putonghua but I am a Guangzhouer

Fan and Qiu of Grand-Estate School grew up in Guangzhou and speak Putonghua as their D1. Fan's mother was from the Teochew region, her father was from Shanghai, and both speak good Cantonese. According to Fan, her parents occasionally used Cantonese at home, but Putonghua was dominant. In the first interview with her, Fan

considered herself "officially" a Shanghainese because of her father, and her class-
mates knew that. When asked to assess her skills in the three dialects: Putonghua,
Cantonese, and Shanghainese, she refused to grade Shanghainese at all because she
said the grade would be extremely low. Compared to Shanghainese, Fan was much
better at Cantonese. She claimed to understand everything and could even achieve
a pass grade for speaking. During the home visit, she taught me a Malay phrase that
she had learned during a trip—she had memorised the phrase by transliterating it into
written Cantonese. When she explained the Malay and Cantonese meaning of those
sounds, we briefly talked in Cantonese. Her nonnative Cantonese accent was recog-
nisable, but at least she was able to use it for conversations on simple and everyday
topics. Her being born in Guangzhou and her competence in using Cantonese might
have jointly contributed to her act of "inconspicuously" claiming a Guangzhouer[3]
identity during the first focus group session (and she did have a Guangzhou *Hukou*).
We were discussing how to tell if someone they had just met for the first time was a
Guangzhouer or not. One girl mentioned that a person's Putonghua accent could be
indicative. The assumption was that Guangzhouers usually could not speak "stan-
dard Putonghua", as indicated by Fan's exaggerated "but" in turn 3.

Excerpt 4.1 Grand-Estate girl focus group: I can speak standard Putonghua but
I am a Guangzhouer

1 Liang[a]	<P> Then do you speak standard Putonghua?
2 Everyone	((Said all at once)) I can speak standard…mine is standard…
3 Fan	I can speak standard (Putonghua), BUT:: I am a Guang zhouer.
4 Qiu	But I can't speak.
5 Liang	What is it that you are not able to speak?
6 Qiu	I can't speak Guangzhou Hua[b].

[a]Liang=I, the researcher.
[b]The participants used various terms in Chinese to refer to Cantonese, which seems to have soci-
olinguistic significance (see the analysis in Liang in press). While I have no space here to discuss
that, I have kept the variation in the transcript. Therefore, Guangzhou Hua (Guangzhou Speech),
Guangdong Hua (Guangdong Speech), Baakwaa (Cantonese transliteration of "白话" all rough-
ly refer to Cantonese.

[3] There are subtle differences between being a "Guangzhouer" and being a Guangzhou citizen, as
we shall see in this chapter. Using one (coined) word rather than two denotes a sense of identity
and better corresponds to its Chinese equivalent.

Earlier in the same session, Fan was identified as a Shanghainese, and thus it seemed contradictory here when Fan suddenly declared herself a Guangzhouer, but the other girls did not seem bothered at all. In turn 4, Qiu followed the lead of Fan and conveyed in an even more covert way that she was a Guangzhouer too, except for the fact that she could not speak Cantonese. Meanwhile, there were two other girls in the Grand-Estate group who had previously claimed to be from elsewhere, said in the off-the-record murmur that they were also Guangzhouers. One was Rou, who was born into a Teochew family living in Guangzhou. She spoke Cantonese fluently but refused to speak it to me. The other one was Yuan, whose parents were from Jiangxi Province, a chiefly Gan-dialect speaking region. She grew up in a Cantonese-speaking region of Guangdong Province, and claimed a high proficiency in Cantonese though she never used it in the group. Yuan was also the first one in the group to protest against my question about place of origin.

Excerpt 4.2 Grand-Estate girl focus group: Why do you always ask where we are from?

1	Liang	\<P>You mean, wherever a person said he/she is from, anything goes?
2	Yuan	Miss, why do you always ask people where they are from? Every question is about where somebody is from. ((Hammered on the table))
3	Qiu	((Hammered on the table too.)) Where from! From here!

The act of hammering on the table really took me by surprise because it seemed to show a great resentment towards the question, although the students tended to act more aggressively during the session than they usually did in class. The inflated boldness might be attributed to my usually permissive attitude towards their behaviour, the competition to make an impression in a video-recorded discussion and a sense that such behaviour was supported or even encouraged by others. Nevertheless, their comments and action could at least be safely interpreted as irritation at my questions. The irritation, in turn, reflected the general spirit in the Grand-Estate-girl focus group that whatever a person would like to claim about his/her place of origin should be regarded as valid by others.

Just a few minutes after this episode, the girls were asked to assess their own Cantonese competence. After Yan, Yuan and Rou claimed to be "speaking Cantonese very well", they were asked to say something in Cantonese. The drama started again as Yan and I tried hard to persuade Yuan and Rou to speak Cantonese. They begged first, then kept silent and then Yuan suddenly said, "This is not (for) speaking Cantonese!" Qiu, who had not been requested to speak Cantonese, added immediately, "(If I had known) you will be teaching us to speak Cantonese, I might as well not come here". The tension was almost tangible in the focus group. Together

they challenged the legitimacy of testing their Cantonese competence as well as the purpose of the discussion, and refused to cooperate.

The refusal to speak Cantonese, or their "home-town speech"[4] in other cases, could have been caused by many factors. Competence-related language preference was entwined with ideological considerations (Auer 1988). There was a big mismatch between their dialectal competence and the dialectal identity they wanted to claim. Neither their hometown speech competence nor their Cantonese competence met the requirement of an ideal "native speaker" (Singh 2006). Even though they were proficient in Putonghua, there is no such identity as a "Putonghua-er" and Guangzhou is not the home town for Putonghua. In other words, they could not "validate" their Guangzhouer identity through speaking Cantonese, Putonghua or any other dialect. As a result, they had to mobilise different strategies and discourses to justify why it was unnecessary to be good at those dialects or to demonstrate this in front of others. Considering the dialects as irrelevant to their identities, they were freed from the "moral obligation" to acquire or improve their proficiency in them. I would argue that this relationship is not one way but mutually constitutive. While the strategy of dissociation arises for compensatingthe lack of competence, it may further lead to reluctance to acquire that competence as well as indifferent attitude towards the dialects in question.

The strategy of dissociation between regional dialects and regional identities is not well-received by everyone. Qiu, for example, typically experienced pressure from her parents.

Excerpt 4.3 Interview with Qiu: Why are you not able to speak Cantonese given that you are a Guangzhouer?

1	Liang	<P> You were born in Guangzhou, why haven't you ever considered yourself to be a Guangzhouer?
2	Qiu	They said before that I am a Guangzhouer, but they also say, "Why are you not able to speak Cantonese given that you are a Guangzhouer?"
3	Liang	Who said that?
4	Qiu	My mom and dad often say this.

Qiu's father is a native Teochew dialect speaker, while her mother is a native Guizhou Hua (a Mandarin dialect) speaker. Both of them can speak Cantonese. When I visited her home, Qiu's father made the following remarks.

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[4] A literal translation of "家乡话". It is more or less their way of saying "mother tongue", but "home-town speech" conveys an ostensible connection to "home town".

Excerpt 4.4 Interview with Qiu's parents: Qiu is the biggest failure

Mr Qiu	\<P\> I did not teach her (Cantonese.) ((@@)) Our neighbours also make fun of her (saying), "Alas, Qiu is the biggest failure ("最失败啦"). Born in Guangzhou but doesn't know Cantonese. You (Mr Qiu) are a Teochew, but she doesn't speak Teochew dialects either".((@@@))

Note that there is a discrepancy between what Qiu and her father said. Qiu said it was her parents who blamed her for not being able to speak Cantonese, which means she felt most pressure from within the family rather than the judgement of others. In contrast, Mr Qiu mentioned the neighbours calling Qiu "a failure", which indicates social pressure. Whether he said it himself or not, he expressed concerns about the mismatch between the usual social expectations and Qiu's language behaviour. Not living up to such expectations makes someone a "failure".

4.2.2   What if You Are a Half-Hunannese?

While Fan, Qiu, (and Yuan) destabilised the one-dialect-one-identity connection, they still tended to assume the existence of one single ethnolinguistic identity at a time. No one in the group or their class challenged their "mixed" identity[5]. Ying, their peer in Sandwood, had to deal with this issue though. She was one of the three "mixed" students in the Sandwood class and the only one among the key informants. Her father is a local in Sandwood and her mother is from Hunan Province. Her proficiency in Cantonese, Hunan dialect and Putonghua was above the higher intermediate level.

The first interview with Ying was extraordinary in several ways. On one hand, as a "mixed" child, Ying normally identified herself as a Cantonese and a local. However, while her local classmates were all interviewed in Cantonese, Ying's interview was almost entirely conducted in Putonghua.

Excerpt 4.5 Interview with Ying: My father is a local … just like me

1	Liang	\<P\>Remember I asked you the other day where you are from?
2	Ying	Yep. I'm from Guangzhou.
3	Liang	Do you usually answer like this when others ask you?
4	Ying	If others ask me, I would say I'm local.

---

[5] In this book, "mixed" refers to participant whose parents are from different dialectal regions. For example, Qiu is classified as a "mixed" because her mother came from a Guizhou-Hua-speaking region and her father came from a Teochew-dialect-speaking region.

5	Liang	Say that you are local?
6	Ying	Yep.
7	Liang	Does "local" mean Sandwood Township?
8	Ying	Yes, Sand Village (one of the villages).
9	Liang	So, you mean Sand Village specifically rather than Sandwood Township, don't you? Need to differentiate it from River Village? Is your mother from Sand Village?
10	Ying	My mother is from Hunan (Province).
11	Liang	So your mother is from Hunan (Province)?
12	Ying	Yueyang. (She continued telling me about the location of her mother's home town.)
13	Liang	And your father is from Sand Village?
14	Ying	My father is local, from Sand Village, just like me.

To say one is from Guangzhou, was redundant in Sandwood if he or she is a local. Ying did that in turn 2, which seemed unusual. Did she interpret the question in line 1 as indicating suspicion of her Guangzhouer identity? Her complexion implied this. In the local's eyes, "floating population" and "outcomer" are not positive terms. They are often associated with the stereotypic image of people who are Putonghua-speaking, house tenants, low-paid workers and from outside Guangdong. Therefore, a local would not want to be mistaken as an "outcomer". The logical progression of line 14 sounds strange too, because her place of origin was determined by that of her father, rather than the other way around. The effect of that answer was still to emphasise her local status.

In contrast, the second interview with Ying 1 month later was conducted in Cantonese. Her language choices, as she revealed 3 months later in the last focus group discussion (see the excerpt below), probably indicate her sense of insecurity in relation to her Cantonese competence as a local, and her concerns about exposing her often-contested identity of being "mixed".

Excerpt 4.6 Sandwood girl focus group: That didn't feel right!

1	Ying	\<P\> At that time…I had mixed feelings already, and in addition, I felt…
2	Liang	Mixed feelings?
3	Ying	Yes. I felt very…
4	Min[a]	Why mixed feelings?
5	Ying	I thought, er, why did you ask me this? Er…((She looked at others and looked at me again)) I was thinking…I could not express my bosom feelings, er, er, er…
6	Liang	Pardon? Cannot reveal bosom feelings?
7	Ying	Right!
8	Min	Did she ask about your bosom feelings?
9	Ying	((Rebutted Min.)) That's not what I meant. She asked me some questions, didn't she? I was shy. I just dared not answer.
10	Liang	Which questions did you not dare to answer?
11	Ying	You asked, where my mom was from. Because some people think that Guangdonger should marry Guangdonger, such and such…
12	Min	Well, my uncle…(speaks) Baakwaa (and he) married (someone who speaks) Putonghua. Sometimes when she (her aunt) spoke in Baakwaa…she doesn't know how to talk! It is you who have such prejudices against your mom!
13	Ying	((A bit annoyed and unhappy)) You don't understand!
14	Liang	Are you afraid that if you told me, I might have negative thoughts (about you)?
15	Ying	Some people think that way. I said I'm a Guangzhouer, and then, my mom is Hunannese. That didn't feel…(right).

[a] Min is a Cantonese-D1 local girl and Ying's good friend.

In this conversation, Ying talked about the perceived prejudices in Sandwood against interdialectal marriages. In turn 12, Min's comment about her uncle's marriage typically equated interdialectal marriage with the marriage of two languages, Cantonese and Putonghua. In some people's eyes, there are only two types of speaker, Cantonese speakers and Putonghua speakers. The local villagers tend to regard all outcomers as Putonghua speakers. Min's point about discrimination indeed reflected the common sense in the community that the outcomers used to be (and might still be) discriminated against by the locals. Ying, who often claimed to be a local, was seen by Min as having similar prejudices, because of her reluctance to tell others about her mother's place of origin. While Ying had claimed that she did so for fear of potential societal prejudice, she had at the same time contributed to that prejudice.

Ying was aware that being a "mixed" child in Sandwood meant that not only her regional identity would be judged but also her linguistic competence in Cantonese and Hunannese. Speaking Putonghua is one way of escaping judgements, especially when talking to a stranger with whom the linguistic medium of communication has not yet been established. This may explain her choice of Putonghua in the first interview. In the last focus group session, Ying reflected on her fear about the linguistic judgement.

Excerpt 4.7 Sandwood girl focus group: That is the problem with the mixed

1	Liang	<P> Are there other questions that you felt you dared not answer at that time?
2	Ying	Oh, at that time, because, sometimes, because…I mean now that I…because I speak more Putonghua, and because sometimes…
→3	Min	Not very good at Baakwaa
4	Ying	Moreover, my maternal grandma has come over to stay. I often speak to her in Hunan dialect. She could not understand Baakwaa, so I have to speak Hunan dialect to her. Therefore my Baakwaa is sometimes not very fluent. Sometimes I don't know how to say it.
5	Hu	That's the problem with the mixed (混血儿)…
→6	Min	Then you can just learn.
→7	Ying	Sometimes, my Baakwaa…and I think, think that I, I am a Guangzhouer. Why I can't speak good Baakwaa. I feel so ashamed that I don't speak it.
8	Liang	I see, you are afraid that I would say…
→9	Min	So you must practise it more often.

Ying struggled with the fact that her MT, Cantonese, was not as fluent as her Putonghua. She had found many explanations for this, such as not having enough time to practise Cantonese and having a third language to cope with. However, she was not sufficiently convinced by her own arguments in order not to feel ashamed. She had lost the battle to a more powerful ideology in the Sandwood community that "a Guangzhouer *must* speak good Cantonese". Such an ideology takes a strong position on the link between regional identity and the relevant regional dialect. Such an ideology has little regard for the way bilinguals and multilinguals acquire and make use of their repertoires. People with such a perspective tend to assume that a bilingual is two perfectly balanced monolinguals in one, blind to the fact that even monolinguals differ in their linguistic competence (Liang 2014).

Notably, Min interrupted three times during this short conversation, which might have seemed rather uncooperative. As Ying's friend and one of the "Locals", Min often picked upon Ying's sometimes incorrect Cantonese pronunciation. Apart from the influence of the ideology mentioned above, this was also probably due to Min's self-assigned task of being a Cantonese tutor in the class. Jiaxin, also a member of the group ("pure", outcomer, Gan-dialect-D1 speaker), was her most committed student. However, Ying, a "native" local Cantonese speaker, would not have considered herself a student of Min. In another episode when Min again interrupted Ying several times during the session, Ying spoke up for herself.

Excerpt 4.8 Sandwood girl focus group: What if you you are a half-Hunannese?

→1	Ying	\<C\> What if you, what do you do if you are half Hunannese (the dialect) (一半湖南话)?
2	Min	What?
3	Ying	If you are half Hunannese (the people), can you speak Baakwaa?
4	Min	Half?
	Hu[a]	((@@))
5	Liang	Because she is a Hunannese, so she is …
6	Ying	Sometimes, it is unavoidable (to make mistakes). You are…speak more Baakwaa; I speak less Baakwaa.
7	Min	So you can just speak more (Cantonese).

[a] Hu is a Hakka-D1 girl whose family moved from the Hakka region in Guangdong Province to Sandwood before she was born. She can understand Cantonese but usually does not speak it in front of others.

Ying made a statement about her "mixed" regional identity that Min failed to comprehend. The unspoken argument was that a half-Hunannese, half-Cantonese faces very different sociolinguistic challenges from those experienced by the "pure Cantonese", which deserves greater recognition and different ways of evaluation. She felt that the difficulties she had overcome to acquire both Cantonese and Hunannese to a high level were not fully appreciated. I believe she was close to saying that the assessment of her competence in the individual components of her linguistic repertoire should be "proportional" to the regional components of her identity and the limited time she spent on practising both dialects.

Ying still felt that it was essential to be able to speak the hometown speech of one's home town, but she had also found out that one could identify with more than one home town and acquire several hometown speeches. In most other conversations, she was not resentful about having a hybrid identity or having to learn several dialects at the same time. In the first interview, she referred to Hunan Province as "our home town" and gave examples of Hunannese to demonstrate its difference from Cantonese and Putonghua. As the study went on, she became more and more ready to speak Hunannese in front of the group, even though we understood very little of it. The tension in this particular episode seemed to be her protest that her identity and linguistic ability were not understood and judged fairly. She pleaded for differential treatment with regard to her multilingual competence or at least more understanding of her sociolinguistic experiences. The absence of such understanding created social pressure for Ying, which probably explains why she sometimes refrained from speaking Cantonese or Hunan dialects at all.

4.2.3 A Discredited Cantonese Speaker

Having seen the challenges met by Fan, Qiu, and Ying, the "mixed" students, one wonders whether the lives of the "pure" would be any easier and simpler, since at least they do not have to deal with two hometown speeches. The answer is no, because they have different sets of expectations to meet and obligations to fulfil. As already mentioned, the ideology that "Guangzhouers must speak good Cantonese" gives no regard to the differentiated competence of the monolinguals in their native language, neither does it consider the geographical and social variation of the same language. As a result, not only the "mixed", such as Ying, may suffer from this ideology, the "pure" are also affected, sometimes to their own surprise.

An extreme example was when native Cantonese speaker Du questioned another native Cantonese speaker's identity during the first boys' focus group discussion in Grand-Estate School. Months before the first focus group discussion, Du told me without any hesitation that Hay was a Guangzhouer, but added that he had seldom heard Hay speak Cantonese. Yet during the discussion, there was a dramatic turn.

Excerpt 4.9 Grand-Estate boy focus group: He does not speak like us

1	Chen	\<P\> I guess Hay is (a Guangzhouer)…Judging from the way he speaks, there is something in his language, in the way he speaks (Putonghua) that…(shows he speaks) Baakwaa (natively)…
2	Hay	((interrupted Chen)) Say where I am from.
3	Chen	You see, you see, you see, it sounds like it.
→4	Du	(What) he (speaks) is not Baakwaa, not the kind of Baakwaa spoken by Guangzhouers.
5	Chen	He is a Guangzhouer.
→6	Du	((He spoke loudly while looking at Hay and everybody else looked at Hay too.))\<C\> Say something in Baakwaa.
→7	Hay	Now what? I have said it, haven't I?
→8	Du	See?
		\<P\> He does not speak like us (Su and Du).
9	Hay	I am a Guangzhouer! You are wrong!
10	Chen	He is a Guangzhouer for sure!
11	Su	\<C\> Nonsense. Of course a Guangzhouer. Now I am in Guangzhou…
12	Chen	\<P\> ((Pointing at Su)) What about you?
13	Hay	He is an E.T.(Extra-Terrestrial) Forget about him.

Chen: Teochew-dialects-D1, Cantonese-D2, Putonghua-D3; Hay: Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2;
Du: Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2; Su: Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2

Hay is, in fact, a native Cantonese boy. He was born and raised in Huangpu District and spoke Cantonese with a recognisable Huangpu accent, which was why Du decided that he was not a real Guangzhouer. Curiously, from my perspective, Su, the other one of "us", spoke Cantonese with no less noticeable an accent than Hay did. Perhaps the fact that Su was good at both spoken and written Cantonese gave him enough credit, and Hay who was quiet and less eloquent seemed more vulnerable. In the brief alteration of codes from turn 5 to 6, Du changed his footing (Goffman 1981) from an equal participant in the discussion to that of an examiner or authority

Table 4.1 The poem in written SMC, Cantonese Pinyin, Hanyu Pinyin, literal translation, and explanation

Chinese	青春	须	早	为	,	岂能	长	少年
Cantonese Pinyin	tsing tsoen	soey	dzou	wai	,	hei nang	tsoeng	siu nin
Hanyu Pinyin	qing chun	Xu	zao	wei	,	qi neng	chang	shao nian
Literal translation	youth	must	early	do	,	how can	always	youthhood

Translation: Achieve when you are young for youth does not last long

in Cantonese, and demanded that Hay must pass his test. The power of his demand was multiplied by his corresponding codeswitching into Cantonese. By doing so Du not only changed the topic from identity to language proficiency but also underlined his own linguistic competence and what he considered the only legitimate means to prove an individual's Guangzhouer identity. Hay replied timidly in Cantonese with his typical accent. Du obtained the "proof" he needed and proclaimed himself right, leaving Hay exasperated. Having been accused by Du of speaking poor Cantonese, Hay was later "attacked" even by Chen, who was not a native Cantonese speaker, when the group were trying to read out a classical poem (Table 4.1) in Cantonese.

Excerpt 4.10   Grand-Estate boy focus group: Reading a classical poem in Cantonese

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1   Chen   <C> [tsing tsoen] [hoey] (soey)ᵃ (.) [dzou wai]
(The young feeble (must) (.) accomplish early.)

2   Su   Hey, it's [soey] (须, "must"), not [hoey] (虚, "fee-ble").

3   Chen   [soey], alas ((@@)).

4   Su   Only you are the most [soey] (衰, "ill-fortuned")ᵇ!

5   Du   ((@@))

→6   Hay   Only you are the most ill-fortuned!

7   Chen   ((Continued to read the second half of the poem)) [hei nang]
(how can) (.)…

8   Su   It's [dzoeng] (tsoeng)ᶜ [siu nin] (youthhood
doesn't grow (last long)), bastard!

→9   Hay   ((pointing at Chen)) See? You don't know how to read (either).

→10   Chen   ((pointing at Hay)) <P> You can't read it either! You are a Guangzhouer but you can't read it!

11   Hay   <C> (xxx)

---

[a] The morphemes 虚 (feeble) and 须 (must) are homophones in Putonghua ([xu]), but the former is pronounced as [hoey] while the latter as [soey] in Cantonese. Chen's mistake may be due to this
[b] The morphemes 须 (must) and 衰 (ill-fortuned) are homophones in Cantonese, but not in Putonghua. The participants have to understand Cantonese in order to understand the punchline.
[c] Su actually pronounced the character 长 incorrectly. When 长 means "to grow", it is pro-nounced as [dzoeng] in Cantonese. Yet it means "to last long" in this context and should be pronounced as [tsoeng]. However, it was difficult to get it right because they were not familiar with the poem and did not fully understand it.

In the episode Excerpt 4.10 above, I was asking the students to try and read out the poem in their hometown speeches. As Chen was identified by himself and others as a Teochew person, he was not obliged to read the poem in Cantonese but he volunteered with interest. It was a difficult task and he made mistakes one after another. Su corrected his mistakes at turn 2, made a punch line at turn 4 and Du laughed at turn 5, but Chen did not seem to mind them—he laughed at turn 3 and continued to read in turn 7. Hay changed the playful dynamic. After repeating Su's punch line at turn 6, he teased Chen for not being able to read the poem in Cantonese correctly. I translated turn 9 as "See? You don't know how to read (either)" because it can be inferred from the context that Hay was comparing Chen to himself. That was one step too far for Chen to put up with because from Chen's perspective, Hay and he are in different relations to Cantonese. Chen pointed a finger at Hay and defended himself loudly in Putonghua.

The clever switch from Cantonese to Putonghua gave Chen an advantage in two ways. Firstly, he was more fluent and eloquent in Putonghua than in Cantonese, but more importantly, the code-switching allowed him to change from the footing of a Cantonese L2 speaker being judged to that of an onlooker passing judgement. Chen's words, "You are a Guangzhouer but you can't read it", reminded the group members of what had happened moments earlier—Hay had been discredited as Cantonese by Du. Chen, who supported Hay at that time, had now become irritated and turned against him with a powerful "weapon". Hay, who had never been an eloquent boy, could not fight back but merely murmured something barely audible in Cantonese. Similar scenes did not happen again during the same session and the boys went on as if nothing had happened, leaving me shocked.

Reading an unfamiliar poem in Cantonese, which none of them had ever practised doing, is after all a difficult task and involves the kind of literacy skills they had never been formally taught. While Chen was not fluent in reading out the poem

in Cantonese, his second dialect, Su, a confident Cantonese-D1 speaker, also made mistakes. The ability to speak one's mother tongue does not naturally guarantee the ability to read it, or to "read it aloud". It is perfectly natural for a native speaker of any language to be illiterate as a result of not having received education in their native languages. However, the boys did not see it this way. They had assumed that the native speaker should automatically be perfect in his mother tongue—and there is only one correct version for each variety.

The expectation that the "pure" children should master their hometown speech unconditionally, fails to recognise the fact that most of them are bilingual, or even multilingual, and that there is variation within any language. Like their "mixed" peers, these children also cope with the challenges of regularly learning and using more than one language in their daily life, and these languages are not clearly compartmentalised in their mind. Such challenges are frequently understated, if not ignored. Researchers have pointed out that multilinguals have a wider range of literacies than monolinguals, but these literacies are rarely recognised because they are not part of the "preferred literacy" (Lotherington 2003) taught at school. Similarly, as we have discussed in the Singaporean context in Chap. 2, the multilingualism of the older generations was not recognised because it was not in line with the English-knowing bilingualism prescribed by the government.

In the current case, the reading of written Cantonese is not taught in the schools in Guangzhou, where the "preferred literacy" is that of Putonghua and written MSC. Given the absence of formal education and the wide gap between Cantonese and Putonghua, it is quite an achievement for the participants to have taught themselves to read and write in Cantonese. It is a shame, however, that the discourses in their schools and homes have failed to recognise such achievements.

4.3   Summary

This chapter gives an introduction to the multidialectal setting of Guangzhou, the two school communities and the profiles of the participants against that backdrop. Following that, we addressed the first subset of research questions: What are the participants' perceptions of the language situation in Guangzhou? How do they relate to dialects in their linguistic repertoires within such a sociolinguistic context?

In the analysis above, we have seen the strategies and repertoires used by the students to negotiate their regional identities and to justify the relationships between home towns, hometown speeches and themselves. The intricacies and multiplicities in their discursive construction of ethnolinguistic identities and multidialectal competencies are notable. The emergence of a generation of Putonghua-MT speakers foregrounds significant changes in the sociolinguistic landscape of Guangzhou, which we will revisit later. How attuned to these social and sociolinguistic changes are school and family language socialisation practices? How do language attitudes seem to be transmitted and transformed across generations through these practices? These are the questions to bear in mind when we examine language practices in institutional settings and in the family in the following chapters

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Chapter 5
Language Socialisation in Multidialectal Households: A Case Study

Using a case study that focuses on home language socialization practices, this chapter investigates the third subset of research questions: What are the students' usual language practices at home? How are they socialised to make such language choices? How do they justify their choices? We examine how parents in a migrant family deal with the sociolinguistic challenges for their child in such a multidialectal city as Guangzhou, and how family language policy may influence the child's language use and attitudes.

It is generally agreed that attitudes are learned. They may be learned through observational learning and instrumental learning (Garrett 2010). In the first process, we notice others' attitudes and the related consequences; in the second, we consider the negative or positive consequences of certain attitudes. Such learning happens through language socialisation (Duff 2010), in which children and other novices acquire the norms, knowledge, and communicative competence in order to react to the their social world in a consistent and characteristic way and thus become competent members of their communities.

In bilingual families, the parents' language attitudes become particularly clear when they "choose", with varying degrees of awareness, the languages in which their children first learn to talk and later the rules of speaking at home—the family language policy (Luykx 2003). However, it is too simplistic to equate the choice of one particular language with favourable attitude towards that language. The parents' justifications for their choices are at least as important as the choices per se, the close examination of which enables us to situate their attitudes within the wider historical, social, cultural, and educational contexts. Moreover, children do not simply inherit their parents' language attitudes and imitate their language behaviours. In line with the current trends in language socialisation research (Luykx 2005; Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007), the current book takes as its premise the fact that children are as active agents as adults in shaping language socialisation practices and coconstructing language attitudes. In situations of language contact in which children generally have greater access to socially valued linguistic resources than their parents do, the children's emerging competencies could have significant impact on the family language practices (Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010).

Using a case study that focuses on home language socialization practices, this chapter examines the third subset of research questions: What are the students' usual language practices at home and school? How are they socialised to make such language choices? How do they justify their choices? The case of Chen's family illustrates the longitudinal process of how the family language policy was adjusted to Chen's shifting multilingual competence and how Chen's language attitudes seemed to be related to his language socialisation experience at home.

Mr and Mrs Chen were from the same town in the Chaoshan (Teochew) Region and spoke the same variety of Teochew dialect. They came to Guangzhou for tertiary education in 1989 and 1993 respectively and stayed there from then on. The Chen family was well off and they had just moved from another "respectable" neighbourhood in Tianhe District to the Grand Estate before Chen was transferred to this school. According to Chen's parents, both neighbourhoods had many Teochew people but that was just a coincidence for them.

Chen was born and raised in Guangzhou. He was 10 years old and had just transferred from another school at the onset of the study. He was outgoing, quick-witted, proud, and soon elected as one of the four class presidents. He is the boy who, as mentioned in the last chapter, showed great interest in reading a classical poem in Cantonese and who first supported but later "attacked" Hay, the discredited Cantonese native speaker. In his interview, Chen did not hesitate to identify himself as a Teochew person based on the network of "家族" (*Jiazu*, "family and clan").

Excerpt 5.1 Interview with Chen: Wherever the Jiazu is, it is my hometown

1	Liang	<P> So if someone speaks Cantonese, you would consider him/her a Guangzhouer ?
2	Chen	No, I don't think so. Yet some classmates say that people's birthplaces are their home towns.
3	Liang	What do you think?
4	Chen	I don't agree with them.
5	Liang	So what's your opinion?
6	Chen	Wherever the Jiazu is, it is (the hometown).
7	Liang	So where do most members of your Jiazu live?
8	Chen	Chaozhou (Teochew city). Two thirds of the population live in Chaozhou. Err…three fourths, actually, because only my father, his brother and the sons of some relatives have left (Chaozhou) to work elsewhere. Very few of them live in Guangzhou. People from Chaoshan (the Teochew region) who are our relatives (and live in Guangzhou)…very few.

Chen's quick response showed his familiarity with the issue and the confidence he had in his answer. The notion of *Jiazu* is related to patrilineal ancestors—the official definition of a person's place of origin—but puts more emphasis on lineage and the social network. It was common in the past for people with the same family name, that is, the same lineage, to live close to each other in the same or neighbouring villages, which formed a *Jiazu*. Single- or multilineage residential villages are still common in Guangdong and Fujian Provinces (Zhou 2002; Freedman 1966), in other words, more or less among the Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, and other Min-dialect-speaking populations. In the past, migration was relatively rare, unless because of war, political persecution, famine, or disasters, in which case the whole *Jiazu* moved together. In the analysis later in this chapter, we will find that Chen's *Jiazu* played an important role in his relearning of his mother tongue and reinforcing his self-identification as a Teochew person. He often spoke of "we Teochew (people and dialects)", as if he were speaking not only as an individual but also as a member of the whole *Jiazu* on behalf of all Teochew people.

5.1   Language Shift Within the Family

Language shift takes place out of sight and out of mind (Gafaranga 2010), but Chen's family was an exception. A lot of stories were told about what language choices they consciously made and their opinions about the language shift they experienced.

They had been using Teochew speech only in the family until Chen went to kindergarten, when they started to teach him Cantonese. As soon as he started primary school, however, Chen switched to Putonghua for communication with his parents and began to forget Teochew speech and Cantonese. Yet Mr and Mrs Chen found ways to reeducate him in Teochew speech.

It was between 2002 and 2004 that Chen went to kindergarten in his former neighbourhood. The Language Law 2001 was supposed to have taken effect, and therefore schools and kindergartens were supposed to be teaching in Putonghua. Yet for Chen, the second language variety he picked up was Cantonese. Mrs Chen remembered how they decided to teach Chen Cantonese.

Excerpt 5.2 Interview with Chen's parents: Language shift to Cantonese during the kindergarten period

Mrs Chen	<P> We used to speak Teochew speech only. However, when Chen went to kindergarten, he could not understand the teacher, neither did the teacher understand him, and so we taught him to speak Guangzhou Hua ever since. In that kindergarten, for about three to four years, he spoke Guangzhou Hua.
Liang	So they spoke Guangzhou Hua at that kindergarten?
Mrs Chen	Yes. Those teachers spoke Guangzhou Hua. He spoke well (at that time).

Chen also remembered the experience of not being understood at first in the kindergarten, and the shame and anxiety of the event(s) might explain his vivid memory—he wet his pants because his request in Teochew speech was not understood by the teacher. He said that he learned Cantonese quickly because the teachers always talked to him in Cantonese, but Putonghua was also taught in the kindergarten. By the time he was six, he could speak Cantonese very well and when his parents took him to Hong Kong, he had no problem communicating with the locals. The turning point came when Chen went to primary school. Chen's kindergarten classmates went to the same primary school with him. Mrs Chen recounted that all of them suddenly switched to Putonghua.

Excerpt 5.3 Interview with Chen's parents: Maybe it's because they promote Putonghua all the time

1	Liang	<P> That was quite…an abrupt change wasn't it? How come?
2	Mrs Chen	**Maybe because they are promoting Putonghua. Isn't that (banner) in every school now? "Please speak Putonghua"**, no matter what.
3	Mr Chen	Another thing is that there aren't many **"pure" local people** in Guangzhou now. Like in Chen's school…Grand Estate is in fact a new community, and the school is a new school. Take A (the previous estate they lived in) for instance, most of the students in that school were children from A, and some of them came from elsewhere. Then **the atmosphere** was not one in which the "pure" Guangzhou locals outnumbered…
4	Mrs Chen	The same. **It was actually the same (The demography of the children in A primary school and A kindergarten were the same)**.The point is once you go to primary school, you must speak Putonghua. You must learn it. Then after you learn it (in class), in order to consolidate his (Chen's) Putonghua proficiency…I meant the pronunciations and tones. I felt that it was **from that time, that they (the kids) all spoke Putonghua.** Putonghua at home, Putonghua with the teachers. Even the teachers would communicate with each other in Putonghua. **But it is okay if you occasionally speak to them in Guangzhou Hua**.
5	Liang	I have rarely heard the students talk with the teachers in Guangzhou Hua.
6	Mrs Chen	Right, none. There are none (of the teachers who talk to the children in Cantonese) now.

7	Mr Chen	**This may be related to the fact that they are promoting Putonghua all the time now.**
8	Mrs Chen	In that way, let's see if the children will forget Guangzhou Hua.
9	Liang	Yeah, many children seem to have…
10	Mr Chen	Look at them. When they speak, it already sounds rather …
11	Mrs.Chen	No, (Chen) can't speak Cantonese any more, or very little. Sometimes I talked to him (in Cantonese), the tones he speaks with…already sound weird. He used to speak quite standard (Cantonese). Kids learn easily.

Mr Chen suggested that changes in the composition of student groups caused the language shift from Cantonese to Putonghua in Chen's primary school. More exactly, the decrease in the proportion of "pure" Guangzhou local people resulted in the loss of a Cantonese-speaking atmosphere, which led to the displacement of Cantonese by Putonghua in school. By "pure" Guangzhou local people, Mr Chen probably meant those whose family had lived in Guangzhou for generations and spoke Cantonese as their native language. Mr Chen considered the sheer majority of the "pure locals" as the guarantee of a Cantonese-speaking atmosphere. Many other adult participants shared this view. If we look at the statistics, from 1990, the year after Mr Chen came to Guangzhou, to 2000, the year after Chen was born, the *Hukou* population[1] dropped from 90.89 to 70.29%. However, the drop in the relative percentage of "pure local" people in Guangzhou did not prevent Mr and Mrs Chen from acquiring Cantonese after they came to Guangzhou. In contrast, that percentage has remained relatively constant at around 70% since Chen was born (GZBS 1991, 2001; Guangdong Bureau of Statistics [GDBS] 2011), which means that Chen's sudden shift in language choices in 2004 cannot be explained statistically.

Nevertheless, there may be implications in Mr Chen's feeling, as people tend to react to their perceived environment (Garrett et al. 2003). In daily life, it is unusual to enquire of someone unfamiliar whether he/she is a "pure" Guangzhou local. Without directly asking the question, the perception of ethnolinguistic identity is a matter of mutual speculation based on each other's language choice and discursive performance. The more a person has the opportunity to speak Cantonese, especially with unfamiliar people, the higher the proportion of "pure local" population he/she is likely to perceive. Hence Mr Chen's perception probably comes from his day-to-day experience of the language shift, which has taken place over the years.

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[1] As the exact number of these "pure local" people is unattainable from the censuses, the percentage of *Hukou* population is used instead. Presumably, the number of people having a Guangzhou *Hukou* is greater than that of "pure locals", because migrants with social resources can obtain a Guangzhou *Hukou*.

Mrs Chen disagreed with Mr Chen as she noticed that Chen's classmates in primary school were more or less the same as those in kindergarten. Therefore the language shift was apparently not due to changes in interlocutors. She proposed that the ubiquitous Putonghua promotion campaigns and the necessity to master Putonghua were the main reasons. In this light, the reason for speaking Putonghua all the time at school, even at home with parents, was for practice—the motivation is largely instrumental. However, Mrs Chen assumed it would still be acceptable if the students spoke to the teacher occasionally in Cantonese, which was how Chen had learned Cantonese in kindergarten. At my prompt, she agreed that the teachers rarely, if ever, talked to the children in Cantonese at school now. Mr Chen came to agree with Mrs Chen and reiterated the impact of the around-the-clock Putonghua promotion campaign on the language shift. From their perspective, the discourse of Putonghua promotion was so powerful that its impact had gone far beyond the enhanced acquisition of Putonghua—it was directly responsible for the decline in proficiency in Cantonese among schoolchildren, as was the case of Chen.

As far as Mr and Mrs Chen saw it, school was an important site, besides home, for children to learn and use Cantonese, especially for children like Chen who were learning Cantonese as their second or third dialect. It seemed instrumentally justified for them that Putonghua should be used for lessons and part of the communication out of class, but abundant opportunities for speaking Cantonese were also desirable. Echoing Mr and Mrs Chen's comments on his declined proficiency in Cantonese, Chen also remembered a significant incident. He remarked during the first interview that when he visited Hong Kong again in grade 2, he could no longer speak Cantonese with ease while he could before primary school.

What Chen started to forget during the first year of his primary education included not only Cantonese but also the Teochew dialect. Mr and Mrs Chen were unhappy about that and took proactive measures to intervene. Mrs Chen seemed to be in charge of reeducating Chen in the Teochew dialect. Chen often quoted his mother when discussing the features of Teochew dialects and the necessity for Teochew people to acquire Teochew dialects, and the importance of being multilingual.

Mr Chen, who was a businessman, highlighted the potential socioeconomic capital of being multilingual. Mrs Chen had something more "essential" in mind—proficiency in Teochew dialect is considered a building block of the Teochew identity. With such conviction, Mrs Chen took steps to ensure that Chen learned Teochew speech. The first step she took was to immerse Chen in a Teochew-speaking environment by sending him to his grandparents, that is, his *Jiazu*, in Chaozhou city.

Excerpt 5.4 Interview with Chen: You have to keep speaking that language, or otherwise you will forget it

1	Chen	\<P\> I learned (the Teochew dialect) from my maternal grandmother. It was a summer vacation. I went back to my home town as soon as the vacation began but my parents returned to Guangzhou to work. They did not take me back to Guangzhou until the very end of the vacation. It was during that period that I learned the Teochew dialect really well.
2	Liang	How old were you?
→3	Chen	It was (after) the second semester of Grade One.
4	Liang	Didn't you say that you could already speak the Teochew dialect in kindergarten, which was why the teacher did not understand you?
5	Chen	Yes, but I switched to Putonghua. I mean, you have to keep speaking that language. Otherwise, you could not understand it, and will forget it eventually.

Mr and Mrs Chen's plan seemed successful. Chen was then able to talk to his parents in Teochew speech on daily topics, with an occasional switch to Putonghua. Similar successful cases have also been reported elsewhere (Esch and Riley 1986/2003, p.158), reporting how a multi-/bilingual child's "dormant" language can be reactivated through immersion in appropriate language environments.

5.2 Rules of Speaking at Home

Speaking of Chen's tendency to switch to Putonghua, Mr and Mrs Chen said that they were used to it and did not mind. In Mr and Mrs Chen's eyes, Chen spoke a great deal of Putonghua at home, but he perceived otherwise. He claimed that he always spoke the Teochew dialect at home apart from words he did not know. During the first focus group session, I asked the participants to do a little language experiment: to talk to a person using a language that they normally would not use with him or her. Chen chose to speak English and Putonghua to his parents during dinner. He tried English first, asking his father: "What's your favourite food?"

Excerpt 5.5 Interview with Chen: A language experiment at home, part one

Chen	<P> He just didn't understand. Guess what he said when he couldn't understand? He said: "Chinese people speak Chinese languages. Don't speak foreign languages. If you want to speak it, wait till you go back to school. Now that we are at home,, **speak Teochew speech or Putonghua**!"

According to the first interview with Chen, Mr Chen could understand some English, so that such a reaction was more likely to have been triggered by irritation than by humiliation. Mr Chen explicitly emphasised the obligation for Chinese people to speak Chinese languages and the only acceptable exception is for learning purposes in educational institutions. Moreover, the expression of Chinese identity is possible through both Putonghua and the Teochew dialect. Now that Mr Chen eventually sanctioned the use of Putonghua at home, Chen went on with his experiment by speaking Putonghua to Mrs Chen.

Excerpt 5.6 Interview with Chen: A language experiment at home, part two

1	Chen	<P> Then I spoke Putonghua to my mom, and…They are used to talking in the Teochew dialect when having dinner.
2	Liang	Mm.
3	Chen	Then, they, my dad and mom were talking, and I told them so and so happened today at school. The thing about Song, you know.
4	Liang	Mm.
5	Chen	Then she said,
→		<T> [da dio sua ue]ᵃ (呾潮汕话, "speak Teochew-Swatow speech"),
		<P> which was [shuo chao zhou hua] ("speak Teochew speech").

6	Liang	((@@)) Was she like very angry, or what?
7	Chen	Yes. Because she said, "You spoke enough English at school, and enough for Putonghua too. Don't you speak any more (English and Putonghua at home)."

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[a] The transcription of Teochew dialects is given with the help of Teochew friends and the convention of romanisation was adopted from an online Teochew dialects dictionary (Teochew Dictionary 2005). Since there is considerable variability within Teochew dialects, the romanisation was according to the actual pronunciation of the participants.

Chen clearly knew the rule of speaking in the Teochew dialect during dinner, and Mrs Chen's reaction made it clear to him that speaking Putonghua at home "for no good reason" would not be tolerated. The premise was that enough time had already been devoted to learning and practising Putonghua (and English) at school, so that the Teochew dialect should be spoken as much as possible at home. Chen quoted the short but powerful "order" of his mother in Teochew speech, which not only gave a sense of authenticity but also recreated the tension of that scenario. By making the request to switch in the target language (the Teochew dialect), Mrs Chen intensified the effect of that request, since using the language was also a message in itself (Gafaranga 2010). Chen might have understood the meaning of both the medium and the literal message, so that he reproduced both to me. I asked him what might have happened if he had carried on speaking Putonghua regardless of what his mother said. He said she would probably tell him to be quiet and do his homework, even if he had not finished dinner. By purposely violating the unspoken rules about how to speak at home, it became clear to Chen that what language behaviour was acceptable at home and what was not. Putonghua was allowed in the household only for complementary purposes, that is, when there was something that was difficult or inconvenient to express in the Teochew dialect.

After executing the S.O.S. hometown-immersion measure and establishing the home language preference, Mr and Mrs Chen now turned their attention to Chen's Cantonese. Chen said that recently his parents had started to tell him to brush up his Cantonese as they had found out that his Cantonese proficiency had declined significantly. They would sometimes "check" him by talking to him over the telephone in Cantonese. Chen said that he would not cooperate, and replied in Putonghua. Mr Chen said that they watched a lot of Cantonese television programmes at home, and Chen would watch but just would not speak. They did not push him further as they had done with his Teochew-dialect learning. Chen declared in his first interview that he did not care to improve his Cantonese at the moment, because he believed that Putonghua, Teochew speech and English were quite enough for him. If he had time, he would like to learn more foreign languages instead. "But Cantonese might be useful in the future, and I will learn then", he added.

5.3   The Importance of Being Multilingual

The experience of learning, unlearning, and relearning several language varieties has not only affected Chen's linguistic competence but also his language awareness and attitudes. First, he realised that "native speakers" are not "naturally produced entities" but "socialised beings", and there is no guarantee of the intergenerational transmission of mother tongue (McEwan-Fujita 2010). Second, he readily identified with the value of individual and societal multilingualism. These could be seen in his interaction with other students with regard to issues concerning regional dialects and Putonghua. During the first focus group discussion, I asked the students to comment on the functions of Putonghua and regional dialects. Chen had a debate with Lei, a Putonghua-D1 speaker.

Excerpt 5.7 Grand-Estate boy focus group: What is the point of using regional dialects?

1	Chen	<P> I feel that speaking home-town speech is…I mean, it feels more intimate to speak one's own home-town speech. ((The children quieted down.)) So I think by using regional dialects…
2	Liang	You feel that its function is to enhance intimacy.
→3	Lei	((Interrupted and spoke loudly)) I feel that, **it doesn't matter** whether we use home-town speech or not, because Putonghua is commonly-used. **It doesn't hurt** if everyone speaks Putonghua.
4	Chen	The function of Putonghua is that if everyone in the whole world, er, across the whole China is able to speak it, then everyone…
→5	Lei	((Interrupted)) I feel that if everyone can speak Putonghua, then **there's no point using regional dialects.**
→6	Chen	You are nuts.
	Du	((@@@))
→7	Lei	YOU are nuts.
8	Wu	I say it is more convenient (to have regional dialects).

→9   Chen   Putonghua is just something for everyone in China to be able to speak (and share with). **If a person knows only one language, how boring that is. ((Peeked at Lei.))**

→10   Wu   It is too old-fashioned and stuffy ("古板") to speak only one variety.

Both of Lei's parents are from Shaanxi Province, but Lei was born and grew up in Guangzhou. While all the adults (parents, his grandmother, and a housemaid) in his household regularly conversed in the Shaanxi dialect, Lei claimed that he could understand but barely speak it. In Lei's case, the Shaanxi dialect had never been a language of intimacy for him. Putonghua has replaced regional dialects for almost all purposes for him, and thus he reasoned that it would not "hurt" if everyone else also spoke Putonghua all the time. Chen refuted Lei's argument not by denying the (socio)linguistic adequacy of Putonghua to serve all purposes but by arguing for the value of diversity and multilingualism. From Chen's perspective, Putonghua was an additional lingua franca for an ethnically and linguistically diverse Chinese population rather than a substitute for regional dialects. His favourable attitude towards multilingualism was reminiscent of his parents' attitudes. Yet his support for regional dialects might also have come from the advantages he had found from knowing Chinese dialects other than Putonghua. For example, he was the only student in the group who was able to read the poems during the first session in both Cantonese and Teochew speech, and thereby taking an active part in both discussions. As a student who wanted to distinguish himself in every aspect, Chen also enjoyed being uniquely Teochew and speaking a dialect that only a few classmates could understand. Once, he explained why his favourite Chinese regional dialect was the Teochew dialect, "Putonghua is too '*pu tong*'(common, ordinary)" ("普通话太普通了"). For want of a better expression, Chen dismissed Lei's one-language-is-enough proposition as "nuts" and "boring". Wu's view following Chen was also interesting. Wu, who is a native Teochew-dialect speaker new to Guangzhou, spoke Putonghua with a Teochew accent. In the same session, Chen and Wu called people who could not speak Putonghua "bumpkins", while here Wu called people who could speak only Putonghua "old-fashioned and stuffy". So it seemed that only those who could speak both Putonghua and regional dialects might be called "modern" and "fashionable".

On the other hand, Lei's one-language proposition should not simply be taken as his preference for monolingualism. In a previous individual interview, I asked Lei if he planned to improve his proficiency in Shaanxi dialect or Cantonese in the future. He replied that Shaanxi dialect was out of the question because he did not use it much, but he would consider improving his Cantonese. He said he used to speak Cantonese quite well in kindergarten (similar to Chen), and because he lived in Guangzhou after all, it would be worth improving his Cantonese. When I asked for the group's opinion on the issue on changing the broadcasting language of GZTV

(the issue mentioned in Chap. 1), Lei voted for a bidialectal mode of broadcasting, which was not an option in the question I asked. All things considered, I believe Lei supported multilingualism generally. He disregarded the value of regional dialects in that particular debate probably because regional dialects were not felt to be significant in his life. There is no Shaanxi dialect speech community comparable to the Teochew or Hakka speech communities in Guangzhou. While Lei's mother and relatives complained occasionally about his inability to speak Shaanxi dialect, they took no measures to deal with the "problem". Hence he generalised from his experience that regional dialects were not necessary. Yet if the question had been about the function of Cantonese more specifically, a dialect with which he could identify, the answer might have been different. Both Chen and Lei grew up in the city where their dialectal "mother tongue" (or hometown speech) was not the dominant variety, but their language attitudes sounded rather different. We could not be certain what exactly made the difference. Yet the home language socialisation experience of Chen did seem to have contributed to his way of perceiving languages and multilingualism.

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Chapter 6
Translanguaging Practices
in Multidialectal Groups

Drawing data from the focus group discussions, this chapter addresses the fourth subset of research questions: How do the participants negotiate language choices and index language attitudes in interaction? This question is important as a discursive approach to language attitudes considers attitudes as performed rather than preformed, and the specific processes and strategies of constructing attitudes by multilinguals are central to the focus of the study.

In multilingual communities, translanguaging is the communicative norm, rather than the exception. People make use of the multiple linguistic resources in their repertoire in complex and creative ways on a daily basis to negotiate meaning, subject positions, and construct translanguaging space (Li 2011) for communication. In the current study, participants used a variety of discursive strategies to construct that space, their language preferences, and their identities. In this chapter, we will focus on the strategy of language crossing.

As reviewed earlier, language crossing is a specific type of discursive strategy, in which the speakers use a language that does not "belong" to them and are thus "crossing" linguistic and ethnic boundaries (Rampton 1998). Compared to Rampton's original study, the "languages" in the current study are less "ethnically" distinct, and therefore the boundaries are presumably (but not necessarily) vaguer. In the case of Guangzhou, it is difficult to discern the "ownership" of Cantonese because it was once a regional lingua franca, and the ethnolinguistic identities of the second-generation immigrants in Guangzhou can be rather fluid. Moreover, it is observed that the Cantonese are generally enthusiastic when others speak Cantonese, rather than "misinterpreting" the action as humiliation or stereotyping, which is possible in situations in which the target varieties are stigmatised (see Sect. 6.3.1, *Misinterpretation of motives*, in Siegel 2010). Therefore, language crossing was more often welcomed than suspected in the context of the current study, when the crossed-into language was Cantonese and when the recipients were Cantonese. As an additional note, there was no language crossing at all during the Sandwood session which included both boy and girl participants—quite contrary to what Rampton

(1998) observed in cross-sex interaction among adolescents. These Guangzhou participants (10–12 years old) tended to act cautiously rather than boldly, language-use-wise, in the presence of their fellow students of the opposite sex.

Among the 12 focus group sessions, the phenomenon of language crossing was found in nine. Most language crossing happened during the last two sessions, both because of the nature of the activities and the development of rapport—closer relationships probably reduced the anxiety about losing face and encouraged moments of "liminality" (Turner 1982, quoted in Rampton 1998) when assumptions about normal social life might be loosened. Most of the language crossing was initiated spontaneously by the participants rather than upon my explicit request. Sometimes the "transgressions" were initiated in a playful atmosphere but ended in tension. Examining different types of transgression helps to shed light on the interpersonal and sociolinguistic dynamics that may facilitate or break down multidialectal communications, and on the embedded attitudes and identities.

6.1   Mischief, Learning, and Having Fun

In the current study, the use of language crossing to swear or carry out other verbal offences generally passed unnoticed when the recipients were the "owners" of the crossed-into language or at least understood that language. It was also exclusively boys who mentioned that one of the functions of their MT dialects was to abuse others verbally, and they felt especially good if the recipient did not understand the dialect. The following language-crossing episode occurred during the first focus group session with the Grand-Estate boy group.

Excerpt 6.1 Grand-Estate boy focus group: So much nonsense

1	Wu	<P> So much nonsense.
2	Liang	That's right. Where does so much nonsense come from?
→3	Chen	((Pointed at Liang)) <C>You this [a dzi a dzo] (你哩个阿吱阿咗)
4	Du	((@@@)) [a dzi a dzo] ("too nagging").
5	Su	You think you can have your own way by being a teacher? (你老师大晒啊?)
	All but Wu	((@@@))
6	Du	((@)) Why so [lo lo so so] (啰啰嗦嗦, "nagging")?

→7   Wu   \<P> Return to the topic.

→8   Su   \<C> Fight single handed (隻揪, duel).

→9   Chen   ((Smiled.))\<P> The four of us ((pointed at Hay, Du, and Su on his right-hand side)) can (speak Cantonese). He ((pointed at Wu on his left-hand side, laughed)) cannot speak Baihua (Cantonese). ((@@@))

10   Liang   ‖ Wu came (to Guangzhou)=

→11 Du   ((to Chen, provocatively)) ‖ Can you speak Cantonese?

12   Liang   = ‖ the latest, didn't he?=

→13 Du   ‖ Can you?

14   Liang   = ‖ He even has not been here for a year.

→15 Du   ‖ Can you? Speak!

16   Chen   ((Looked at Du)) What?

→17 Hay   \<C> Speak Baakwaa (Cantonese) (讲白话).

→18 Chen   \<P> Shall I speak? (说吗？) ((Smiled and rolled up his sleeves))

→19 Du   Speak Baakwaa (说白话)

→20 Chen   Speak Baakwaa. (说白话)

           \<C> Speak Baakwaa?(\<粤>讲白话啊)

→21 Du   ((Smiled and looked at Chen. Su was looking at Chen too.)) Hm (嗯).

22   Chen   Okay (in English).

     Wu   ((bending over the table))

23   Du   \<C> Say it. (讲啦)

24   Chen   No, I won't. (唔讲)

25	Du, Hay	(loudly) [tse ::]! ("嘖", "boo", sound of exclamation)
	Chen, Hay, Du, Su	((@@@))
→26	Wu	((Sat up and laughed together)) <P> What are you guys messing around with!
27	Chen	((Continued to read from the hand-out in Putonghua for the next question))

Participants: Liang (Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2, Teochew-dialect-minimal), Wu (Teochew-dialect-D1, Putonghua-D2, Cantonese-minimal understanding), Chen (Teochew-dialect-D1, Cantonese-D2, Putonghua-D3), Du (Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2), Su (Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2), Hay (Cantonese-D1, Putonghua-D2)

As we can see, Chen's use of an idiomatic Cantonese expression in turn 3 stimulated a playful spirit among the native Cantonese recipients, so that in turn 4–6, Du and Su tried to contribute their own rude and defiant sayings in Cantonese. As indicated by the loud laughter, their purpose was not to offend but to entertain others—the norm that teachers should be respected was temporarily suspended at this moment of poking fun. Wu, who could not understand a word, tried to change the topic of the interaction and made a clear demand in Putonghua in turn 7. Yet his language preference was not accommodated immediately as Su continued poking fun in turn 8.

After the switch into Cantonese from turn 3 to 6 and considering Wu's reaction in turn 7, Chen excitedly commented on one possible linguistic subgrouping within the focus group. By his standards, he was a member of the "competent-in-Cantonese" group, together with the three native Cantonese speakers, while Wu alone was an outgroup member. This categorisation, however, was immediately and aggressively challenged by Du, the very self-assertive native Cantonese boy who dismissed Hay as a native Cantonese speaker in Chap. 4. While I was trying to explain to Wu in turn 10, 12, and 14, Du and Chen ignored me completely and confronted each other about the issue of Cantonese competence. In turn 17, Hay joined in the confrontation and switched into Cantonese to make a medium request (Gafaranga 2010). Chen's action of rolling up his sleeves in turn 18 was a sign of his readiness and confidence with regard to speaking Cantonese, as if saying, "Bring it on!" Turn 20 and 24 contained Chen's brief language crossings into Cantonese, which were obviously scrutinised by the native speakers. The feedback was the loud laughter that followed. It was neither approval nor disapproval, but rather effectively recast the proficiency-assessment scenario as play. With Wu's Putonghua turn in line 26 after the laughter, the interactional order and "social reality" returned to "normal".

This episode as a whole showed that the use of language crossing can be entertaining for both the crossers and the recipients. The accomplishment of language crossing was also shown to be constitutive of liminal moments when language use was valued for its creativity rather than conformity to routine social order. In turn, a liminal language-use environment, in which participants worry less about losing/saving face, or observing social conventions, would be conducive for experimenting with language preference and learning through language crossing.

There were numerous examples of using regional dialects to swear or speak self-assertively in the data (not necessarily involving language crossing).This strong link between specific language variety and genre has been conceptualised as the phenomenon of code-specific genres (Garrett 2005, pp. 349–350). It is an example of "collocational indexing"—the code indexes genre, and code and genre together index some "local contextual dimension". In turn, code-specific genres may leave a certain "imprint" on the associated code. This suggests that if dialects are consistently used whenever the participants swear, they may come to think of those dialects as inherently good for such purposes, and a greater risk is to think of them as good ONLY for such purposes. In the current study, however, this does not seem to be a major concern for Cantonese, as the participants (including the D1 speakers and the language crossers) used Cantonese for a variety of creative purposes besides mischief.

As Rampton (1998) observes, "language crossing frequently foregrounded second language learning as an issue of active concern to participants themselves" (p. 307), because bilingual/multilingual competence is a prerequisite for effective language crossing. The following episode shows how the students spontaneously used language crossing in language-focused activities. It took place during the third focus group session with the girls in Sandwood School. The girls were provided with a Cantonese dictionary, a Putonghua-Cantonese-Hakka-Teochew-dialect dictionary, and later collections of nursery rhymes in their hometown speech . After the first two sessions, they had become accustomed to discussing matters related to each other's hometown speech.

Jiaxin and Hu crossed into Cantonese in this episode. As mentioned earlier, both Hu's parents came from the Hakka region in Guangdong province and they moved to Sandwood before Hu was born. Hu lived with her parents and her Hakka-monolingual grandparents, so her D1 and home language was Hakka. She can understand most Cantonese conversations but rarely spoke any. Jiaxin's parents moved from Jiangxi Province, a Gan-dialect-speaking region, to Sandwood after Jiaxin was born, but Jiaxin stayed in her parents' hometown until she went to kindergarten. Jiaxin's parents used predominantly Putonghua with some Cantonese and Gan dialect at home. Jiaxin said that her D1 was the Gan dialect, but she had forgotten it since she went to school and started speaking Putonghua. Just before year 5 in primary school (around the time of the fieldwork), she felt a desire to relearn her D1 while simultaneously she was learning Cantonese from her tutor-cum-friend Min. I had heard Jiaxin speaking brief Cantonese sentences from time to time before the following episode.

Excerpt 6.2 Sandwood girl focus group: I can say it. Don't be so fussy

1	Hu	\<P\> Let me take a look, just a look.
	Min, Jiax-in	((Tried to make fun of Hu by preventing her from reading the diction-aries.))
→2	Jiaxin	((Read from the dictionary)) \<C\> [Daai gai] (大鸡,"big chicken")…
3	Liang	Sh, listen to her.
→4	Jiaxin	[Daai gai m] (大鸡唔, "Big chicken doesn't") [saai] ([sik]) (食, "eat") (She mispronounced the word "eat")…
5	Kiki	[Daai gai m sik sai mai] (大鸡唔食细米, "Big chicken doesn't eat small rice").
→6	Jiaxin	((@)) Alas, I can say it. Don't be so (fussy)…
7	Min	You don't know how to say it.
→8	Liang	\<P\> Have you seen this kind of dictionary before?
9	Hu, Jiaxin	No, "no" (in English).
	Min,Ying	((Discussing the entries in the dictionary loudly in Cantonese))
	Liang, Jiaxin	((Continued talking about the availability of dialect dictionaries in Putonghua))
10	Liang	((Pointed at the dictionary in Min's hand)) This is a Hakka dic-tionary.
→11	Hu	She won't let me read it. No use at all!('有鬼用', a Cantonese expression pronounced in Putonghua)

12	Liang	I will give you a copy later.
→13	Min	It is all Cantonese. Why should I give it to you?
14	Liang	This one is on nursery rhymes. There is one for everyone. Don't worry. ((Gave out materials))
→15	Jiaxin	<C>Min, let's exchange what we have, don't give it (the dictionary) to her (Hu). ((Handed the dictionary to Min beyond the reach of Hu.))
→16	Hu	You are mischievous! (好衰咖)
17	Min	Right! Don't give it to her.
18	Hu	((Forgot to pass the handouts to others))
→19	Liang	What are you doing? Why do you keep so many handouts to yourself?
→20	Jiaxin	That's right. Why keep so many copies to yourself?
21	Kiki	She's gone nuts.
22	Ying	Go nuts, go nuts!
20	Everyone else	((tried to steal a copy from Hu.))
23	Liang	Everyone has a copy. No need to steal. ((@@))
→24	Hu	((Read from the handout)) [jyt gwong gwong], [dziu dei tong]. ("月光光，照地堂", the first two sentences from the nursery rhyme "moonlight")
25	Ying	Oh, it is on your blog[a].
26	Liang	Yes.
27	Everyone	((Started to read the Cantonese nursery rhymes by themselves. Kiki read most fluently. Jiaxin and Hu also read with others in Cantonese.))

Participants: Liang (C-D1, P-D2, T-minimal), Jiaxin (Jiangxi-Hua-D1(relearning), P-D2, C-D3 (actively learning), Hu (Hakka-D1, P-D2, C-D3 (unknown proficiency), Min (C-D1, P-D2), Kiki (C-D1, P-D2), Ying (C-D1, Hunannese-D2, P-D3)

[a] I had a blog on the same social network website on which the students were active members. Therefore they could find and view my blog and I had put some of the materials online before using them in the focus group sessions.

While I had heard Jiaxin speaking Cantonese before, I was still rather surprised to hear her speaking it continuously for such a long time. In turn 2, Jiaxin initiated language crossing into Cantonese and changed the language of communication of the group from Putonghua to Cantonese. In turn 5, Jiaxin's pronunciation was corrected by Kiki, and in turn 7 Min playfully challenged Jiaxin about not being able to speak (correct) Cantonese. The two explicit comments on Jiaxin's Cantonese performance indicated that this language crossing was marked. Jiaxin appeared (or pretended) to be mildly annoyed, as implied by her smile in turn 6. Yet instead of switching to Putonghua to defend herself, she continued to express her annoyance in Cantonese. We may recall that a similar scenario was presented in Chap. 4 in which the Grand-Estate schoolboy Chen crossed into Cantonese when reading a classical poem (Excerpt 4.10). He also made mistakes but carried on reading until he was teased by Hay, "the discredited native speaker". It was then that Chen changed his footing by switching to Putonghua and challenging Hay. In the current episode, Kiki who corrected Jiaxin was an "eligible" Cantonese speaker, which may be why Jiaxin only complained without challenging Kiki.

As a participant in the episode, I was concerned about potential confrontations or "too much" Cantonese. Therefore, I intervened in turn 8 by switching to Putonghua. In turn 13, Min created the boundary between the Cantonese-speaking and non-Cantonese-speaking groups—only Cantonese speaking people can make use of the dictionary. Jiaxin was quick to declare her alignment (not necessarily conscious) by crossing into Cantonese in turn 15. Surprisingly for me, Hu also switched to Cantonese following Jiaxin in turn 16 and thus joined the Cantonese-speaking group and stuck to Cantonese for the rest of the conversation. Other participants did not make any comments on Hu's language crossing and just continued working on the task. It seems to me that the group was in the "mode" to speak Cantonese at that moment—mistakes might be corrected but were also accepted, contributions by crossers were celebrated, and the priority was to keep the medium of interaction as Cantonese. This was one liminal moment in which the focus was on learning and playing with languages, while concerns about "face" were temporarily suspended.

6.2   Confrontations

We can see from the last section that a nonjudgmental atmosphere and flexible links between language proficiency and ethnolinguistic identities are essential for language crossing to happen and last. Language crossing constructs translanguaging space for language play and identity experiments, but such discursively constructed space is fluid and unstable. The various social, historical, and ideological processes that are temporarily suspended during language crossing may come into play and change the communicative dynamics at any moment. In the focus group interactions, confrontations often accompany translanguaging practice. Among the excerpts cited in previous chapters, we have already seen two scenarios when translanguaging moments turn into confrontations. One is when Teochew-D1 Chen

stopped reading a classical poem in Cantonese and challenged Cantonese-D1 Hay because Hay laughed at his pronunciation mistakes (Excerpt 4.10). The other one has to do with two related excerpts. Excerpt 6.2 is about the girls reading dialect dictionaries in which Hu and Jiaxin crossed into Cantonese. Ying, the only "mixed" girl in the group joined them in reading the materials in Cantonese while Min, Ying's friend and a "pure" native Cantonese speaker, kept correcting Ying's pronunciation. After a few times, Ying became irritated and protested and the scenario in Excerpt 4.8 happened. Ying was desperate because her linguistic and identity dilemma as "mixed" was not understood by friends. In both scenarios, language crossing stopped and confrontations began when a native speaker's proficiency in his/her native tongue was questioned. The monolingual ideology of "the native speakers must speak 'perfect' mother tongues" contradicts the value of flexibility and fluidity in language crossing, so that the liminal moment ceased.

Another situation is when translanguaging happens without effectively constructing translanguaging space for participation. The following episode illustrates this situation. During the last focus group session with the Sandwood girls, I was asking how the participants felt about my first interview with them. After interviewing Hu (Hakka-D1 girl) in Putonghua, I turned to Min (Cantonese-D1) and started to interview her. This episode lasted for just under two and a half minutes and included 53 turns. Some turns have been omitted or simplified to show the structure of the interaction more clearly.

Excerpt 6.3 Sandwood girl focus group: Please don't speak Cantonese

1	Liang	<P> How about you?
→2	Min	<C> About what?
3	Liang	About…when I interviewed you, for the first time, how did you feel?
4-13	Min, Tang, Liang	(Talk in Cantonese)
14	Min	I did not feel anything at that time!
→15	Jiaxin	<P> The raw was cooked (生的熟了)[a] and became edible.
16	Liang	<C> You felt nothing?
17	Min	Nope.
→18	Jiaxin	((Imitated my way of speaking)) Felt nothing.
19-21	Min, Tang, Liang	(Talk in Cantonese)

22   Min   No, I don't remember.

→23   Hu   <P> Memory loss.

→24   Min   <C> Name a question, one of the questions.

25-32 Min,   (Talk in Cantonese)
      Tang,
      Liang   ((I turned to face Ying))

33   Ying   Hm. What's up?

→34   Jiaxin   <P> Like when you are at home, how, what language
               do you use to talk to your parents. (She was giving an
               example of the questions I asked.)

35   Liang   Ummm:: Okay. We will finish this first ‖and then I will
               move over there.

36   Jiaxin   ‖Like   how
               old are you, and such…

37   Liang   ((Towards Ying)) You, I mean how did you feel when I in-
               terviewed you for the first time?

→38   Ying   ((Turned her head and looked at Jiaxin)) I…

39   Tang   I felt a little nervous.

40   Liang   Nervous?

→41   Min   <C> I did.

               <P> Did she interview you?

42   Tang   (Talk in Putonghua)

→43   Min   <C> I was…I was tongue-tied too at that time.

44   Liang   Then why were you tongue-tied?

45-18 Min,   (Talk in Cantonese)
      Tang,
      Liang

49   Liang   ((Turned to Ying)) You?

50	Ying	((Looked at Jiaxin)) I, I remember at that time…
→51	Jiaxin	\<P\> ((Looked at Hu and spoke with a begging tone)) Alas…Please don't speak Cantonese (Baakwaa). The two of us are like…Plus, I don't speak it well.
52	Hu	I agree. The two of us are so embarrassed.
→53	Ying	I had mixed feelings at that time, and I felt…

Participants: Liang, Hu, Jiaxin, Min, Ying and Tang. Tang was not a member of the focus group but happened to be present. She was a native Cantonese speaker from Sandwood.

ᵃ This is a punch line based on the two senses of the Chinese word "熟": "cooked" and "familiar". From turn 4 to 13 (omitted due to space limit), Min said that she was not "familiar" with me at the beginning of the study. Jiaxin was playing with the double senses of the word.

I had just finished asking Hu questions in Putonghua, so I continued to addressed Min in Putonghua. She immediately switched to Cantonese in turn 2, and I followed her lead. In line 34, when Jiaxin initiated a longer turn in Putonghua, answering a question raised in the interaction between Min, Tang and myself, she accentuated her desire to be involved in the discussion. The medium negotiation strategy she used was what Gafaranga (2010) calls "embedded medium repair"—speaker 2 attends to the ideational content of speaker 1 but proposes to use another language by directly using that language. As a result, Jiaxin's language preference was accommodated from turn 35. However, when the medium of communication appeared to have changed to Putonghua, Min switched again and succeeded in reversing the change and achieving her preference for Cantonese, using the same strategy.

During this competition of language preference, Jiaxin and Hu, the two girls who are not Cantonese-D1 speakers, also used other strategies to attract attention or change the medium of communication. In turn 18, Jiaxin crossed into Cantonese and imitated my way of talking, but she was ignored. In turn 15 and 23, Jiaxin and Hu made two comments in Putonghua respectively, which may be classified as response cries (Rampton 1998). Although they were styled to be overheard in the group (p. 295), they appeared to be nonrecipient-directed so that no linguistic or ideational response was required. Incidentally, both the two response cries were ignored by the group. It was after several such failed attempts implicitly to negotiate the medium of interaction that Jiaxin made the direct request in line 51.

We could see that Jiaxin's and Hu's language preferences here were completely different from those in Excerpt 6.2 when they initiated crossing into Cantonese and maintained that as the medium of communication. One reason for this was the differences in activity type. In Excerpt 6.2, the use of Cantonese was learning-oriented (language-oriented) for the two nonnative Cantonese speakers. Other participants' use of Cantonese was embraced by Jiaxin and Hu as scaffolding for them to improve their own Cantonese proficiency and continue to play with languages. In contrast, in

Excerpt 6.3 above, the activity involved a discussion of feelings (meaning-oriented) so that Jiaxin and Hu felt as if they could not fully participate if the discussion was in Cantonese. Another reason lay in the fact that the medium of interaction in Excerpt 6.2 was chosen by Jiaxin and Hu through language crossing, which suggested their readiness and interest in speaking Cantonese at that particular moment. In Excerpt 6.3, on the contrary, the multiple medium negotiation attempts clearly signalled that the two girls' momentarily preferred language was Putonghua. While translanguaging also happened in Excerpt 6.3, the purpose was not to construct a space for flexible linguistic practice but to restore the "normal order" of using Putonghua as an interdialectal lingua franca.

In this chapter, we have looked at the many possible ways in which the young language learners interacted with the multilingual space in which they dwelled. While they were constantly affected by social and ideological influences external to the local interactions (such as monolingual language ideologies and rigid definition of identities), they were able to actively negotiate meanings, attitudes, and identities in discourses. Language-oriented interactions provided potential liminal moments in which language crossing occurred and was welcomed. In turn, language crossing became constitutive of such liminal moments and created opportunities for second language learning. During such activities, the participants' language preferences were more flexible, and they learned to appreciate linguistic and ethnic differences. However, such moments are unstable and may turn into confrontations when the context, purpose, language preference, language ideology or other aspects of the interactions change, as seen in the examples. Overall, the chapter showed how these multidialectal children dealt with different language preferences and identity positions when interacting with others in multidialectal communication. The capability to accomplish such communication is necessary for becoming a competent member of the multidialectal city of Guangzhou.

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Part IV
Putonghua and Regional Dialects at School

Chapter 7
Language Socialisation in Educational Institutions

In the previous chapters, we have examined the students' language socialisation experience at home and language use among peer groups in private domains. In this chapter, we investigate the second and the third subsets of research questions, that is, the teachers' and the students' language practices in the institutional setting of the school against the larger context of national language policies. We examine how the language ideologies of national language policies are mediated and become institutionalised in the local school contexts. Moreover, by comparing the teachers' and students' language practices and their rationalisations of the practices, we try to discern through what trajectories the teachers' and students' language attitudes, ideologies, and practices become interconnected.

7.1 Teachers' Mediation of Language Policies

In Chap. 2, a web of language policies in mainland China that catches schools in the rigorous promotion of Putonghua is presented. In practice, however, the implementation of these policies is not straightforward. Instead, national education policies are "mediated, interpreted, and applied by successive professional groups" (Pollard and Filer 1999, pp. 30–31), including local education authorities, head teachers, and teachers, before they are experienced by students at school. The mediation by different groups reflects their values and attitudes, and thus it is a process of "dilution, revision, or even distortion, as teachers act as "policymakers in practice" (p. 31).

7.1.1 The Legitimate Language

Miss Cheung, a native Cantonese speaker and an English teacher, has worked as a school leader in both the traditional and the new urban districts before she became the vice-headmistress in Grand-Estate School in 2009. She is also a member of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, one of the eight democratic parties

that "participate in and deliberate on state affairs" (China Consulate 2007). In that capacity, she has been a representative to the municipal- and district-level People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

The interview with Miss Cheung was conducted in her office during working hours and the door of office was left ajar, making it an institutional (or semi-institutional) setting. She suggested using Cantonese for the recorded interview before I had finished asking for her language preference, which seemed to demonstrate a strong preference for Cantonese. She talked about some controversial language issues in the interview, which might not have been expressed, or might have been expressed rather differently, had I not been a native Cantonese who seemed to agree with her. The excerpts quoted from this interview could be understood in light of such a relationship.

During the interview, I asked about Miss Cheung's experience with language policies as a student and a teacher in Guangzhou, and whether there had been some changes. Here is her answer.

Excerpt 7.1 Interview with Miss Cheung: Changes in language policies

1	Cheung	<C>… at that time (some time ago), it (the policy) was to ADVOCATE and GUIDE (倡导) the speaking of Putonghua. Not like now, (people) MUST (必须) speak Putonghua.
2	Liang	In terms of the present (policy), is it "must speak Putonghua in class" or "must speak Putonghua in the whole school"?
3	Cheung	As far as I see it, it (the policy) now seems to ADVOCATE and GUIDE (倡导) the speaking of Putonghua on the whole campus.

Miss Cheung spoke slowly and accentuated the capitalised words in turn 1 and 3, which indeed made all the difference in interpreting the policy—"advocate and guide" versus "must". In this way, Miss Cheung highlighted the increasingly manipulative and exclusive tendency in the aims of the language policy. Note that this is contrary to the trends of language policy in China observed by Guo (2004) based on document analysis, as mentioned in Chap. 2. In a recent semiopen talk given by Mr. Zhang Shiping, a high-ranking official working with the State Language Commission and Ministry of Education, I asked him whether the national language policy, "Putonghua is the campus language" (MOE 2004, 2000), means requiring students to speak Putonghua at school at all times in all contexts. He replied that this policy was adopted during the early period of Putonghua promotion but it should be abandoned now as it is out of sync with the current goal of the language policy. Talking about the current language policy, however, he mentioned a particularly significant off-the-record story. At a national administrative congress on language policy, an official was reading the congress resolution on the promotion of Putonghua. In the middle of reading the document, the speaker paused and expressed

Fig. 7.1 Putonghua-promoting signs on campus (Photo taken by the author)

regret that the regional dialects in his hometown were dying. Most significantly, he began that side remark with a disclaimer: "I do not know if this is consistent with the national policy, but … ". Mr Zhang probably told this anecdote with the intent to show that government officials are concerned about the loss of regional dialects. However, comparing the anecdote and his answer to my question about language policy, we can hear confusing and conflicting messages being sent on language policies. If such a high-ranking official is not sure about the language policy documents that he has been making and enacting, what can we expect from educational officers at lower levels, school leaders, and teachers?

As far as the Sandwood and Grand-Estate School are concerned, Cantonese and other regional dialects were not formally banned. In other words, no signs or any written or spoken announcements explicitly made such a statement. However, signs asking people to speak Putonghua could be clearly seen on campus. The two top photographs in Fig. 7.1 were taken in Sandwood School, saying "Please speak Putonghua; please write standardised characters", with the top left one omitting the "please". The bottom photograph was taken at a key high school in Guangzhou.

The huge characters on the exterior wall of the teaching building say, "Putonghua is the campus language. Speak Putonghua (and) write standardised characters". The signs are so big and are hung so high up that they are even visible outside the school. Although these signs were not seen on Grand-Estate School campus during my fieldwork, students were still able to quote the exact wording, indicating their familiarity with these banners.

Miss Cheung gave an imaginary example of how these signs might effectively stop people from speaking Cantonese or other regional dialects in school.

Excerpt 7.2 Interview with Cheung: You suddenly become choked, speechless

1	Liang	<C> Actually, are people in the school not allowed to speak Guangzhou Hua or what?
2	Cheung	Er, no, no…no one says Guangzhou Hua is not allowed. But because they over-advocate speaking Putonghua, the other (Cantonese) will naturally be "shaken" (hampered). Since speaking Putonghua is advocated, as soon as you speak Guangzhou Hua, they are like, er, "Speak Putonghua!". Then you will feel like… ((@@@)) you suddenly become choked, speechless (obviously).

The short, nonnegotiable "order" to "Speak Putonghua!" (not bothering with "please") contains an air of authority that the Cantonese speakers cannot easily dispute and therefore they become "speechless". These signs and statements give Putonghua the overpowering legitimacy in a situation of language choice. The Grand-Estate schoolboy Du, for example, interpreted this policy exactly as "speaking Putonghua to the exclusion of other dialects" (see the case study later in the chapter).

These signs are sure to be found in schools that have gone through the "Model School Assessment", because of the assessment requirement. Schools being entered for the Model School Assessment must fill in a detailed self-evaluation form, the content of which varies from province to province. For example, in the self-assessment form of Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province , some provisions require that teachers and students speak Putonghua to each other even after class, and that students should speak Putonghua at home and in public (Hangzhou Education Bureau 2006). Such provisions are not found in the Guangdong guidelines. The teachers' (PSC)[1] scores account for only five points, but this is vital in the assessment, because the guidelines prescribe that if even one teacher does not reach the provincial standard[2], the school is immediately disqualified. Another notable provision is that if the inspectors, who visit the school for a day, find one instance in which the teacher does not teach in Putonghua, the school again is immediately disqualified. In other words, any use of dialects by the teacher in class may seriously jeopardise

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[1] Putonghua Proficiency Test. See background information in Chap. 2.

[2] The Guangdong provincial standards are lower than the national standards.

the school's success in the assessment. Miss Wong from Sandwood School recalled her previous teaching experience in a "Model School", where students and teachers used only Putonghua on campus.

Excerpt 7.3 Interview with Miss Wong: Working with a Model Assessment School

1	Wong	\<C> I feel really sorry for the loss of Guangzhou Hua ((@@)).
2	Liang	I have the same feeling. Really. So my research topic is related to this.
→3	Wong	Er, yes. Therefore, I tried to, er, when I came to Sandwood School, I changed myself. This is not a Putonghua Model School after all. So I feel that I should talk to the students in Guangzhou Hua after class. In class, I speak Putonghua with them.
4	Liang	Does it mean that you feel a certain pressure in that (previous) school? Because it is a Putonghua Model School, even though you want to speak Baakwaa, you…dare not, or could not do it?
→5	Wong	Er, it wasn't…oh, that may be a reason. But it was not like that I dared not too. It is just if there are such regulations, I will abide by them as far as possible.
6	Liang	Ummm.
→7	Wong	Because…this Model School Assessment thing, during the assessment and re-assessment, they used many methods, such as questionnaires, random surveys. And they would ask the students, like: during the break and after class, er, "Did the teacher talk to you in regional languages other than Putonghua"? Like this. And if the students said yes, the scores (school) will not be qualified.

Miss Wong used to consider speaking Putonghua with students at all times as primarily a pedagogical decision until she suddenly realised that she might have been obliged by official language policies to do so. Just before this episode, she talked about her awareness of the worrying situation of the Cantonese language, and attributed the phenomenon partly to the disuse of Cantonese at school. In this way, she established the necessity of using Cantonese at school, and thus it seems logical to interpret "this is not a Putonghua Model School after all" in turn 3 as a statement of "feasibility". In other words, Miss Wong thought that the Sandwood teachers could use whatever languages they perceived as necessary and appropriate, because they were "free" from the constraints of being in a Model School. However, those Sandwood teachers, who had not worked in a more strictly regulated environment, were unlikely to feel "freer" not having experienced a contrasting situation.

When I asked Miss Wong if she had previously felt pressure as a result of language policies, she seemed to agree with the idea but was not happy with the word "fear", as could be seen from her hesitation and paraphrasing in turn 5. According to her, the disuse of Cantonese was "unintended". It had just happened as a result of Cantonese not having been sanctioned by the rules, while teachers tried merely to observe the rules. There was no intention to use Cantonese, and thus it was inaccurate to speak of "fear". However, turn 7 indicates her belief that the rules of the Model School Assessment did not simply ignore Cantonese, but actually banned its use.

However, the significance of Miss Wong's statements lies not in their truth value, but the fact that she believed that Cantonese was banned and acted according to such a belief. While there has never been any explicit official ban on using dialects in school, dialects have nevertheless lost legitimacy in the face of the highly institutionalised Putonghua-promotion campaigns. In this and other examples, such as the headmistress's denial of the "Cantonese Day" activity mentioned in Chap. 1, teachers believed that using dialects with students at school, especially in public, may risk of violating the national Putonghua-promoting language policies. Therefore, while Cantonese was not officially banned in school, it has effectively become an illegitimate school language.

7.1.2   Habits and Conventions

Miss Tina, aged 25, was the Chinese teacher of the Grand-Estate School class. She grew up in Guangxi Province (neighbouring Guangdong Province) and spoke the local variety of Cantonese as her mother tongue. During her primary school years in Guangxi, Cantonese was the common language on campus and even the medium of instruction (reminiscent of Leung's (1993) findings reviewed in Chap. 3). Yet, as far as she saw it, such a bidialectal form of education was an unintended outcome.

Excerpt 7.4 Interview with Miss Tina: A habit has been formed

→1	Tina	\<C\> Er, when I was in primary school, in fact it (the medium of instruction) was mainly Baakwaa. Because it was not so regularised/standardised (规范) in the past.
2-5		(Four turns omitted.)
6	Liang	At that time, did anyone require you to…I mean when in the school…er…to speak Putonghua?
→7	Tina	Umm…There weren't, not yet such requirements, in the past.
8	Liang	Umm.
→9	Tina	How should I put it? Maybe there were requirements, but we just couldn't do it in real life.
10-17		(The topic changed to something else.)
→18	Tina	I mean, when you communicate with your students, whether they are primary school or secondary school students, you use Putonghua. This is…it is so required.
19	Liang	Has the school overtly required that?
20	Tina	Not overtly required though… (It's) advocated…
21	Liang	When was it said? Roughly?
→22	Tina	I mean, how can I put it…Have you noticed that even…Miss Huang and Miss Pan in your office, who speak extremely fluent Baakwaa, both speak Putonghua to the students. I feel it is…since I-don't-know-when, a habit like this has been formed. ((laughter))

The word "regularised/standardised" in turn 1 revealed Miss Tina's assumptions that there were already official regulations on the medium of instruction, and that using dialects in class was a breach, or unsuccessful implementation at best, of such regulations. As we moved onto the topic of language use outside class, she promptly said it was not regulated "yet" (turn 7)—implying that relevant regulations were put in place later. At second thought (in turn 9), however, she corrected herself and said that the rules might have been there already but were simply ignored in her schools. While she did not portray such breaches as positive, she apparently did not consider them a big deal either. The justification is the unfeasibility of the policies (turn 9). She did not explain why what was once impossible could now become reality in Grand-Estate School. The language of communication between teachers and students, which used to be Cantonese, now becomes Putonghua (turn 18–22). She attributed this to conventions or "habits".

For Miss Tina, the habits were simply out there— she neither knew nor cared when and where they had come from, but just followed what everyone else did, and thus her practice became part of the habits. Habit is seen as more powerful than policies in influencing people's everyday language practices. Miss Wu (approximately 40 years old, Chinese teacher, Sandwood School) also talked about the issue.

Excerpt 7.5 Interview with Miss Wu: They have got used to speaking Putonghua

1	Wu	<C> Er, they speak Putonghua when in kindergarten already. Therefore now even if they are locals, when I speak Guangzhou Hua to them, they would reply in Putonghua.
2	Liang	Really?
3	Wu	Yes.
4	Liang	Or is it because you are a teacher, so that they dare not speak Putong-…Guangzhou Hua to you?
→5	Wu	No. I'm speaking Guangzhou Hua to them already. Sometimes I just…ask them something after class or tell them to do something (in Cantonese), and they answer me in Putonghua. ((@@))
6	Liang	Has the school told them (the students) or not, that they should speak Putonghua to the teachers?

→7   Wu   Of course (the school) told them before but...I mean it is required that the teachers should always speak Putonghua, isn't it? But, sometimes, during the break, (or) when school is dismissed, sometimes it doesn't matter. Then (the teachers) just speak some (Cantonese), right? ((@@@)) These children are really funny. They have got used to, to speaking Putonghua, already.

While Miss Wu believed that there were regulations requiring the teachers to speak Putonghua at school, she reasoned that the policy applied to just some of the communicative activities happening on campus. Semiformal or informal communication, such as chats after class between the teacher and a small number of students, should not be regulated—"It doesn't matter", in her words. Her attempt to initiate conversations with students in Cantonese was unmistakably an invitation, which speaks of a significantly different attitude towards the use of Cantonese at school. Cantonese was not merely tolerated, but sometimes welcomed for specific purposes. This was also the general attitude of Sandwood School regarding the use of Putonghua and Cantonese at school. Teachers have got used to using Putonghua as the medium of instruction for teacher–student communication, and increasingly students use it for interdialectal communication among themselves. However, the use of Cantonese was also ubiquitous in the office, the classroom, the corridor, and the playground. The school, or even the classroom, was not seen as a one-piece institutional domain in which there should be only one legitimate language for all purposes. Instead, language use was a negotiable, situated, and relationship-specific issue as well as being influenced by institutional constraints.

   Miss Wu's invitation to the students to speak Cantonese had seemingly failed and she attributed that again to institutional conventions. It might be partly true but not as simple as that. Kiki, Miss Wu's daughter and a student in Miss Wong's class, was a case in point. Having grown up in the school, Kiki knew most of the teachers well and talked to them in Cantonese, but she treated Miss Wong, Miss Chun, and Miss Zhu (the teachers of her class, all native Cantonese speakers) somewhat differently. Whenever she reported to Miss Zhu in the office, she spoke Putonghua and Miss Zhu replied in the same language. Interestingly, at the same time, Kiki would talk in Cantonese to other teachers in the office. Apparently, she made moment-by-moment decisions about language choices according to the occasion-specific relationship with the teacher interlocutors. Kiki knew other teachers so well that they were no longer "teachers in the school" but "old acquaintances", as long as they did not teach her. When reporting to Miss Zhu, Miss Wong, or Miss Chun, she was speaking to "the teachers of her class", which required formality and thus using Putonghua, the in-class language. When having lunch together with other teachers, Kiki would talk to them in Cantonese instead. Other students, who had no such personal relationship with the teachers, were much less likely to make such language

choices, even if "invited" by the teachers. In this way, the teacher–student relationship and Putonghua–Cantonese language choice has become interdeterminate for the Cantonese students when speaking to the Cantonese teachers on the campus.

Such a relationship-based language choice strategy is constrained by many contextual factors and thus not readily generalisable. Take Miss Huang's son Lin in Grand-Estate School for example. Miss Huang, who was the course leader of Chinese in year 5, sat next to me in the office. Although three out of five teachers in the office are fluent Cantonese speakers (as already mentioned by Miss Tina), they mostly spoke Putonghua with rare and brief switches into Cantonese. Miss Huang's son Lin was in year 4, and when he spent time in the office, he spoke Putonghua to everyone in the office, including his mother. As both Miss Huang and her husband are native Cantonese (Yangjiang Hua, 阳江话) speakers, I asked if she had intentionally created a Putonghua environment for Lin. She said she had never intended to do so.

Both Miss Huang and her son Lin spent 10 h a day in Grand-Estate School, where Putonghua was dominant. In Miss Huang's opinion, the habit of speaking Putonghua at school was so strong that it had influenced the home language use, and had had negative effect on Lin's Cantonese proficiency. She considered herself partly responsible because she did not insist on Lin's speaking Cantonese at home to check this habit. Would it have made any difference had the common language of communication in the office been Cantonese? Possibly, but we do not know.

Now if we reflect on the justification for language choice being based on "habits", we may see that such habits are conditioned by many factors, and there are always choices to be made. The institutional language policies or conventions do not simply override personal choices. Miss Huang chose to speak Putonghua with her son at school and not to insist on Cantonese at home. The Cantonese-speaking teachers in Grand-Estate School year 5 office stuck to Putonghua as the language of communication. Kiki fine-tuned her choices according to both the relationships with the interlocutor and the specific occasion. The teachers had routinised the language practices according to their perceptions of language policies, and their routinised practices became the collective "habits". In doing so, they also served as examples for the students and contributed to the students' "habits".

7.2 Students: Making Sense of the Rules of Speaking at School

We often talk about conventions of speaking in a certain setting as if they are given, always there, and somehow everyone just knows what to do and does the same. In the last chapter, we will see how teachers understand and execute regulations rather differently. How about the students? How did they get to know the rules in the first place? To what extent have school rules affected their language choices?

7.2.1   The Explicit Ban on Dialects

One straightforward answer to the last question is an overt ban on using dialects at school. The media in Guangzhou and neighbouring Cantonese-speaking cities occasionally reported cases in which schools had banned teachers and students from speaking Cantonese (Zhang 2012; Hu 2010; Huang 2009), such as those described in Chap. 1. Yet reading about it in newspapers and hearing about it from participants gave me a different sense of "reality". Several participants remembered being punished for using dialects at kindergarten or previous schools, which led me to believe that the phenomenon is not rare.

For example, Yuan, a Putonghua-D1 girl in the Grand-Estate focus group, talked about how students got fined for speaking regional dialects in her previous school.

Excerpt 7.6 Interview with Yuan: Being fined for speaking Cantonese in school

1	Yuan	\<P> The teachers did not allow us to speak Cantonese. We were fined one yuan per Cantonese sentence.
2	Liang	Was anyone really fined?
3	Yuan	Yes.
4	Liang	Really? What was the highest record?
5	Yuan	A hundred yuan.
6	Liang	Who was responsible for noting down the records?
7	Yuan	I was responsible. ((@@))
8	Liang	You, oh, ((@@)), were you responsible for catching those speaking Guangzhou Hua and reporting on them, ?
9	Yuan	That's right.
10	Liang	Say for example, what would happen if they were not speaking Cantonese? Say, if they spoke…
11	Yuan	None is allowed, only Putonghua.
12	Liang	Who made such rules?
13	Yuan	The headmaster.
14	Liang	Then were you keen on catching others?
15	Yuan	((@@)) Yes.
16	Liang	Yet no one can catch you for sure, because you hardly speak it (Cantonese).

17	Yuan	I had been caught.
18	Liang	You reported on yourself?
19	Yuan	No. Others reported to the teacher.
20	Liang	What were you saying when you…
21	Yuan	I paid a 2-Yuan fine.
22	Liang	You don't usually speak Guangzhou Hua, how come you were caught?
→23	Yuan	That's because I have got into the habit of not speaking Guangzhou Hua since then.

Yuan's family migrated from Jiangxi Province to a Cantonese-speaking city in Guangdong Province before she was born, and later came to live in Guangzhou. There was a Cantonese-speaking housemaid in her home and she claimed that she could speak Cantonese very well when she was little. While she often boasted of her Cantonese proficiency, I have hardly heard Yuan speaking any Cantonese to her classmates. This is why I was surprised when she said she got fined for speaking Cantonese at school. According to her, this measure of dialect ban effectively changed her language-use habits, so that she is now used to speaking no Cantonese. Her excitement when talking about the measure implied that she had no objection to the Cantonese ban. There is almost a sense of pride for being in charge and having the power to punish others for their "unlawful" behaviour—speaking dialects at school. Self-discipline—that is, speaking Putonghua only—is the key to remaining eligible for such a powerful position. These punishments, whether monetary, corporal, or disciplinary, convey a clear message that speaking dialects at school openly is not acceptable.

However, the rules at all schools are not so straightforward. In most cases, the rules about language use at school are implicit. The students often have to interpret, infer, and decide what is acceptable and what is not. They also negotiate their language choices according to many other considerations. In the case study of Du below, we can see how he justified his own rationale about language use at school, and how that is related to the teachers' practice at school.

7.2.2   The Implicit Rules of Speaking: A Case Study

Du was a 10-year-old boy at the Grand-Estate School. Both his parents and their families were born and raised in the Haizhu district of Guangzhou, and thus he is considered a "genuine Guangzhouer" (地道的广州人) by popular standards. The Haizhu district is an old district of Guangzhou but not part of the historical city centre, and the urbanisation of the whole district has been a relatively recent story. Both his parents were from hand-to-mouth peasant families and had to drop out of school

after secondary education to help feed the families. Things improved after they got married, and with the income from their small business and rents, they were able to buy an apartment at Grand Estate and moved there in 2005 when Du and his twin brother were in year 2 and his elder brother in year 5.

It was in October 2009, more than 1 month after I entered the class, that during the midday break, I sat next to Du and asked where he was from. He told me the name of his village in the Haizhu district and tried to show me the location by drawing a map by hand. Throughout the conversation, I was consistently speaking Cantonese and he kept replying in Putonghua. There were other students sitting nearby but no one else joined in our conversation. I could not help wondering why he did that but I did not raise the question at that moment.

I interviewed him a few days later during the midday break. As soon as we left the classroom, Du initiated the following conversation:

Excerpt 7.7 Interview with Du: "Then I will speak in Baakwaa"

→ 1	Du	<P> Do you understand Baakwaa [jek]?
2	Liang	<C> Fine with me.
3	Du	<P> Then I'll speak in Baakwaa.
4	Liang	<C> Okay. There you go.
5	Du	Ask me (question)!

I found his question awkward since I had already spoken to him in Cantonese. It took him two turns in Putonghua to make sure although I had replied in Cantonese from the very beginning. However, the sentence-final particle [jek] suggests a different mentality. Sentence-final particles are used more frequently in informal spoken Cantonese than formal and written Cantonese, and the number of sentence-final particles in Cantonese is much greater than those in Putonghua (see a comprehensive review in Li 2006). Some sentence-final particles serve grammatical functions, but the one in this episode serves affective functions, reflecting the attitudes of the speaker towards what is said (Chan 1999).

The particle [jek] does not exist in Putonghua, and thus attaching the particle to the end of a Putonghua utterance is typical of those who are used to hearing and speaking Cantonese. The particle, when used in interrogation, can indicate a range of emotions, such as impatience, sarcasm, or exasperation. So, it is reasonable to assume that Du had asked the question with eagerness to confirm a language choice for the conversation, and his preference was Cantonese. I decided to ask why he had not spoken Cantonese to me if he was so eager.

Excerpt 7.8 Interview with Du: "Because you did not tell me which language I should use"

1	Liang	<C> Well, last time, (actually) the first time, it was during the midday break that you told me you are from Long Village.
2	Du	Right.
3	Liang	Right?
4	Du	The time when you drew the map.
5	Liang	Yes. And I remember that I was talking to you in Baakwaa, but you kept replying in Putonghua. Do you remember?
6	Du	Yes.
7	Liang	Why?
→8	Du	Because you did not tell me which language I should use.
9	Liang	But I was (already) talking to you in Baakwaa.
10	Du	Yes.
11	Liang	Do you prefer speaking Putonghua?
12	Du	No. I use Baakwaa at home, Putonghua at school.
13	Liang	But I was already talking in Baakwaa, why do you reply in Putonghua?
14	Du	I don't know.

In turn 8, he explained that he spoke to me in Putonghua because I did not give any explicit instruction on language choice, which seems to explain his enquiry about language choice at the beginning of this episode. It could be because of my unconventional and unclear role in the class at the beginning of the fieldwork—neither a student nor a teacher. His usual rationale for language choice temporarily failed to help him make up his mind. Hence, I continued to ask about his rationale. Although he was not always able to articulate or defend his rationale for language choice,

he did have a complicated and sometimes contradictory set of principles that he referred to from time to time.

Du's main principle was to speak Putonghua while at school (turn 12). Du was aware that the location or setting of a conversation puts constraints on the appropriate language(s). He thought of his language-use patterns in compartmentalised terms, namely, Putonghua for school and Cantonese for home. After I asked him to write a diary to keep track of his language use for two days, he handed in a very simple report. He wrote in the report that he spoke Putonghua from 7:50 to 15:10, except in special circumstances, such as going home in the middle of a school day, and that he spoke Cantonese exclusively after school. The report was not even dated, because he believed that was what he did every weekday (我日日都系咁嘅嘛). He claimed that he spoke Putonghua at school "at all times" (永远, literally "forever"). In the same interview, Du made a rather strong claim about the obligation to speak Putonghua at school: "<C>I like, I like speaking Baakwaa, and dislike speaking Putonghua, but speaking Putonghua while at school is a must". Apparently, Du considered the settings of school and home as the major determinants of language choice above all others. He gave various reasons for speaking Putonghua at school during different interviews, which were sometimes contradictory.

Excerpt 7.9 Interview with Du: "Because Baakwaa is forbidden at school"

1	Liang	<C> Then, if you find out that the teacher speaks Baakwaa, would you speak Baakwaa to him/her?
2	Du	No.
3	Liang	Why?
→4	Du	Because, because Baakwaa is forbidden at school.
5	Liang	Have the school authorities ever stated that Baakwaa is forbidden?
6	Du	It is forbidden. Because every one of us speaks Putonghua, very few people speak Baakwaa.
7	Liang	Did you get used to it naturally? Or did any teacher clearly state that Baakwaa is forbidden?
8	Du	I got used to it myself.
9	Liang	Got used to it yourself? But you just said that the school forbids Baakwaa.
10	Du	((@@)) I said it wrong. ((@@))

To explain a recurrent behaviour as "habit" is convenient as we have seen in the teachers' perceptions in the last section. However, any habit is built-up over time through reinforcement. Du initially claimed that there was a ban on Cantonese at school but refuted this later in the same conversation and tried to reduce embarrassment by laughter. It was not possible to verify if there used to be such a ban, but during my fieldwork at the school, I never heard any teacher say anything close to this and there was not even any "speak-Putonghua" poster or sign on the campus.

In the second interview 1 month later, Du mentioned the ban again with more certainty and in more details. It was at the end of the interview and I was telling him who would join the focus group discussion. I mentioned Hay who was also from Guangzhou, and Du said that he had hardly heard him speak Cantonese. Then Du suddenly brought up the topic of the "Cantonese ban":

Excerpt 7.10 Interview with Du: "So they think they must not speak Baakwaa if they are not able to speak Putonghua"

→1	Du	<C> Listen, do you know why they don't speak Baakwaa? They are able to speak Baakwaa. ((Speaking hastily and forcefully)) Because once, er, once you go to school, you must learn Putonghua. It is a national requirement that we must speak Putonghua as long as we are at school. So they think they MUST NOT (唔得) speak Baakwaa if they ARE NOT ABLE TO (唔会) speak Putonghua.
2	Liang	Where did they hear about that? Have the school authorities ever said…
3	Du	Yes, they have.
4	Liang	The school authorities? When…and who said that?
→5	Du	Many of our teachers can speak Baakwaa, but once classes begin, all of them speak Putonghua, no one speak Baakwaa any more.
6	Liang	Have the directors ever said that you should speak Putonghua once you are at school?
7	Du	Yes.
8	Liang	Who? The headmistress/headmaster[a]? Which?
9	Du	The vice-headmistress said that.
10	Liang	Headmaster Ou?

11	Du	The VICE-headmistress.
12	Liang	Which one?
13	Du	Er, vice-headmistress…you know who…Wong…Well, she…she speaks Cantonese too.

[a] The Chinese word referring to the headmaster and headmistress is the same. It is not possible to determine the gender of the person referred to.

It is possible that Du had thought about this issue between the two interviews, so that he now came back with a more confident answer. In turn 1, he described proficiency in Putonghua as a prerequisite for the rights to speak Cantonese, which reflects his awareness that Putonghua was prioritised at school. Yet the way he spoke the sentence—the loudness and haste—made me feel that he was a bit upset about this. In the same turn, he maintained that speaking Putonghua at school was a national policy, which he might have heard from the teachers. In turn 5, he did not directly answer my question but gave an example of the teachers' language use to prove his claim. He assumed that the teachers' language use embodied and thus was equivalent to the official language policies of the school. He also interpreted the promotion of one linguistic variety as a ban on others. For example, after he had mentioned vice-headmistress Miss Wong[3], he said that she had banned the use of Putonghua during the exchange with Hong Kong visiting student groups, the week before the interview.

Excerpt 7.11 Interview with Du: Speaking Cantonese only to the Hong Kong visiting students

1	Du	<C> Last time, er, during the student exchange, she (Vice-headmistress Miss Wong) told us to…she told us that we must speak Baakwaa, speaking Putonghua was forbidden.
2	Liang	Student… you mean the exchange with Hong Kong visiting students? She told you that you must speak Baakwaa?
3	Du	Yes.
4	Liang	Why was it opposite (to the usual language policies)?
5	Du	Because they (the Hong Kong students) speak Baakwaa, and there is no point speaking Putonghua with them…We are the hosts and they are the guests.

[3] There are three vice-headmistresses in the school, Miss Wong, Miss Gao and Miss Cheung, of whom I only met and interviewed the latter two.

The exchange had happened on a Saturday and only a few selected students were present. The selection of students from the class I worked with was done on a purely voluntary basis. The teacher mentioned nothing about Cantonese proficiency. However, it was possible that those who volunteered had already assessed their own Cantonese proficiency—all of the six volunteers in the class had at least reasonable receptive ability in Cantonese. I was not present during the event but it was hardly possible that the vice-headmistress would have forbidden the use of Putonghua. My best guess is that she explicitly recommended the use of Cantonese.

7.3　Summary

In this chapter, we have analysed how government officials, language planners, and educators at different levels interpreted national and school language policies on the use of Putonghua and regional dialects on campus. There are ambiguities, confusions, and contradictions at all levels of interpretation and mediation of the language policies. It is not clear whether regional dialects are banned, allowed, or encouraged in different contexts at school; neither is it clear to what extent and how exclusively should Putonghua be promoted in these contexts. When justifying their language and pedagogical practices, teachers revealed diverse perceptions of language policies, attitudes towards the status of Putonghua, and regional dialects. Although the current language policy requires the dominance of Putonghua at school, Sandwood School teachers have opened up greater "implementational space" (Hornberger 2005) than their Grand-Estate counterparts, and filled it with regular translanguaging.

While teachers tend to take students' use of Putonghua at school for granted, Du's case shows how students observe teachers' language behaviour at school and infer the implicit rules of speaking at school. Teachers' and students' language-use habit reinforced each other, while they both tend to take the other side's habits as natural and given. Du's deduction of the "Cantonese ban" also implies that the active promotion of one linguistic variety without affirming the use of others may lead to "misinterpretation", with such promotion being regarded as the demand to "speak one variety to the exclusion of others".

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Chapter 8
Teachers' Attitudes Towards Dialects in School

8.1 The Role of School in Relation to Regional Dialects

Questions about the role of school in relation to the maintenance of regional dialects were surprising questions for most of the teachers. The students did not come to school for learning dialects, although parents thought their children might as well learn some. Among all teachers interviewed, only two—Miss Wong in Sandwood School and vice-headmistress Miss Cheung in Grand-Estate School—advocated a proactive role on the teachers' part to support students' use or learning of dialects at school.

Excerpt 8.1 Interview with Wong: "I will support them".

1	Wong	\<C\> Nearly half of the children in my class are "outcomers". As they migrate to Guangzhou, I reckon…people are usually, they may be concerned more about survival. Therefore I will **support** them. Er, to…need more time to learn Guangzhou Hua.
2	Liang	Then, do you think this kind of support is…necessary or not for the school, or teachers, on certain occasions, or in certain ways, to encourage them to do so? Or leave it to their parents?
3	Wong	Er:: I feel that…that's why…while they are required to use Putonghua during class, when they are communicating with each other after class, (it would be better) if they are allowed to use Guangzhou Hua, they will learn much quicker.

4	Liang	Does it mean it's enough to just "allow"? No need for regulations?
5	Wong	Yes. No need for regulations. ((@@))
6	Liang	But neither is it necessary to be explicit? It seems to me that none of you…
→7	Wong	Oh, also, I feel that maybe the teachers, should…because, er::**especially for the lower grade students**. The lower grade students, they will usually…the words and deeds of the **teachers set examples for them**. If the teachers often initiative talk to them in Guangzhou Hua after class, they will imitate you. But if, after class or in the office, you (the teachers) still strictly require them to speak Putonghua, they will naturally act in accord with your requirements.
8	Liang	And form such a habit since they are young.
9	Wong	Yes, yes, yes.

Miss Wong assumed that Cantonese proficiency is essential for all immigrants to survive in Guangzhou, quite contrary to some Grand-Estate School teachers' opinions (see Appendix 2). This is more an ideological and attitudinal statement than a "factual" evaluation of the language situation. With the continuing promotion of Putonghua, the instrumental value of Cantonese for survival purpose is likely to continue to diminish. Nevertheless, taking the survival argument to be valid, Miss Wong reasoned that the teachers should be supportive of the learning of Cantonese. Initially, Miss Wong thought that this supportive role meant permitting students' use of Cantonese after class. As I was about to discuss school regulations, she suddenly interrupted me to talk about another aspect of the teachers' supportive role—the teacher as model language user and effective language socialiser. Helping to maintain the local language was assumed to be part of the school teachers' responsibility, and the teachers' talk to students in the local language after class was considered a viable initiative. According to my observation, Miss Wong did use more Cantonese with her students after class than other Sandwood teachers. More notably, she had strategically incorporated Cantonese into her daily pedagogical practice (not discussed in this book due to space limitation). The students seemed to have got used to Cantonese in Miss Wong's classroom, so that during in-class discussions, some students would talk in Cantonese even when Miss Wong was listening and they would expect Miss Wong to join the discussion in Cantonese as well.

In terms of the timing of promoting Cantonese at school, both Miss Wong and vice-headmistress Miss Cheung considered it important to establish Cantonese-speaking routines as soon as the students entered school, because young children were believed to be especially susceptible to the teacher's influence. Miss Cheung suggested that educating the students about the regional dialects from the early years of primary school was not just about acquisition, but also about fostering a sustainable "sense of individual responsibility" (her words) for preserving the local dialects and culture. The use of the word "responsibility" was significant, because it assumes that each individual is personally accountable for languages in society. In other words, Miss Cheung believed that each student should be held responsible for the future of Cantonese (and other regional dialects), and schools should play an active role in fostering such sense of responsibility. Both Miss Wong's and Miss Cheung's beliefs about the school's role in maintaining Cantonese assume a strong connection between living in Guangzhou and identifying with Cantonese. However, this connection is problematic in the current multidialectal context of Guangzhou, as we have already seen in Part III and will discuss again in the next chapter.

In contrast, most of the other teachers interviewed shared the view that it is not necessary for schools to play any active role in dialect maintenance. Miss Tina of Grand-Estate School (who talked about teachers' habit of speaking Putonghua at school in the last chapter) mentioned the relationship between teenagers' psychological needs and their "natural" language choices.

Excerpt 8.2 Interview with Miss Tina: Secondary school students speak Cantonese to gain privacy

1	Tina	\<C\> In primary schools, more communication may be in Putonghua; in secondary school, it is all in Baakwaa.
2	Liang	Er::Why is it that they use more Baakwaa in secondary school instead? In fact, their Putonghua must be better when they are in secondary school, isn't it?
3	Tina	It's (.) how should I put it (.) I think (.) they:: between the kids, sometimes, they may feel…I mean, most of us, the group of teachers there, are from elsewhere. Therefore as secondary school students, they would have, they would hope to keep more secrets which they don't want to be overheard. They thought that teachers from other provinces could not understand Baakwaa, so that they would prefer to speak Baakwaa.

Miss Tina once taught in a secondary school in the same district and generalised according to her experience there. She imagined that the students used Cantonese strategically to exclude the teachers, which would be a good enough motivation for them to learn and use it (despite school rules). Miss Lee (25, English teacher, Grand-Estate School) also observed that students in the secondary sector of Grand-Estate School tended to use more Cantonese. She explained the phenomenon from a different but related perspective, "When they are more grown up, they would have stronger desire and awareness of their rights to use languages autonomously".

Although I pointed out that some students in the class had lived in Guangzhou for over 10 years without understanding much Cantonese, both Miss Tina and Miss Lee said they were not worried at all. They were convinced that the Putonghua–Cantonese transition would naturally occur when the students went to secondary school, where the preference for Cantonese would prevail whatever Putonghua-promoting policies were in place at school. Adolescent defiance would do the task alone. It is assumed that children from native Cantonese families can naturally speak Cantonese well, love the language unconditionally, and will seize opportunities to use it whether it is welcomed at school or not. Whether or not this assumption is sound, it already leaves out children who have no or only one Cantonese-speaking parent—the majority of students in the class in this case. Where does their "natural" preference and loyalty lie? How would they look at the dialects they were never allowed or encouraged to learn (about) at school? Suppose the students eventually arrived at the so-called stage when they might desire to use language autonomously, what would be available for them to choose from then? Miss Lee and Miss Tina did not consider it necessary for schools and teachers to interfere with the issue of regional dialects. Their optimism might partly excuse their taking the benign neglect position, but even when such optimism was challenged by "facts", they did not necessarily change their position.

During the interview with Miss Chun of Sandwood School in her office, she tried to prove to me that immigrant children would eventually pick up Cantonese because of the language environment of Guangzhou. She asked Miss Choi in the office, who, also with her husband, is from the Teochew region. Their son was a year 5 student at another primary school.

Excerpt 8.3 Interview with Miss Chun: "I'm not worried", even in the face of counterevidence

| 1 | Chun | <C> I'm not worried, because Guangzhou itself, the overall language environment of Guangzhou is that of Baakwaa. Even, even if you…now, for an outcomer, say if the outcomer is from Sichuan (a province in the Mandarin dialect region), ok? Then what does he originally speak? He only knows Sichuan Hua and Putonghua. And he comes to Guangzhou, but in this overall environment, he will learn at least some (Cantonese). (Diversion to another related topic) |

2	Chun	Now, you can ask what language do Miss Choi's son speaks, Choi?
3	Choi	It's Putonghua.
4	Chun	See? But when he goes out, can he speak Guangzhou Hua?
5	Choi	No.
→6	Chun	With the classmates [wo3]:: (seriously?) There must be one or two sentences.
7	Choi	None.
8	Chun	Still none? Alas, he might really know nothing then. But if your son speaks to his classmates, he must be able to, must know some…
9	Choi	Because all the classmates are…
10	Chun	Mostly outcomers? Oh, then it is hard. Because of the language environment.
11	Liang	Because now it is said that Putonghua should be used in school.
12	Chun	But in that case, maybe…forget about the mother tongue now…
13	Liang	((@@))
14	Chun	But I still think he will, I mean when there is opportunity to be in such kind of environment, I mean such (Cantonese) environment, he will eventually learn it.

When talking about the "overall language environment", Miss Chun obviously considered school to be part of that environment, as she mentioned "classmates" twice. It is a belief shared by many teachers and parents that there must still be plenty of space for the children to learn and use Cantonese, so that there is no need for them to intervene.

The sentence-final particle [wo3] in turn 6 is an "informative" and "reminding" particle, indicating something noteworthy to the listener (Li 2006; Matthews and Yip 1994). Miss Chun was momentarily surprised by what Miss Choi said and thought she might have missed considering the interaction between classmates. Miss Choi's further answer was still to Miss Chun's disappointment. Yet Miss Chun soon reclaimed her usual "they-will-learn" position. This is just one example of how hard it is to challenge the assumptions that underlie the benign neglect position.

8.2   The Impacts of Regional Dialects on Language Learning

All the teachers interviewed mentioned that regional dialects affect students' learning in school, particularly their achievement in the Chinese language course. The Chinese language teachers in particular had most comments on this matter. In various office discussions, Miss Pan of Grand-Estate School said that northerners were superior language learners and users because of their mother tongue and their culture, which she considered might be because of "the problem of the phonetic system" ("可能是语音系统的问题"). It gradually became clear that by "phonetic system", she was referring not only to the sounds of a language, but also all aspects that might conventionally be considered "internal" to the language. According to her theory, these "inherent" features of a language give an edge or pose problems for its speakers in education—the deficit hypothesis (Cummins 2012). She put forward her arguments in an astonishingly straightforward way—the phonetic system of Cantonese (and most other southern dialects) is inferior to that of the northern dialects and, therefore, most southerners are linguistically and culturally inferior to northerners. During her individual interview, she explained her theory more specifically in relation to student achievement in the Chinese subject.

Excerpt 8.4 Interview with Miss Pan: Dialectal speakers are weaker learners

→1	Pan	<P>Among the many children I have been with, those excelling in writing or having strong language competence, are usually those who speak good Putonghua. They express more fluently. Now that they speak it so fluently, and think in Putonghua as well, they are generally good at the Chinese subject, their performance is stable, whereas, those not good at writing, mostly speak regional dialects.
2	Liang	Do you mean students whose L1s are regional dialects or do you mean they usually speak…
3	Pan	Regional dialects, those whose mother tongues are regional dialects.
		(She then talked about her "phonetic system theory" and diverted.)
4	Pan	Not that they are bad at writing, but they indeed do not express as fluently as Putonghua (speakers). Because I (the Putonghua speaker) write in the same way as I speak, and yes, that makes it fluent. But if I (the regional dialect speaker) speak in this way, and yet have to change it, translate it…I think with Guangzhou Hua in my mind, and then

translate it into Putonghua, and then speak it through my mouth…This calls for conversion. Once conversion is necessary, it naturally slows down your thought.

| 5 | Liang | Then do teachers have any solutions to help them? |

→6   Pan   The solution is to use more. The solution is to read more. The solution is…those who do not like to speak, read or seldom read and recite things, their "deposits" (repertoires) are few. Hence when they write on the paper, when they need to express in writing, they would have difficulty. In Guangzhou Hua, the expression is "你走先" (literally, "you go first"), but we (when speaking Putonghua) say "你先走" (literally, "you first go"). The word order is different in their Guangdong Hua.

7   Liang   Would you mention this in your class?

8   Pan   When I teach writing, I will mention some expressions, problems in language expressions. This is what we in the higher grades should emphasise. That word order…the inverted word order may even alter the meaning.

9   Liang   These problems…do you think the problems with other dialect speakers are less serious?

10   Pan   Not so serious, probably. The Teochew dialects…I'm not sure about that, because I don't speak that dialect.

11   Liang   Teochew dialects are also based here in Guangdong.

→12   Pan   Teochew-dialect-speaking kids…Look at Xiao Lin, she speaks Teochew dialect, but she writes beautifully. Xiao Xu, whose family is also from the Teochew region, also writes beautifully. There are distinctions between boys and girls. Girls are good at imitating. If they have been in contact with the phonetic…the Putonghua system, they absorb quickly, imitate quickly, and learn with more precision. Therefore children who speak Guangdong Hua, especially boys, are relatively weaker. Because the boys' edge in language is not as big as the girls'.

→13   Liang   Is the edge innate or is it that the boys are not willing to learn?

14   Pan   Innate, innate.

As can be seen from above, Miss Pan was eloquent, with her arguments well-conceived and supported by examples, which showed her firm belief in what she said. In turn 4, she made a contrast between students who "speak good Putonghua" and who "speak regional dialects", which, as far as I see, can well be two heavily overlapping groups. Instead of directly challenging this grouping, I asked for further clarification from her in turn 5, implying two possible ways of grouping—according to the students' L1s or their most frequently used varieties. She interrupted me to confirm that the categorisation was based on the students' L1. Then the argument effectively became one that expressed the view that the Putonghua-L1 students did better in writing and the Chinese subject than regional-dialect-L1 students. Considering students' mother tongues as a major factor influencing their school performance, she logically proceeded to restate her "phonetic system theory".

In turn 4 when analysing the translation or conversion mechanism that dialect-speaking students experienced, Miss Pan practically recognised that these students were different from the Putonghua-L1 students, because the former were learning and using Putonghua as an L2. Logically, it should follow that the dialect-L1 students are not "naturally slower"—linguistically and intelligently inferior—but may be cognitively different from their Putonghua-L1 peers. Therefore in turn 5, I enquired about the pedagogical strategies available to help these students. Miss Pan immediately replied with three statements beginning with "the solution is", none of which was related to the teachers' roles or responsibilities. Instead, the solutions were all about more practice and effort, and apparently applicable to all students in the hope of improving their writing, regardless of their L1s. With such a position, teachers are likely to think that students bad at writing are simply not trying hard enough, rather than that they might be affected by their L1s and need differentiated help (Ammon (1989) mentioned similar concerns). Yet after talking about the "universal solutions", Miss Pan suddenly mentioned the grammatical differences between Putonghua and Cantonese, but immediately distanced herself from these mistakes by labelling Cantonese as "their" language although she was also a fluent Cantonese speaker. In turn 8, after I had asked again about her responses to the crosslinguistic differences, the solutions given sounded similarly vague and general.

Reviewing Miss Pan's responses to the relationship between students' L1s, their achievement in the Chinese subject, and the teachers' role, we found a complex discursive strategy, namely, the "dance of disclosure" (McEwan-Fujita 2010). She alternated between recognising the dialect-L1 students as linguistically, cognitively different from the Putonghua-L1 students (disclosure), and denying that such differences called for differentiated pedagogical responses from teachers (denial). The pattern indicated a dilemma caused by her awareness of crosslinguistic differences and the lack of effective pedagogical remedies. Understood in such a light, her belief that the northern dialects are naturally superior can be seen as the rationalisation of her observation that dialect-L1 generally achieved lower in the Chinese subject.

In turn 9, I implied that problems in learning the Chinese subject might be common to all dialect-speaking students. Though briefly suggesting otherwise, Miss Pan refrained from discussing the topic further. Her responses implied that in order to understand the problems dialect-speaking students have in their language learning, the teachers themselves must be familiar with the crosslinguistic differences, and such familiarity is currently entirely contingent on the teachers' personal linguistic experiences rather than professional training.

In Miss Pan's final remarks about the differences between boys' and girls' linguistic abilities, the examples of the two girls can easily be dismissed as too shaky to support her claim. Her insistence on the gender differences being a result of nature rather than nurture, even after my suggesting the existence of attitudinal factors, alerts us to the possibility that dialect-L1 boys may be subject to unintentional double discrimination, while dialect-L1 girls may experience extra social pressure. Although the current study did not focus on the effect of gender on language attitudes and language socialisation, the gender factor is still noticeable in the different social expectations for boys and girls in terms of language learning and use.

Miss Pan's younger colleague, Miss Tina (a native Yue dialect speaker herself), did not explicitly link Chinese achievement to students' L1s. It just "happened" that among the ten student participants on whom she was asked to comment, the native Cantonese-speaking students were evaluated as lower in terms of Chinese achievement. They were considered to be not sufficiently hard-working or as having a poor knowledge basis in the subject. I moderately challenged her in the interview.

Excerpt 8.5 Interview with Miss Tina: The students' knowledge basis

1	Liang	<C> Poor foundation…as a matter of fact, I mean, actually they are all in primary school now, and are supposed to be laying that foundation.
2	Tina	I don't mean that. His foundation is so poor that for characters he doesn't know how to write, he even can't get the (Hanyu) Pinyin right.

Hanyu Pinyin is taught in the first year of primary school, and is considered by teachers to be the most important foundation for learning Putonghua and written MSC. As a grade 5 Chinese teacher, Miss Tina apparently thought that even if the students were known to have problems with the so-called foundation, it was none of her business. In a general tone, I asked her if classroom teaching could help dialect-L1 students overcome the known difficulties in learning Putonghua. Miss Tina was rather pessimistic.

Excerpt 8.6 Interview with Miss Tina: Only for exams

Tina	((Inhaled deeply.)) \<C\> When teaching new characters or words, make them read a few times. That is, for example…er…if there is
→	\<P\> retroflex suffixation
	\<C\> and
→	\<P\> the neutral tone in it (the text),
	\<C\> it is necessary to emphasise those [lo55]…But, I believe, even if I alert them, it is only (.) reinforcement for their exams, not effective for their daily life language use [gaak3].

Unlike Miss Pan who had shown strong interest in language issues, Miss Tina seemed rather indifferent to such issues. In the excerpt, her deep breath before answering the question appeared to me not only as a pause for consideration, but also a sign of slight impatience with my "endless language questions".

If we take a look at the sentence-final particles, [lo 55] (a high level tone) conveys something that is self-evident and unquestionable, while [gaak 3] (a mid entering tone) is used to remind the hearer of certain situations that the speaker also believes to be true. Therefore, we can be more confident in saying that Miss Tina considered knowledge about crosslinguistic differences to be just a matter of rote learning for the students, serving only to improve examination scores. She believed teaching about such differences was an obvious thing for Chinese teachers to do, but that nothing more essential, such as students' Putonghua proficiency or language-use habits, would be or could be changed. This position was consistent with her overall test-oriented approach to teaching Chinese, as mentioned in Appendix 2. Her switch to Putonghua when mentioning the term "retroflex suffixation" and "neutral tone" and to Cantonese when commenting was typical of the native Cantonese teachers. Such a "habit" symbolically reflected the situation that Putonghua is the key to school literacy. Teachers endorsed, consciously or not, the underlying assumption that knowledge about the Chinese language is most "naturally" and conveniently imparted in Putonghua.

Like Miss Pan and Miss Tina, most teachers in the Sandwood School (except Miss Wong) did not strategically address the linguistic challenges faced by their regional-dialect-L1 students when learning at school. Yet as parents, or parents-to-be, they made various decisions that also revealed their beliefs about the relationship between students' L1 and their achievement in the Chinese subject. For example, Miss Wu, who taught Kiki Cantonese as her D1, felt pressure from the linguistic requirements of the school, and started to teach her Putonghua before she entered kindergarten.

1	Liang	<C> That is, since she was two or three, you started speaking some Putonghua to her, right?
2	Wu	Ummm, yes. For fear that she...when she entered kindergarten, what would have happened if she didn't understand what others said? Everyone speaks Putonghua in kindergarten, don't they?

The consequences for the children of not being able to speak the school language from the very beginning could be traumatic, as we saw in Chen's story in Sect. 5.1. However, the responsibility of overcoming that language barrier is seen mainly to rest with the parents rather than the school. Whether or not the parents are capable of taking the responsibility, depending on linguistic competence, time, and other factors, is beyond the consideration of the school. The teachers taught their students as if they all had equal onset ability in Putonghua and identical linguistic and cognitive needs. Parents feeling insecure about their children's linguistic adaptation at school and achievement in the Chinese subject have to find their own way out.

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Part V
Discussion and Reflection

Chapter 9
Problematizing the Monolingual Norm in a Multidialectal City

A large proportion of the participants in the current study are first- or second-generation migrants, as is the case for other migrant-receiving big cities in multilingual China. The participants' perspectives on places of origin, ethnolinguistic identities, and mother tongue proficiency were about changes, choices, flexibility, and struggles. The old certainty—the single linear relationship between language and identity—was constantly problematised. Their answers on language use, attitudes, and identities continually remind us that Guangzhou is no longer a predominantly monodialectal Cantonese city. It is a multidialectal city where Putonghua and Cantonese play the most important roles, while many other dialects coexist. Most of its current residents are at least bidialectal, and often tridialectal. The language of Guangzhou is not Cantonese, and Cantonese is not the language of Guangzhou. While it remains a stronghold of Cantonese besides Hong Kong, we are not even sure whether it is still Cantonese-dominant. However, most traditional cultural values (such as the perception of the ideal native speaker) and modern social institutions (such as the education system) are built on monolingual norms, which is how the problems arise. This is not only relevant to the "migrants", but also to the "locals", because they too are multidialectal and affected by the mismatch between the monolingual norms and the multidialectal realities.

9.1 Emergence of the Native Putonghua Speakers

In Chap. 4 we examined how the students perceived themselves as speakers of their "mother tongues" and other language varieties. What we see in these stories are how the participants discursively position themselves in the changing sociolinguistic landscape of Guangzhou in order to justify their language proficiency, language choices, and language attitudes.

The group of Grand-Estate students who claimed Putonghua to be their first dialect or even mother tongue is a conspicuous group. Researchers have noted this

group in previous language-attitude research in China but glossed over the finding. For example, in Tang's (2006) language-attitude study of Guangzhou secondary school students, the figure was 19 % (2005 sample); in Wang and Ladegaard's study (2008) it was 15 % (2002 sample). In the Grand-Estate class that I studied, 46 % of the students identified themselves as Putonghua-D1 speakers, and the average of the two schools is 25 %. In short, the percentage of Putonghua-D1 speakers in Guangzhou has been on the rise over the past decade and in some communities, such as the Grand-Estate school community, the Putonghua-D1 speakers already outnumber the Cantonese-D1 speakers. Contrary to traditional sociolinguistic assumptions about the standard language, a considerable group of "native Putonghua speakers" is growing. We need to acknowledge their existence in order to study the sociolinguistic significance of the phenomenon.

So what will happen now that such a group has emerged in Guangzhou, China? Would they take the lead in transforming Guangzhou from the current Putonghua/ Cantonese diglossia to Putonghua monolingualism, in which Cantonese and other regional dialects become endangered "minority languages"? These questions entail further and long-term studies. Here we are beginning the examination of the macro-, meso-, and microconditions from which such a group arises.

While the Chinese government has not attempted to eliminate regional dialects as explicitly as the Singaporean government, it nonetheless ensures that Putonghua is used in all public domains, and also encourages its use in private domains. There is no official statement that defines Putonghua as the mother tongue of all Han Chinese. However, by simply ignoring the enormous linguistic diversity within the Han Chinese population in all language policies and regulations, Putonghua monolingualism has become the norm in important domains in which language socialisation happens, such as at school, in the mass media, and in public institutions. Regional dialects are not explicitly banned in these domains, but neither are they "legitimate languages" (Heller 1996); thus they are implicitly banned (see Chap. 7).

On the other hand, the Putonghua monolingual norm in education has forced Putonghua into private domains, such as the family. As we have discussed, the school curriculum and many school teachers treat students as if they have the same satisfactory onset Putonghua competence. Some teachers even considered dialect-speaking students as naturally deficient language learners (Miss Pan's "phonetic system theory" in Chap. 8). Children who come to school without the necessary Putonghua proficiency could experience great difficulty (see Chen's case in Chap. 5). Parents, who worry that their children may suffer academic disadvantage because their dialectal literacy is not valued at school and that school teachers are incapable of helping their children, have to prepare their children linguistically for such school requirements (Chap. 8). In some cases, this has resulted in a temporary or permanent language shift within the family; in other cases, the parents may decide to teach Putonghua instead of regional dialects as D1 to their children.

The national language policies and educational policies affect every school, although different school communities can interpret and mediate the same policies in different ways. In the current study, an observable difference between the Grand-Estate and Sandwood School is that a significant group of native Putonghua

speakers have emerged in the former school community but not in the latter. Why do migrant children in Sandwood acquire their parent's dialectal D1s in addition to Cantonese, while their counterparts in Grand-Estate generally fail in both and speak only Putonghua?

9.1.1   The Impact of Social Network

Most of these Grand-Estate students' parents are fluent speakers of their own dialectal mother tongues, while the students themselves are Putonghua-dominant, speaking no or very little of their parents' mother tongues. The language shift has happened within two generations. David and Nambiar (2002, cited in K. K. Y. Cheng 2003) found that the push factor for intergenerational language shift was the high incidence of exogamous marriages and the many numbers relocating elsewhere. To apply that finding to the current study, "relocation" may be defined as moving away from their parents' regional dialect region before they become 6 years old. In big cities of contemporary China, children usually start primary school around six. Before that, it can be assumed that the influences on their language learning mainly come from their family and the surrounding speech communities. Moreover, equivalence can be drawn between "exogamous marriage" and "interdialectal marriage" ("the mixed" children). That all the four "relocated and mixed" students in the Grand-Estate class had become native Putonghua speakers seems to confirm David and Nambiar's hypothesis. However, a greater proportion of the Putonghua-D1 students were born in intradialectal families (11 out of 15). Moreover, over 90 % (10 out of 11) of the Sandwood students were "relocated", "mixed" or both maintained their parents' mother tongues as D1 which seems to provide counter-evidence. So we will look beyond the figures.

In discussing the case of New Zealand, Walker (2011) argues that access to domains, communities of practice, and social networks are necessary for creating contexts for language use so that linguistic diversity may be sustainable. Because of the implicit ban on dialects in public life in mainland China, the migrant students in the study often could find no domains other than the home in which to hear or use regional dialects. In this respect, native Cantonese speakers are "luckier", because even if they migrate to a non-Cantonese-speaking region, it is still relatively easy to find Cantonese-speaking media and popular cultural products in Cantonese. Communities of practice (Eckert 2006) may be viable options but I found no preexisting communities of dialect communication in Grand-Estate. Comparing the native Putonghua speakers to the native dialectal speakers in the Grand-Estate groups, the social network factor seemed to be more relevant.

Lei, Yuan, Fan, and Qiu are Putonghua-D1 students among the key informants in the Grand-Estate School. They are either "relocated" or "mixed" and their stories have been discussed in Chap. 4. In contrast, Chen is "relocated" but speaks Teochew speech as his D1 and his case has been presented in Chap. 5. In identifying himself as a Teochew and claiming the centrality of Teochew-dialect proficiency to
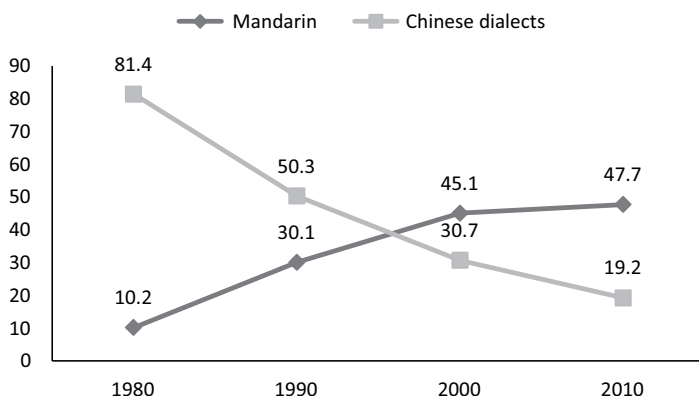
Fig. 9.1 Trends in dominant household language use among Singaporean Chinese

that identity, Chen made frequent reference to his *Jiazu* (family and clan). Home town and *Jiazu* are more than symbolic, intangible concepts for Chen. While he no longer lives in the Teochew region, his parents have been sending him there during his school vacations, precisely for the purpose of enhancing his sense of being a Teochew and his Teochew-dialect proficiency.

The *Jiazu* settlements in Sandwood and in Chen's home town Teochew are examples of the close-knit network that Milroy and Milroy (1985) talk about. Such a network "has an intrinsic capacity to function as a norm-enforcement mechanism, to the extent that it operates in opposition to larger scale institutional standardising pressures…the LOOSENING (original capitalisation) of such a network structure will be associated with linguistic change" (p. 359). A point of reference is the case of the rapid language shift within the Singaporean Chinese community from Chinese regional dialects to Standard Mandarin in home language use since the launch of the "Speak Mandarin Campaign" (discussed in Chap. 2). The percentage of Chinese households that use Chinese dialects as the dominant language has dramatically dropped from more than 80 % to less than 20 % (see Fig. 9.1; The figures are calculated based on the categories of "principal household language" (1980 census) and "language most frequently spoken at home" (1990, 2000, 2010 census), and are generalised to represent home language-use pattern), and the trends among the three major dialect groups (Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese) are similar (Kuo 1985; Lee 2001; Singapore Department of Statistics 2000, 2010).

However, we should not overlook the social changes that took place preceding and throughout the language shift—the change from monoethnic to multiethnic living and the diminishing of the "clan associations" (Gupta 1994; Li Wei et al. 1997)—another example of a close-knit social network. Dialect-medium education used to be provided by the clan associations. With the end of the clan associations and the strong official propaganda against using dialects, most of the younger Singaporean Chinese are unable to or consider it unnecessary to speak regional dialects.

In contemporary Chinese society, the rapid modernisation and massive migration has greatly loosened the traditional close-knit networks. By sending Chen to his Jiazu in the Teochew region during vacations, Chen's parents have deliberately and proactively preserved access to such networks for Chen even after migrating to Guangzhou. However, similar bonds were either unattainable or had been given up by most other migrant students in the Grand-Estate school community. "Lone" migrant students like Yuan, Fan, and Lei found their "home towns" (that is, their parent's home towns) geographically too distant to be tangible. The "home-town speech", which they could no longer speak or understand, had also become emotionally too distant to be consequential.

A question remains. The migrant students in Sandwood are just as removed from their dialectal home town as those in Grand-Estate. Why have they not become native Putonghua speakers? It is possible that the close-knit network of "the locals" has also had an effect on the "outcomers" . While the "outcomers" are not part of the locals' network, people in the village nonetheless live together and have much more frequent, close contact with each other than people living in modern high-rise residential blocks. While the network serves as a norm-enforcement mechanism for the locals, the norm may appear to the "outcomers" as "speaking dialects to your family" and "speaking dialects in public places". Cantonese plays an important role in local business, factories, and everyday life. Most of the migrant children's parents can speak Cantonese and they have encouraged their children to learn it. The children have learned their "home town speech" at home. When playing with other children in the neighbourhood or staying in their parents' little shops, they have acquired Putonghua, Cantonese, and other dialects, as well as the habit of using them in a hybrid way. At school, they have also had much more opportunity to hear Cantonese from their teachers and classmates, even in class and in the school offices, as the native Cantonese students and teachers are more used to speaking Cantonese among themselves (compared with Grand-Estate).

Moreover, the migrant students in Sandwood mostly fall into the category of "floating population", a very deprived, and marginalised (Zhang 2002; Mackenzie 2002) group of dwellers in the city because they are usually both non-*Hukou* and rural migrants. Cantonese as a locally important language probably provides more convenience, social mobility and access to symbolic resources than Putonghua at the township or even district level. The Cantonese-speaking norm and the overt prestige of Cantonese might have jointly resulted in the Sandwood migrant students' higher proficiency in Cantonese, while the institutional segregation (*Hukou*) and the local social network distinction may have made them more determined to keep their "roots" by maintaining their "home-town speech". In contrast, the migrant families in Grand-Estate school community are more well-off than their Sandwood counterparts. Living in a region where the dominant language is clearly Putonghua, migrant families not bound to any dialect-enforcing network seem to have accepted the economically-dominant and pragmatic-minded belief that regional dialects have little relevance in contemporary society (Li Wei et al. 1997). Such a belief ignores the need of young migrants to find a sense of belonging and identification through language, and denies the benefit and importance of becoming

multilingual, while maintaining societal multilingualism. To be more exact, almost all participants thought it important to be multilingual, but multilingual competence in Putonghua and other Chinese dialects was not the form of multilingualism they valued.

9.1.2   The Search for "Roots" and a "Sense of Belonging"

It is often said in the local prodialect media reporting that Putonghua is a language without roots and that it has limited historical or cultural value—interestingly, this is contrary to the Singaporean official language ideology that only Putonghua provides access to Chinese cultural heritage. Yet the language ideology underlying the pro-Cantonese discourse and the "dialect-bashing" discourse of the Singaporean government is the same—historicisation is key to the legitimisation of language varieties (Milroy 2001) and speakers must find their roots through the legitimate language.

Therefore for native Putonghua speakers in Guangzhou, Putonghua does not provide access to regional identities and thus the sense of roots. They have to search for their roots in other directions. Many of them symbolically chose their parents' home-town dialects for access to their roots, even though they can barely speak those dialects. This loosening connection between language and identity is a symbolic one. It may be argued that "precisely because of its intangibility, symbolic ethnicity can be a very enduring matter" (Edwards 2010, p. 230), but it also seems to accelerate the loss of regional dialects. This phenomenon has also been noted in previous language-attitude studies on the Singaporean Chinese community in which rapid language shift has happened over three generations. The loosening of ties occurred first between regional dialects and dialectal identities in the parents' generation and currently between Mandarin proficiency and the ethnic Chinese identity in the younger generation (Li Wei and Zhu Hua 2010; Li Wei 2011). In this way, it is possible to be an ethnic Chinese in Singapore with little knowledge of Mandarin.

On the other hand, the place that seems more consequential for the native Putonghua speakers' regional identity is Guangzhou. Qiu, Yuan, and Fan, the native Putonghua-speaking girls, are remembered for their "hammering on the table" during focus group sessions when I was asking a series of questions about their places of origin and their "home-town speech". They protested and questioned the legitimacy of these questions. While they have places of origins defined by official categorisation, they talked as if that was of no significance to them. However, in their individual interviews or in the "off-stage" conversations during the focus group discussions, they had said that they were Guangzhouers. Qiu's statement was a strong declaration: "From where? From here!" They had grown up in Guangzhou with their friends and family around, and they even spoke or understood more Cantonese than their parents' "home-town speech". Yet above all, they said they did not care whether they could speak Cantonese like "natives". As they said in the focus group, they are Guangzhouers who speak Putonghua as their D1, and some

find it unproblematic to be Guangzhouers who do not speak Cantonese (Chap. 4). They questioned the rigid link between language and identity, and they refused to cooperate with the request that potentially forged such a link and questioned their self-categorisation. They managed to position themselves against such a one-identity-one-language norm by discursively problematising and rejecting it during the focus group sessions. Outside the focus group sessions, they were still faced with such a norm, and were sometimes even regarded as a "failure" by their family and others (Chap. 4).

It has been noted that for young migrants who have or prefer dual/multiple identities, the multiplicity could be as enriching and complementary as it is isolating and dislocating. They may feel a sense of being "both here and there", or "neither here nor there" (Walker 2011). They are challenged and pulled in different directions in their search for and construction of new hybrid, fluid multiple identities. Putonghua, due to its translocal and nongeographic nature, does not provide a ready-made "sense of place and belonging" in this context[1] (Ethnic Voice New Zealand 2005). Cantonese is both the dominant local dialect of the "receiving" city and a prestigious regional dialect per se, which makes it a likely candidate for providing that sense of local belonging.

However, the parents of these students typically did not facilitate their children's acquisition of Cantonese at home. Neither of Lei's parents, nor the housemaid or grandmother could speak Cantonese and he had mainly picked it up at kindergarten before he moved to the Putonghua-dominant Grand Estate. Fan's parents, on the other hand, are fluent Cantonese speakers, but they claimed to have deliberately left the question of regional identity open, and therefore did not insist on Fan's learning or using any language other than Putonghua. In the case of Qiu, her father, who is multidialectal in Teochew dialect, Cantonese and Putonghua, expressed regret that Qiu could not speak either dialects, but also insisted that the general language environment was more important than family influence. Hence he would not take responsibility for teaching dialects at home.

While most parents shared the view that language environment is crucial, they differed with regard as to what the language environment is composed of. Some, such as Chen's parents, considered home as an integral part of the larger language environment and saw nothing "unnatural" about teaching dialects to the children at home. In the immediate language environment of Grand-Estate School, where Cantonese has virtually become a "minority language", the parents' decision about whether to facilitate the learning of Cantonese at home might crucially determine the children's competence in, and identification with, it. Moreover, for families like Lei's in which none of the adults could speak the local dialect, school (including kindergarten) is a vital site where migrant children can encounter and pick up the dialect. By not taking responsibility for facilitating the students' learning of local dialects or even banning their use, the school and the teachers are collectively responsible for language loss in the local dialects. By not attending to the linguistic

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[1] In diasporic Chinese communities overseas, however, Putonghua is constructed as the tool that signifies and provides access to Pan-Chinese culture and identity.

and psychological challenges that the children are facing, both school and parents should be held accountable for the linguistic and cultural discontinuities (Walker 2011) experienced by the students.

9.1.3   Questions of Integration in the Era of Multilingualism

The Grand-Estate migrants and their Sandwood counterparts differed in their perceptions of the importance of knowing Cantonese for living in Guangzhou. The differences between their socioeconomic status and community language environments may account for their more or less instrumental motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972) for learning Cantonese. Yet there are more symbolic and essential issues underlying the integrative motive. How important is Cantonese/or should Cantonese be for immigrants to be culturally integrated into Guangzhou society, assuming that integration is their goal and the goal of the city? Guangzhou has historically been a city receiving immigrants. Many of its current "local" population are descendants of immigrants who came here decades or centuries earlier. In the past, it was taken for granted that immigrants should integrate with the local community through learning and using Cantonese, whereas now there is open debate as to how we deal with social diversity and unity, and what kind of integration we are aiming for (Edwards 2010).

There is a continuing debate concerning multiculturalism. Yet in the case of Guangzhou, the language situation further complicates the issue of integration. The local language of the host community is Cantonese and many believe that it is the best way of expressing Guangzhou culture. However, Cantonese is a prestigious language and, at the same time, a regional dialect that has no official status because of the monolingual language policy for the entire Han Chinese population in China. The outstanding economic achievement and cultural influence of the Cantonese-speaking region has provided a counterbalance in the unfair competition between Cantonese and the official variety of Putonghua. Yet as other regions are catching up economically and the status of Putonghua is rising to an unprecedented height, Cantonese seems to be losing ground in the competition. In national discourses, Putonghua is the language of integration and unity, while regional dialects are considered to be divisive; this resembles the official discourse in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng 1999). Among the many language conflicts (or indeed conflicts that are disguised as language issues) online and in the media, one need not go far to find arguments such as: Should immigrants integrate with the local Guangzhouers, or should the locals assimilate with "the rest of the country"? Are the native Cantonese so unique and arrogant that they may have the privilege to speak a different language while "everyone else" speaks Putonghua? The constant struggle that the migrant students experience in negotiating their ethnolinguistic identity and their search for a sense of belonging reminds us that these issues call for more urgent attention.

Our positions on these issues are based on our attitudes towards the relationship between language and culture, language and identity, language and commu-

nity, and, fundamentally, our assumptions about what language is. Such positions are, in turn, premises of our decision concerning what kind of multilingual education (at home and at school) is considered suitable for Guangzhou citizens or for any citizens in times of mobility and globalisation. Pennycook (2006) warns that we should be careful in demanding that "heritage language learners" connect with their "home culture" and should not take it for granted that the learners will renew contact with their country of origin (referring to Kramsch 2006). In fact, renewing "contract" may be a proper metaphor for renewing "contact". To what extent should they keep renewing the ethnolinguistic contract with their place of origin? What is the relationship between that contract and the new contract with the current place of residence?

Answers to the two questions are largely ideological and the debate is open. My position is based not so much on the learners' obligation as on the extent to which they are inhibited or empowered. The individual's ability to integrate with a community is reciprocal with his/her ability to participate in that community (Touraine 1994, p. 209, translated and cited in Mick 2011): "For integration to exist, an individual or collective subject must be able to modify a social or cultural entity, which means that the importance lies as much on identity as on participation". In other words, the participants become integrated when they are able to problematise, negotiate and (re)construct what it means to be members of certain communities—the form they would like their contracts to take.

A third question is what kinds of language practice mediate the renewal or making of contracts. A discursive approach to language attitudes has enabled us to examine language practices in detail. Language attitudes—evaluative practices regarding languages, language communities, and other language-related issues—are the means for positioning oneself in the process of participation. The participants need to draw on various languages, or semiotic tools, to accomplish the participation. However, monolingual language ideologies result in different semiotic means being discounted as resources for participation. Putonghua may not be regarded as part of a Guangzhouer identity, but speaking Cantonese is not considered helpful for constructing a "Chinese" identity either. Regional dialects as a whole are "forbidden" languages in socially valued domains, such as education, media, and other formal and institutional activities, domains that would positively valorise a language. In other words, native dialectal speakers are not able to participate in such domains through their native languages, so that the dialect voices are excluded from constructing social realities and identities related to these domains.

The institutional constraints on regulating linguistic access to participation are rigid and compartmentalising, but the participants can transgress them in moment-to-moment discursive negotiation (see Chap. 6). Language learners could reject the stifling "either/or" choice of linguistic and cultural membership, even if only temporarily, and inhabit a third space (cf. Mick 2011; Pennycook 2006) or translanguaging space (Li Wei 2011). Such dynamic, inhabited space is most evident in the discursive construction of self, language, culture, and community among the migrants or the "diasporic" population.

In the current study, the migrant students, especially the native Putonghua speakers, exemplify how such space may be created and inhabited. The native Putonghua students questioned the "linguistic contracts" predefined for them—the connection between "home town speeches" and "home towns", or the connection between Cantonese and being "Guangzhouers". They foregrounded the indeterminacy of the relationship between language, culture, and membership, and demanded the recognition of a new type of ethnolinguistic identity. Recognising such indeterminacy and multiplicity is a means of resisting the symbolic domination of monolingual language ideologies that privilege some versions of meaning and language practice as natural, inevitable and incontestable (Gee 2008; Makoni and Pennycook 2005). Pennycook (2006) sees language education not as a functional enterprise that serves other pragmatic agendas, but as a practice of translingual activism. Educators need to understand the translingual and transcultural spaces inhabited by students, and to open up important space "to oppose the incursion of homogenous discourses and to look to multiple sources of cultural renewal" (p. 114).

9.2   Multilingual Native Cantonese Speakers vis-à-vis Monolingual Language Ideologies

The migrant students are not the only group affected by the conflicts between the "monolingual mindsets" and multilingual realities (Mick 2011; Walker 2011) in the rapidly changing city of Guangzhou. The native Cantonese students are also linguistically hybrid. Unlike their grandparents (and even their parents) who are monolingual Cantonese speakers, they are bilingual in Putonghua and Cantonese (or even multilingual). They are surrounded by a multidialectal sea and began dealing with the challenges from when they were very young—perhaps as soon as they were born and started listening to the world.

Monolingual language ideologies in the form of "self-evident common sense" are the most common form of everyday symbolic domination imposed on multilinguals. The study demonstrated that the one-on-one analogy between language and identity immediately created a dilemma for children born into the increasingly commonplace interdialectal marriage families. In Chap. 4, we have discussed the story of the Sandwood "Cantonese-Hunannese" girl, Ying. She was aware that the local-outcomer marriage of her parents may be frowned upon by some people in the linguistically and culturally conservative Sandwood community. This belief had made her feel suspicious about, and reluctant to answer, questions on place of origin. Because of her father, she is accepted as a local but the fact that she grew up with three languages (Cantonese, the Hunan dialect and Putonghua) was often overlooked. She knew that her spoken Cantonese was somehow not as "good" as that of the other locals, and that when she spoke Cantonese, people might judge her and make her feel inadequate. That was why she felt hesitant about using Cantonese with strangers and preferred Putonghua. Ying's Cantonese pronunciation errors were singled out each time, whether the activity was casual conversation or

language-oriented. Min's insensitive questioning of Ying's Cantonese competence was the last straw, and Ying pointed out that she was not deficient, only different. By using a rhetorical "what if" question rather than a straightforward statement, Ying suggested that other people did not understand the challenges that she had been facing and certainly did not put themselves in her shoes.

Ying was right in pointing out that she is not a monolingual and it is not fair to judge her by monolingual standards. Yet she is not "half-Hunannese-half-Cantonese" but both Hunannese and Cantonese. The point is she is a complete person who has an integrated linguistic repertoire comprising the Hunan dialect, Cantonese and Putonghua, rather than being three inadequate monolinguals in one (Cummins 2008; Walker 2011). This should be the basis of our understanding of all aspects of multilinguals' language life, including their language competence, language attitudes and language identities. The social pressure on Ying comes from a language ideology that fails to recognise this premise.

While Ying's interdialectal family background makes her a more obvious multilingual, the fact that the majority of the participants, the local "pure" students, also grew up bilingually through Cantonese and Putonghua is too often neglected. The parents of these students often take it for granted that with Cantonese spoken at home and accessible local networks, their children will just naturally become perfect native speakers of Cantonese. To their disappointment, especially in the Grand-Estate School where there are few Cantonese-speaking opportunities, they find that their children are speaking Cantonese with a strange Putonghua accent, lexis and structures. To quote their parents, their Cantonese is "half a bucket of water" (半桶水) or "neither salty nor bland" (不咸不淡). All indicate the sense of under-qualification and hybridity. The tie between Cantonese proficiency and the Guangzhouer identity is the strongest for them, because they cannot "blame" relocation or family background for not being able to speak (1) "standard" and (2) "pure" Cantonese. This is another "common sense" language ideology shared by many that makes their own life difficult.

Firstly, the concept of "standard" is an ideology-ridden social construction (Milroy 2001). Speakers of certain languages come to believe that their language exists in standardised, uniform forms, so that variations in language use are just deviant, incorrect, accented or "dialects" (Deumert 2004). The second sense of "standard" refers to a measure of achievement—how well someone has achieved in comparison with the standardised norms just mentioned. Nonlinguists often do not realise that standardisation and standards are imposed rather than natural. Compared to the official standardised variety Putonghua, there are neither official Cantonese standardisation measures, nor guidelines for spoken or written Cantonese used in the press, nor Cantonese school lessons in Guangzhou. It is not even a legitimate medium of instruction as it is in Hong Kong. It means that the "standard" of Cantonese is considerably vaguer and the Cantonese speakers have little institutional assistance to help them meet the standard or standards.

The language ideologies that there must be a standard form of Cantonese and that native Cantonese speakers must speak "standard Cantonese" are contradicted by the reality of the vague standard and lack of institutional support. However,

native speakers who fail to live up to the standard are likely to be punished and may not be able to defend themselves if they too are subscribers to such language ideologies. In Chap. 4, Hay was verbally attacked by Du because Du thought that Hay did not speak the kind of Cantonese spoken by Guangzhouers, and Hay was excluded from being one of "us" because of that. Hay, of course is a Guangzhouer by all "conventional" criteria. Du was not really denying that but discrediting Hay as a "knower" because of his accent. This phenomenon has been found in other multilingual contexts and theorised as "epistemic injustice" (Esch 2010, referring to Fricker 2007). It happens when the semiotic means (whether a style, an accent, a dialect or a language, and the distinctions between these are not clear-cut) used by the speaker is stigmatised.

However, I would argue that in addition to the stigma associated with Hay's particular accent, misconceptions and lack of language awareness about variation within languages also played an important role in reinforcing the epistemic injustice. It has been pointed out (Agha 2003) that accents become recognisable to different hearers in different ways. A Liverpool working-class accent may sound like British to an American, like English to a Scottish person, like a northerner to an English southerner, like a Liverpudlian to a northerner, like working-class to a Liverpudlian. To my ear, Hay sounded like a typical Huangpu person (we were both born in Huangpu District); Du sounded like someone from the older but not central part of Guangzhou; whereas Su sounded as if he were from an outer suburban district or a county-level town. They all have accents that are "standard" in their own right. However, lacking awareness of the variations within Cantonese and believing that there is only one standard form of (Guangzhou) Cantonese, the students, including Hay himself, reasoned that there must be something wrong with the way Hay speaks.

The consequences of such "epistemic injustice" soon became apparent in the same focus group session when Hay joined Du and Su in teasing Chen for not reading the poem fluently in Cantonese. Chen lost no time in fighting back but targeted Hay only by saying, "You can't read it either! You are a Guangzhouer but you can't read it!", whereas only a moment previously, Chen was the one backing Hay up as a Guangzhouer. Hay's accent, or rather others' misconception about that accent, had turned him into an easy target for violence. The violence was symbolic (cf. Herr and Anderson 2003) in this case (but might have been physical in others): people were judged according to a linguistic standard that is mistaken and oppressive, and punished for not meeting the standard. The "inadequate" native speakers become vulnerable to blame, insults and contempt not only from their fellow native speakers, but also from speakers of other languages. Those blaming others at one moment may be subject to the same kind of violence at another moment. Consequently, such symbolic domination and violence indeed victimises everyone. Even though in these sessions the violence seemed relatively mild and fleeting, the way it cumulated and suddenly broke out was startling and worrying.

The second issue to be examined besides "standard Cantonese" is "pure Cantonese", or why the students "fail" to speak like their parents and grandparents. Having grown up amid day-to-day language contacts between at least two languages, the

students make sense of their worlds in heteroglossic/polyglossic rather than mono-glossic terms, and their multilingual competence is a reflection of such a way of sense-making. Here we can borrow Bakhtin's notion of "simultaneity" (Woolard 1998, referring to Bakhtin 1981) to understand these students' ways with words (borrowed from Heath 1983). Bakhtin sees language forms as "both/and" with a real simultaneity of contrasting elements in tension rather than "a mere waver-ing between two mutually exclusive possibilities" (p. 4) which is often implied by code-switching approaches. To contextualise "simultaneity" in the study of social language practices, Woolard (1998) highlights the under-researched phenomenon of "bivalency", which is defined as "a simultaneous membership of an element in more than one linguistic system" (p. 6). To determine the linguistic membership of bivalent elements is more an ideological than "objective" undertaking. So far as the distinction is ideological, it is as much the ideology of the speaker as that of the hearer and the analyst.

In the current study, there were many examples in the students' language practice that indicated bivalency or simultaneity in general (such as the interrelated trans-lingual phenomena of interference, borrowing, and code-switching). For example, some students directly used the Putonghua pronunciation of the originally Canton-ese word when negotiating meanings (see also Liang in press). It is also common for Guangzhou residents to use Cantonese sentence-final particles when speaking Putonghua. A similar phenomenon can be found when Singaporean Chinese speak Mandarin or English (Li Wei et al. 1997; Gupta 1994).

Such bivalent language uses reflect the fact that the different languages are not kept strictly apart in the participant's brain. What an individual has is not several discrete repertoires of single languages, but one organic, hybrid, heteroglossic and polyglossic repertoire at his/her disposal. This is the kind of language practice dis-liked and disapproved of by the students' purist parents, teachers, and sometimes even themselves. The assumption is that one can and should speak languages in their "pure" forms and not to speak in such a "contaminated" way. They fail to see that in the current era characterised by mobility, multiplicity, and heterogene-ity, such a way of speaking is only "natural" and very adaptable to the challenges of everyday life. A study conducted in Hong Kong shows how counterproductive and unrealistic it is to require people to talk as if they lived in an isolated, homo-geneous, monolingual world (Li and Elly 2002). Twelve university students were asked to use Cantonese only for one day. It was found that such a purist way of speaking compromised their communicative skills and often caused communication breakdown or interpersonal discomfort. That study considers only code-switching and code mixing practices. If taking into consideration other forms of simultane-ous language practices, the attempt to eliminate all these "impure" expressions in speech, if it were ever possible, would do even greater damage to communication and productivity. The purist norm imposed on the multilinguals inhibits their mul-tilingual development and communication, ignores or stigmatises their multilingual competence, and is indeed another form of symbolic domination (Heller 1995).

Social changes in the multidialectal city of Guangzhou, due to migration, have served "to denaturalise and problematise boundaries and essentialised unities" (Bai-

ley 2007, p. 259), including: the meaning of mother tongue, the one-on-one analogy between language and identity, the standard language ideology, and linguistic purism. The study showed that the participants were able to discursively undermine the monolingual norms using multiple semiotic resources and ethnolinguistic identities. However, the students' struggles also foregrounded the extent to which our society and education has failed to recognise multiple and flexible ethnolinguistic identities, to raise awareness of language variation and diversity, and to respond to the learning needs, capacity, and strategies of the new multilingual and heteroglossic generation.

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Chapter 10
Schools in the Era of Multilingualism

10.1 The "Habits" and the "Language Environment"

In Chap. 7, we discussed how the monolingual language and education policies have penetrated the school context and the curriculum through well-organised, comprehensive Putonghua promotion and language standardisation measures (such as the Putonghua Shuiping Ceshi (PSC) test and the Model School Assessment). However, the "successful" institutionalisation of these language policies is best reflected in their normality and invisibility, in other words, when policies become "habits" or part of "the language environment".

The Grand-Estate teachers routinised their almost exclusive use of Putonghua on campus and explained their practice as a collective "habit" in which everyone participates but no one questions. The teachers' mind-sets became the students' through language socialisation, and some even concluded that Putonghua was only the legitimate language at school (the case of Du). The participants used other languages so rarely that some did not know other classmates or teachers could speak other dialects even after knowing each other for years. The school had become a more or less monolingual Putonghua enclave in a multidialectal community, and dialects had become virtually invisible. Considering the rich multilingual experiences they described in interviews and the heteroglossic performances during focus group sessions, the monotone of Putonghua in learning, teaching, and almost all school activities appears even more striking.

Sandwood School offers an interesting case of comparison in terms of individual and collective language-use "habits" or habitus. Both Cantonese and Putonghua are used regularly on the Sandwood campus, including in the classroom. Many teachers, like their Grand-Estate counterparts, also explained such a way of languaging in terms of "habits" and "the language environment". Participants starting from similar ethnolinguistic backgrounds ended up with different ways of languaging. It is through comparing their varied accounts that we can begin to see where "habit" and "language environment" come from.

As suggested by the participants, the "language environment" has a crucial impact on individual multilingualism. For example, both Miss Huang in Grand-Estate

School and Miss Wu in Sandwood School are native Cantonese speakers (so are their husbands). Chinese teachers and their children were studying at the same school as the one in which they worked. Miss Huang's son Lin used Putonghua frequently at home and exclusively at school. In contrast, Miss Wu talked to Kiki in Cantonese at home and at school, and Kiki made finely tuned language choices according to her relationship with the interlocutors and the presence of overhearers. The main difference does seem to lie in the two children's "language environment" at school. Miss Huang complained that due to spending 8 h a day at the monolingual Putonghua enclave of Grand-Estate School, the "habit" of speaking Putonghua was so strong that it changed language use at home. On the other hand, both students and teachers were more flexible regarding language choice at Sandwood. Miss Wu herself (and many others) explicitly stated that it was acceptable to use Cantonese with students, and I often witnessed this. Understandably, such a language environment helps students to acquire the "habit" of making language choices flexibly. This is one dimension of the relationship between "habits" and "language environment"— "language environment" may legitimise or devalue, facilitate, or inhibit certain ways of language use and identity construction.

It has been argued that multilingualism is not what an individual does or does not have, but what the environment enables or disables them to do (Blommaert et al. 2005). Certain environments organise certain regimes of language in particular ways that (in)capacitate certain individuals. A lack of communicative competence in a particular environment is not seen as a problem of the speaker, but as a problem for the speaker. Such a way of looking at multilingualism and the language environment is enlightening, but I would also stress that language environment is both constitutive and agentive. In other words, individual choices construct linguistic habitus and heteroglossic language-use space, because the language environment is ultimately discursively and interactionally constructed. For instance, Miss Huang admitted that she was partly responsible for Lin's declining Cantonese proficiency because she did not insist on his using Cantonese at home. In contrast, Chen, who presumably had an "even worse" language environment as a migrant student at Grand-Estate, regularly used Putonghua, Teochew speech, and Cantonese because his parents decided to help him to become trilingual (Chap. 5).

In another case, Miss Wong found herself using more Cantonese with students after transferring from a "Model School" to the Sandwood School (Chap. 7). She said that her awareness of Cantonese language loss also made her more conscious of the responsibilities of school teachers in maintaining dialects. I do not know how Miss Wong taught Chinese in her previous school, but her use of Cantonese when teaching at Sandwood did appear more strategic and thoughtful than random (not analysed here due to space limit). Being "freed" from the obligation of speaking Putonghua in a "Model School" allowed Miss Wong to use Cantonese with students. However, she made conscious choices to use Putonghua and Cantonese in particular ways that served her goals, which, in turn, affected how her students used languages with her. In other words, individual language choices not only adapt to the language environment, but are also capable of transforming the language environment.

Blommaert's (2005) conception of the dual nature of space is useful in conceptualising the dialogic relationship between individual agency and language environment: space is (1) "already there before any activity begins and is designed to routinely embody the triggers for certain activities and courses of action to typically unfold", and is (2) "inhabited, appropriated, and shaped and (re)configured by occupants for the purposes of and during social activities" (p. 206).

The national monolingual language policy for the Han Chinese has set the primary conditions of the language environment at school: (1) Putonghua will remain the dominant medium of instruction and a subject of study at school; (2) other Chinese regional dialects will not be taught as subjects; (3) there will be no official recommendations or guidelines regarding how time should be allocated for the use of Putonghua and regional dialects at school; and (4) regional dialects will not be officially prohibited from the classroom (at least in national legislations). Interconnected language laws and regulations form a web that traps the school communities in a Putonghua-speaking atmosphere. However, just as webs have holes, there is still plenty of implementational and ideological space (Hornberger 2005) that can be occupied and transformed through choices made in interactions. This is why an interaction-based, sociolinguistically informed study on people's positioning regarding languages, language use, and language environment is valuable for informing language education practice. As we are urging more fundamental change in the monolingual language policy framework, it is at least equally important to investigate how these spaces have been and can be inhabited in order to propose sustainable multilingual education strategies in the future.

10.2   Attitudes Towards Translanguaging at School

We have argued that multilingual space can be negotiated in moment-to-moment interactions. Negotiation involving "movement" between and across different semiotic resources has been fruitfully investigated through concepts, such as code-switching, language crossing, and heteroglossia (Auer 1998; Garcia et al. 2006; Mick 2011; Rampton 1998; Woolard 1998). In the current study, we have also critically analysed how the participants combined these strategies to discursively construct language preference, ethnolinguistic identities, and liminal spaces for creative language use. Our approach to multilingual language practices subsumes monoglossic, polyglossic, and heteroglossic communicative acts of multilinguals under the holistic category of translanguaging (Garcia 2009). We see translanguaging as necessarily the means whereby multilinguals make sense of, and constitute, their multilingual world, which may involve a sustained period of monoglossic languaging practice or frequent switching, crossing, or simultaneity at any given moment of interaction.

Given its overarching nature, attitudes towards translanguaging in education have often been investigated under other titles, such as attitudes towards code-switching and translation in teaching (Kamwangamalu 2010; Walt et al. 2001;

Makoni and Pennycook 2005), dialects/ethnic languages/minority languages in education (Cheshire 1989; Rubdy 2007; Lytra and Martin 2010; Ngomo 2011; Yiakoumetti and Esch 2010), and, more recently, translanguaging and flexible bilingualism at school (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Garcia 2009). Negative attitudes among educators towards "mixing" languages in education is not news or unique to monolingual education systems (see Blackledge and Creese 2010; Kamwangamalu 2010; Garcia 2009). Some advocates of bi-/multilingualism also strive to keep the languages distinctively apart because of the prevalent conceptualisation of multilinguals as multiple monolinguals in one (Cummins 2005; Mick 2011). The data of the current study, however, suggested that language separation ideology was not the main contributing factor for negative attitudes towards using dialects in education. The two main factors discussed in this book include the deficit hypothesis about native dialect speakers and inadequate recognition of multilingual language competence.

The two factors that contribute to negative attitudes towards translanguaging in education are interrelated. The deficit hypothesis sees the failure of learners to achieve in the "desirable language" as a problem inherently rooted in their L1s or the fact that they are bi-/multilingual. For example, Miss Pan of Grand-Estate School in the current study stated in a startlingly explicit way that northern dialect speakers are naturally better language learners, not only in Chinese but also in English (Chap. 8). The persistent views of language difference as a deficit (Cummins 2012) after decades of sociolinguistic research showing otherwise indicates how "seductive" such views are (Edwards 2010).

Apart from other factors, such as power asymmetry, symbolic dominance of the standard languages, and lack of teacher training about language variation and diversity, one important reason is the failure to recognise multilingual competence and multiliteracy that differ from the traditional monolingual ideal (Liang in press). In so far as we focus on translanguaging practices and heteroglossic repertoires in actual use, we must reformulate what it means to know a language, to speak it well and to be a competent communicator. What multilinguals possess are truncated repertoires that are biographically given and socially chequered, "a patchwork of specialized multilingual resources" (Blommaert 2010, p. 134). Current language and school assessment practices often miss the point and mistakenly judge multilingually resourceful individuals as linguistically handicapped in every language/repertoire they use.

The data of the study suggest, however, that the persistence of the deficit views may have less to do with personal ignorance than with systematic devaluing of multilingual literacies or literacies other than the "preferred" literacy in the standard language (Lotherington 2003). Miss Pan, who was most articulate about the deficit hypothesis, was multilingual, culturally resourceful, and routinely used several languages in her daily life.

Knowing what happened at school, the teachers-cum-parents would be the last ones to rely on other school teachers' knowledge and sympathy. Therefore, they taught Putonghua to their children themselves so as to avoid any potential disadvantages. It is a clearly silent distrust of the current schooling system to teach het-

eroglossic children. In doing so, rather than problematising or resisting the monolingual norms in school, they have become accomplices of their own domination (Corson 2001).

Siegel (1999a) summarises the consequences of teachers' negative attitudes towards students' L1s, most of which also apply when teachers disapprove of students' translanguaging. For example, teachers might mistakenly view students' linguistic versatility as being mixed and "not good at any of the languages" (see also a summary in Edwards 2010). Teachers may also mistake the "language problems" of dialect-speaking students for stupidity or laziness, lower expectations of these students, which may negatively affect students' self-image and expectations, and thus enter a vicious circle of linguistic prejudice (Siegel 1999b). Grand-Estate School teachers Miss Pan's "phonetic system theory" and Miss Tina's comments on the Cantonese students' performance (Chap. 8) illustrate this possibility. When an individual's way of talking and prior cultural knowledge is not recognised as valid, his/her self-expression will be repressed, and his/her acquisition of L2 (standard dialect) literacy and participation in social activities will unnecessarily become more difficult.

To prevent students from suffering such disadvantages, an important first step is to encourage healthier teacher attitudes towards translanguaging practices. A systematic approach would include educating teachers about the nature of language variation, language diversity, and heteroglossia through teacher training (Siegel 1999a). Before that can be implemented, however, teachers could begin by stepping out of "their teachers' persona and stress comembership of the local vernacular community with their students" (Kamwangamalu 2010, p. 129) by increasing translanguaging between the official and other linguistic diversities. For example, they could scold or praise the students in dialects, as is the case in Sandwood School. This creates a translanguaging-friendly language environment from the bottom up, which may be the reason why more translanguaging practices were observable on the Sandwood campus.

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Chapter 11
Language Attitudes in Heteroglossia: Methodological Reflections

11.1   Sketch of a Roadmap

The current study investigates language attitudes using a postmodernist and discursive approach in order to reconsider the complexities and multiplicities in contemporary multilingual China, which have been insufficiently addressed in previous research. Language attitudes are seen as social, evaluative practices discursively constructed in interactions. The ontological assumption that language is constitutive of meanings, interactions, and contexts is central to this framework which draws from discursive psychology (Wetherell 2007; Potter 2003), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1992, 1982; Rampton 1998; Garfinkel 1967), and linguistic anthropology (Gumperz and Hymes 1964; Ochs 1990; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). I am not only studying language attitudes in discourses, but also as discourses. The evaluative discourses are subject to multilevel fine-grained analysis in relation to the immediate communicative contexts, as well as other cultural, historical texts, and contexts made relevant through integration. In short, what I am proposing is not a different method for studying language attitudes, but a complete paradigm shift involving ontological, epistemological, and methodological statements on language attitudes.

The issues of sociolinguistic contexts and histories are discussed with specific reference to Chinese dialects in and outside China. It may not seem self-explanatory to include the Hong Kong and Singaporean contexts when this particular study concerns dialects used in two primary schools in Guangzhou. However, Blommaert (2010) argues strongly that it is important "to think about phenomena as located in and distributed across different scales, from the global to the local, and to examine the connections between these various levels in ways that do not reduce phenomena and events to their strict context of occurrence" (p. 16). Chinese dialects provide a good example to support this argument, since they are simultaneously local languages (vis-à-vis Putonghua as the standard/national variety) in China and diasporic languages spread across the globe due to historic and current migration. The language situations in mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other ethnic Chinese communities are products of their unique sociolinguistic and sociopolitical his-

tories. Those histories, however, are inextricably linked, more so now than ever, as the world is becoming a complex web of interconnected villages, due to globalised socioeconomic exchanges and technologies that transcend time and localities. Hence language attitudes in each of these settings are at once local, diasporic, and global practices, which should always be examined with reference to their historical framing, local specificity, and translocal relevance. Such an approach to language attitudes has been thus far lacking in the field (with a few exceptions, such as Li and Zhu 2010), and therefore, it is also one of the contributions of the current study.

The "undercurrent" of diaspora and mobility became more prominent as we began to examine how migrant students discursively position themselves in their multidialectal living in the city of Guangzhou (Chap. 4). Given the linguistic diversity and vast area of China, the migrant students may be regarded as diaspora within their country. They have moved into the sociolinguistic spaces that had been occupied and defined by earlier dwellers and faced the preexisting norms concerning legitimate languages, proper ways of speaking, and membership. They need to deal with their "home-town speech" (their language of origin), Cantonese (the important local language), Putonghua (the prestigious and instrumentally valuable standard variety), and probably other dialects in their local communities. In evaluating the relationship between these languages in their multidialectal repertoires, the participants also discursively constructed their ethnolinguistic membership of the city of Guangzhou, so that language attitudes have become discursive resources for social positioning (Davies and Harré 1990). Thus, the investigation turns from a study *of* language attitudes into a study *through* language attitudes. By focusing on the participants' discursive construction of language attitudes, we see what they are achieving with these attitudes.

Another turn also began in Chap. 4. When examining the multidialectal lives of migrant students, it became clear that mobility of population also brings about mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources (Blommaert 2010). It is not just in the sense that languages move to different localities with their speakers. When migrants reconfigure and reorganise their multilingual repertoires, "diasporic communicative resources reshuffle", become specialised and truncated (Blommaert et al. 2005, p. 199). The "language" they possess is a patchwork of linguistic resources, socially afforded and biographically acquired. Their ethnolinguistic identities are new hybrid identities reciprocal of such patchwork. The movement of such groups from the periphery to the centre may have unexpected social and sociolinguistic implications. One notable influence is on our views of languages and competence. The truncated nature of their actual multilingual repertoires problematise the notion of discrete, countable languages and monolingual norms about language competence.

Moreover, the patchwork of heteroglossic competences (Mick 2011; Woolard 1998) "offers a wide panorama, on which others can pass indexical judgments" (Blommaert 2010, p. 133). The heteroglossic competences, coupled with multiple subject positions (Wetherell 2007), bring about a huge array of possible evaluations, which resist gross generalisation. Heteroglossia is not just another context for studying language attitudes: it transforms language attitudes, as well as our perceptions of language, languaging, and language competence. With this turn to hetero-

glossia comes the reorientation from whole languages to semiotic resources and repertoires, and the reevaluation of language teaching and school education.

11.2   Reflexivity and Positionality

On a more personal note, the major turns mentioned above were often also intellectually challenging and emotionally charged. When I began, I thought I had a pretty clear idea about the city, the people, the languages, and the relationship between them. Then the turn to mobility and diaspora made me question the rigid links between languages and ethnolinguistic identities, and consequently reconsider the residents' rights and obligations to learn, use or drop their "mother tongues" or any particular language. Language maintenance became a much more complicated issue, if not politically precarious, in my eye. This is already different from my initial stance when beginning the project. Later, the turn to heteroglossia completely redefined what languages are and what it means to know languages. I had to reconceive how I could or should judge people's language competence and practice, and to reconsider most of the media campaigns or online advocacy for Cantonese or other regional dialects. It is actually impossible to tell whether it is my attitude changes that influenced the direction of the project, or the research that influenced my attitudes. Both happened together and were mutually dependent on each other.

These interactions, or dialogues between the multiple selves of the researcher, the researcher and the research, the researcher and the researched, as well as the researcher and the potential readers is what qualitative researchers often talked about—reflexivity. It is closely associated with the linguistic turn and the constitutive nature of language and knowledge production as a situated process. Therefore, while reflexivity "affects" all language-attitude research, it is most prominent in the discursive approach to language attitude. It is often considered as fundamental to ethnography (Ng 2011), as the "technology" for achieving situatedness (Rose 1997), as a style of writing for enhancing validity (cf. Flick 2009), and as the key to ethical research (Sultana 2007).

Rose (1997) distinguishes between two types of reflexivity: transparent reflexivity and constructed reflexivity. Transparent reflexivity assumes that the researcher's self is transparently visible to analysis, and so are the positions that the researcher and the researched occupy. As a result, the conscious, transparent self can critically look inwards to his/her identities and outwards to his/her relationship to the researched and to positions in knowledge production, and thereby "comes clean" in the analytical claims. However, this kind of reflexivity has been criticised for being similar to the all-knowing godlike view of reality that it aims to replace. Apparently, this kind of reflexivity does not match the research experience I described above. Alternatively, reflexivity may be seen not as a process of self-discovery—that is, looking for something that is already there—but as that of self-construction. In other words, the understanding of positionality and the self (multiple) only happens through social interaction in social relationships (McDowell 1992).

Just as social interaction and relationships are never entirely determined by the researcher, reflexivity and the researcher's positionality is never fully controllable or knowable to the researcher. The researcher and the researched mutually position and reposition each other through discursive encounters, so that the research and the selves become "interactive texts" (Rose 1997).

When reflexivity and positionality are translated into practice in the field, they may be found in any detail of everyday life and actions, such as hairstyle, shoes, marital status, where to sit, and how to talk (Sultana 2007; Ng 2011; Smith 2007). Nothing is too trivial in terms of influence on relationships, positions, and participation in the field, which have significantly shaped the current study.

As presented earlier in this chapter and Chap. 1, my own language attitudes and identities served to initiate this study. In addition, my autobiographical histories predefined my entry into the two school communities and influenced my subsequent participation in the field. However, my positions in the schools were not entirely determined by these "given" identities. The students in both schools were very perceptive about my position in the school and I was constantly amazed. At the beginning of the study, I saw students packed outside the window of the teachers' office at the Sandwood School, sizing me up. Some of them said: "New teacher?" One answered: "No. Her computer is different." In the Grand-Estate School, Du, one of the native Cantonese boys, commented on the connection between my language choice and his perception of my identity. He said, in Cantonese:

> You don't speak Putonghua all the time like other teachers, but rather speak Cantonese and you don't teach us any-thing, so I don't talk to you in Putonghua or treat you as our teacher. But you are our senior and to greet you in a proper way, I decide to call you teacher.

The fact that I spoke a lot more Cantonese than their "ordinary" teachers clearly distinguished me from "them" from Du's perspective. That was one of my deliberate "performances" in projecting a "nonteacher" image and my intention was achieved with Du.

There were many such moment-to-moment "microdecisions" I made in the field, through which I tried to position and reposition myself, undermining and reconstructing the social relations predefined for me. However, I have to be modest and admit I am not *that* sure whether I was always regarded by the participants in the way that I wanted them to see me, or that I am seeing them in the way that they meant to be understood; neither do I know all the assumptions that work to make me see them and myself in these ways. Uncertainties are what ethnographers (or everyone indeed) have to live with but also what make doing ethnography necessary and charming.

Rampton (2007) observes that linguistic ethnographers often work inside the organisations that are also their field sites, which is similar to my case. These researchers try to move outwards from the inside in an attempt to gain analytic distance from what is close at hand, rather than moving inwards from the outside in an effort to become familiar with what is strange. It is claimed that researchers who

are members of the target community not only find it easier to gain access but also are more likely to be aware of the internal diversities and be cautious about totalising accounts. Moreover, in studies that require comprehensive understanding of the local repertoires, it is a significant advantage for the researcher to have sufficient linguistic knowledge before entering the community. Arguably, by researching the Sandwood and Grand-Estate School at the same time, I have become more aware of the tension within and differences between these two directions of movement, which was conducive to writing reflexivity into the research text.

11.3   Limitations and Future Directions

If considered as a language-attitude study proper, it can be seen that I have so far refrained from producing a totalising, coherent conclusion about the language attitudes I have found. On one hand, it is because language attitudes in heteroglossia and my postmodernist approach resist such generalisation. The stories I have told about language attitudes consist of a complex choir of voices in which the individual voices are integrated and heard (Todorov and Godzich 1984). On the other hand, as mentioned above, the study has changed from a study of language attitudes to a study through language attitudes. The story I have found through language attitudes is about mobility, diaspora, contacts, and re-/coconstruction of ethnolinguistic identities and memberships. It is about struggles, negotiations, and transformations in multilingual spaces which were preoccupied and continue to be occupied by old and new dwellers. It is about coming to terms with challenges imposed by traditional monolingual norms and new demands for heteroglossic language competencies. Nevertheless, I have shown that studying language attitudes ethnographically in situated interactions and analysing the data by sociolinguistically informed, multilevel analysis can provide valuable insights into issues such as multiple ethnolinguistic identities, mediation of language policies, epistemic injustice, and translanguaging practices.

In the process of analysis, I have become increasingly aware of the complexities of the multidialectal and heteroglossic data as I strive to present them with an international readership in mind. I tried to make sure that even readers who had no knowledge of Chinese would be able to make sense of the data and the analysis. However, in addition to untranslatable words and prosodies, translated heteroglossic texts are not the original heteroglossic texts because, as we have consistently argued, language is not an empty carrier of meanings. I have tried to recreate, not just translate, the heteroglossic texts through combinations of parallel-structured English sentences (not always strictly grammatical), phonetic annotations, sentence-final particles with explanatory notes, and sometimes metaphoric reconstructions. Nevertheless, readers not used to dealing with such heteroglossic data may still find reading it demanding. Yet it is only natural that people with different truncated repertoires would have differential access to meanings encoded in heteroglossic semiotic resources. This is determined by the very nature of heteroglossic and trun-

cated linguistic competence, for which I have been arguing. This perhaps is not a weakness, but an inherent feature of studies that take heteroglossia seriously and make an intellectual statement by writing in heteroglossia.

One concrete limitation of the current study has to do with time frame and resources. Although I spent almost 1 year in the field, dividing my time between the two schools, the study is still just a snapshot of the situation. With the snapshot approach, it is more likely that I will construe long-standing phenomena and processes as shockingly new discoveries (Blommaert 2010). To deal with this theoretical/analytical pitfall, I have tried throughout the study to "rehistorise" communicative events and linguistic phenomena by means of comparisons, contextualisation and a heteroglossic approach to languaging. I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated that the diachronic aspects were considered as far as possible.

Empirically, we noticed a range of phenomena which would benefit from longitudinal studies. For example, we identified the growing number of native Putonghua speakers who have discursively constructed alternative and hybrid ethnolinguistic identities and demanded redefinition of the linguistic repertoires of Guangzhouers. They are different from their first-generation migrant parents who usually retain proficiency in the "home-town speeches" while also acquiring Cantonese and Putonghua over time. Some of them speak little or no Cantonese and understand very little. They are often seen by the media and language activists as evidence that language loss in Cantonese is happening rapidly in Guangzhou. It would be worthwhile then to keep track of the linguistic and attitudinal development of this group through future studies. However, with heteroglossia and truncated multilingual competence as the norms in our research, the traditional notions of language shift and maintenance would have to be reformulated. What is lost or suppressed may not be whole languages, but the deployment of certain linguistic resources in certain domains (Blommaert 2010). Therefore, we will have to reconsider what we mean by "loss" or "shift" in such cases.

As for methodology, the study could have benefited from analysing recorded spontaneous interactions. This methodology has been fruitfully used in some linguistic ethnographic studies (such as Rampton 2006; Blackledge and Creese 2010). However, due to practical constraints, I decided not to use this method. Moreover, the investigation processes are also seen as social interactions in which language attitudes are discursively constructed and interviews and focus group discussions are not seen as interactions that fundamentally differ from spontaneous speech production. In future discursive studies of language attitudes, it would be necessary to include such recorded spontaneous speech if time and costs permit.

In terms of educational relevance, the main contribution of the current study is enhancing understanding of the heteroglossic and translanguaging practices of students and the nature of multilingual competence. We analysed the spaces for multilingualism at school and demonstrated that these spaces are both constitutive and agentive (Blommaert et al. 2005), so that teachers could take steps to transform and fill up implementational spaces (Hornberger 2005). Then we analysed some of the causes of teachers' negative attitudes towards translanguaging practices in classrooms. In offering counterarguments, we reason that heteroglossia and trans-

languaging skills are demanded of our students by increasingly mobile and mixed social realities, a call to which school educators and language education researchers must respond.

We have temporarily come to the end of the current linguistic ethnographic study of language use, attitudes, and identities in two primary schools in the multilingual/multidialectal city of Guangzhou, as a sample of contemporary multilingual China. The story is necessarily only partially told, leaving many threads for future elaboration. Yet we hope that such a partial story has made its modest contribution to the field of language attitudes, sociolinguistics, and language education.

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Chapter 12
Appendix One: The Students' Profiles

12.1 The Grand-Estate Boys Group

12.1.1 *Lei: D1 Putonghua*

Lei was born and raised in Guangzhou, and lived with his parents, grandmother, and a housemaid in Grand-Estate. All the adults in his household are from Shaanxi (陕西) Province in northwestern China, and regularly converse in Shaanxi Hua, a variety of the Mandarin dialects. At first Lei awarded himself 65 (on a scale of 100) on his proficiency in Shaanxi Hua, but claimed later in the interviews that he could barely speak Shaanxi Hua. In terms of Cantonese proficiency, Lei gave himself a Grade D in the survey at first, that is, "overall understanding, some ability to speak". Yet he added that his Cantonese was much better when he went to a kindergarten in Economic Zone A (in the vicinity of the Sandwood community), and only started to forget after entering Grand-Estate School. Forty minutes (one class) after making this comment, he came to me and requested to change his grade from D to E, that is, "perfect understanding, ability to communicate in Cantonese for general purposes". He said that his elder sister speaks good Cantonese but is away from home, so that he now learns Cantonese only occasionally from his good friend Hay (another key participant). During my fieldwork, I hardly heard Lei say any extended sentence in Cantonese, but he did shout out Cantonese words from time to time. Lei's parents were not available for interview although I did pay a visit to his home when his grandmother and housemaid were present.

12.1.2 *Chen: D1 Teochew Speech*

Chen was born and raised in Guangzhou and lived with his parents and younger sister who was a newborn when the study started. Both his parents are native Teochew speakers from the same Teochew-speaking town and came to study and work in Guangzhou more than 20 years ago during the 1980s. Both of them can speak

Cantonese and they taught Chen Cantonese and Teochew speech at home at different stages, which is examined in greater detail in the case study in Chap. 5. Chen was best at his D3 Putonghua and second in his D1 Teochew dialect. He said that he could speak Cantonese very well when he was in kindergarten, but started to forget most of it after going to primary school. Now he could understand Cantonese perfectly, but as far as speaking was concerned, he gave himself a grade of 50 (out of 100). During the focus group sessions, he actively tried to speak and read texts in Cantonese, but outside the group, I've only heard him using Cantonese for the purpose of swearing.

12.1.3   Wu: D1 Teochew Speech

Wu was born in Raoping, a town in Guangdong Province where there are both Teochews and Hakkas. He grew up there and had just moved to Guangzhou and transferred to the Grand-Estate School when my study started. His father has been doing business in Guangzhou for several years but his mother, his elder brother, and himself were new to the city. His brother also studied at the Grand-Estate School. Wu made friends with Chen soon after he entered the class and the two interacted a lot during the focus group sessions, speaking Teochew dialects. Wu spoke Putonghua with a recognisable Teochew accent for which he was sometimes teased by the girls. He understood almost no Cantonese at all. I paid a visit to his home and interviewed his mother.

12.1.4   Du: D1 Cantonese

Du is a native Cantonese in Guangzhou, whose family has lived in the Haizhu District for generations. He grew up there and the family moved to Tianhe District when he began primary school. He has a twin brother who studied in another class of the same year at the Grand-Estate School, and an elder brother who studied in the junior high sector. He was quite a self-assertive person, and often presented himself as an expert in knowledge of and about Cantonese. He explicitly expressed his strong loyalty to Cantonese, but his language choices, which are analysed in the case study, were at times confusing.

12.1.5   Hay: D1 Cantonese

Hay is a native Cantonese whose *Jiazu* is in Huangpu District. He lived there until his family moved to Grand-Estate when he was in Year One. He spoke Cantonese with some Huangpu accent—identifiable because I lived in that district and often heard it. In one focus group session, he was verbally "attacked" because of his accent. He never initiated conversation with me outside the focus group, but would reply in Cantonese if I asked him first.

12.1.6   Su: D1 Cantonese

Su's paternal family is based in an area of the Baiyun District where there are several Hakka villages, but his paternal relatives are native Cantonese speakers. His mother is from the city of Yangjiang, where a variety of Cantonese different from that of Guangzhou is spoken. She also speaks the Guangzhou variety as she has been working in the city since the mid-1990s. Su grew up in Tianhe District, but often returned to his paternal home town whenever there was a vacation or festival. I had never heard of certain words that Su used, which were unique to the variety spoken in Su's father's village according to Su's mother. Compared to other key participants in Grand-Estate School, Su was the keenest in writing Cantonese. It was well-known to the key participants that Su wrote his QQ[1] status in Cantonese. He sometimes spoke Cantonese to me in the school.

12.2   The Grand-Estate Girls Group

12.2.1   Rou: D1 Teochew Speech

Rou and her elder brother were born and raised in Guangzhou. Their parents are native Teochew speakers, but Rou claimed that the home language was Cantonese, although her D1 is a Teochew dialect. Rou was a shy girl who tended to avoid answering my questions and often stayed quiet during the focus group sessions. Rou graded herself very high in terms of Cantonese proficiency, but her real proficiency was a mystery to me and her classmates because she almost never spoke Cantonese in front of us. She said Cantonese is just for very intimate relationships. However, when she and I were in a convenience store in Grand-Estate once, she spoke Cantonese to the shopkeeper while continuing to speak Putonghua to me. Rou's family moved from Baiyun District to Grand-Estate when she was in Year Two and she transferred to Grand-Estate School. She remembered that dialects other than Putonghua were forbidden in her previous school.

12.2.2   Rain: D1 Hunan Hua

Rain was born in Guangzhou to a family from Hunan Province. She lived with her parents and her maternal grandfather. Her home language was a mixture of the Hunan dialect (the Xiang Dialects) and Putonghua. Her mother learned some

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[1] It is a very popular online instant messaging software in China. Most of the students and teachers in both schools use the programme to chat with others online. It is said that there are over 1 billion QQ users across the globe, with 100 million users simultaneously online at its peak time. The company of QQ also provides a range of other social networking services, such as blogs.

Cantonese when she joined the army in Guangzhou. Instead of teaching Rain how to speak Cantonese, she just made Rain watch Cantonese TV news. Rain was never interested in it and said that she could not speak Cantonese and understood very little. In contrast, she was very keen on Korean and Japanese popular culture and claimed to speak a little of those two languages. She even gave her pet a Japanese name. She is not quoted in the excerpts in this book.

12.2.3   Yan: D1 Cantonese

Yan's father is originally from Guangxi Province but had grown up in Guangzhou and spoke standard Cantonese. Yan's mother comes from Heyuan City, where the Cantonese and Hakkas live together, but she has lived in Guangzhou for many years. The home language was Cantonese, but Yan also learned the Hakka dialect when she spent vacations in Heyuan with her maternal relatives. She seemed proud of being able to speak a Hakka dialect, and never lost a chance to show off during the focus group sessions. She was also the only girl in the class who ever spoke any Cantonese to me at school. Outside class, she spent a substantial amount of time watching Hong Kong TV programmes and reading gossip magazines, and was very keen on Hong Kong popular culture. She also often wandered about in her mother's barber shop, which was probably why she talked about the use of Cantonese "in the society" during a focus group session.

12.2.4   Fan: D1 Putonghua

Fan's mother defined herself as a Teochew because Fan's maternal grandfather is a Teochew, although the grandmother is from Shandong Province. Mrs Fan lived in Jiangsu Province until she was 9 years old, when she came to live in Guangzhou. She said that her first dialect was the local version of Putonghua in Jiangsu Province, and her second dialect was Cantonese, which she learned in the schools in Guangzhou. She claimed that she could barely speak the Teochew dialect and felt most comfortable in Putonghua. Fan's language profile was like her mother's to some extent. Mr Fan is a Shanghainese, and thus Fan was born to an interdialectal marriage and lives in neither her father's nor her mother's dialectal home town. Both her parents could speak Putonghua and Cantonese. Fan's D1 is Putonghua which is also the dominant home language. Mrs Fan said she did not teach Fan Cantonese systematically, but only occasionally talked to her in Cantonese. She thought that Fan learned to speak Cantonese mainly through language contacts at school. Fan thought her Cantonese was okay, but rarely spoke in front of others, including me. Mrs Fan said she had not defined Fan's regional identity for her, and it was up to Fan to decide if she would want to be a Shanghainese, a Teochew, a Guangzhouer or others. This "hands-off" approach seemed to have impacted Fan's view of her

regional identity. Fan, together with Qiu and Yuan, engaged in constructing a seemingly new type of ethnolinguistic identity in the focus group discussions.

12.2.5   Qiu: D1 Putonghua

Qiu's father is a native Teochew speaker while her mother is a minority nationality from Guiyang city. Mrs Qiu's native language is Guiyang Hua, a variety of the southwestern Mandarin Dialect Group. Mr Qiu joined the army in Guangzhou 20 years ago and has stayed there ever since. He said he did not learn much Cantonese in the army because Putonghua was the common speech there. Qiu was born in Guangzhou and her D1 is Putonghua, which is also the home language. She picked up some Guiyang Hua when she went to her mother's home town, but said she hated Teochew speech because it was almost unintelligible and unpleasant to hear. Although both of Qiu's parents could speak Cantonese to some extent, they did not teach her, neither was Qiu willing to speak it in front of anyone for fear of being teased. Mr Qiu had issues with Qiu's inability to speak either Teochew speech or Cantonese.

12.2.6   Yuan: D1 Jiangxi Hua

Yuan's parents are from Jiangxi Province but work in Guangdong Province. Yuan was born in Dongguan, a mainly Cantonese-speaking city in Guangdong, and moved to Guangzhou when she was in Year Two. She transferred to Grand-Estate School at the beginning of the study. She said that her D1 was Jiangxi Hua which she learned from her grandparents in Dongguan, but they did not live together any more. The home language now was Putonghua. She claimed high proficiency in Cantonese for herself, saying that she learned it from the housemaid when she was very young. I've barely heard her speaking Cantonese in or outside the focus group. Yuan said that she generally stopped speaking Cantonese since Cantonese-speaking behaviours were punished in the previous primary school she went to.

12.3   The Sandwood Boys Group

12.3.1   Gong: D1 Hakka Dialect

Gong is a Hakka whose *Jiazu* was in Meizhou City, the symbolic cultural centre of the Hakka population. His parents and elder brother came to Guangzhou and lived near Sandwood Township in the mid-1990s, where Gong was born and grew up. Gong and his elder brother were sent back to Meizhou for one term, but both of

them insisted on returning to Guangzhou. Everyone in the family can speak Cantonese. While the parents insisted that Hakka dialects be the dominant home language, the elder brother, now a senior high school student, often spoke Cantonese only despite being reprimanded by the parents. He even sent Cantonese text messages to his mother. Gong spoke Hakka with his parents but he was also confident in his Cantonese. When I was talking to other students in Cantonese, he sometimes joined in speaking the language. He also tried to read out texts in Cantonese during the focus groups. Having lived in Guangzhou for 15 years, Gong's family was about to move their *Hukou* to Guangzhou when the study was concluded.

12.3.2   Feng: D1 Sichuan Hua

Feng was from Sichuan Province. His parents had been working in Guangzhou since the 1990s, but he only came to live with his parents 2 years before the study. He remembered that when he was in Sichuan, all the lessons were taught in Sichuan Hua (a variety of the southwestern Mandarin Group). At first, he was not used to speaking Putonghua all the time in school. Both his parents could speak Cantonese but they did not teach him. He found that both Putonghua and Cantonese were useful and hoped to learn more Cantonese if he could. He refused to speak any Sichuan Hua to me outside the focus group for reasons that were not clear. In the last focus group, he eventually agreed to read out Sichuan idioms that he collected by himself, which he believed would be his unique contribution to the group—after my repeated persuasion.

12.3.3   Chun: D1 Cantonese

Chun's father came from the South Port Township neighbouring the Sandwood Township, while Chun's mother was from Sandwood. Chun is one of the major surnames in the South Port Township. Chun was born in Sandwood and lived there with his mother, his paternal grandmother, and his father's younger sister. His father died when he was young and his mother needed to work long hours, so it was mainly his grandmother who took care of him. He learned quite a lot of Cantonese idioms from his grandmother, as well as from Cantonese TV programmes, such as "潮爆粤语" ("Fashionable Cantonese") broadcast by Guangzhou TV station (GZTV). Chun was intelligent and quick-witted, particularly good at the Chinese subject, especially writing. He went to an extracurricular programme on writing at the centre of Huangpu District.

12.3.4   Kit: D1 Cantonese

Kit is a native of the Sandwood Township. He shares a surname with me, "梁" ("Li-ang (Leung)"), which belongs to one of the largest lineage groups in Sandwood. He is good friends with Chun and some other local boys. Kit's family did not use cable TV service, so the television in Kit's home could receive no more than 10 channels. Kit regularly watched many programmes on GZTV and the Zhujiang Channel (of Guangdong TV station), both being Cantonese-dominant channels. "Fashionable Cantonese" was also one of his favourites. He also spent some time browsing his friends' or relatives' QQ blogs. Such input from the traditional and social media was evident in the language tasks he completed.

12.3.5   Lam: D1 Leizhou Hua

Lam's family moved from the Dianbai County of Zhanjiang City to Sandwood Township when he was 2 years old. He remembered learning Putonghua and Cantonese more or less simultaneously at the Sandwood kindergarten. His Cantonese accent, as commented on by Miss Chun, was a typical Sandwood one. The words with which Lam talked about his D1 and home language were confusing. He had vaguely named his D1 as Zhanjiang Hua or Leizhou Hua, which could be very different varieties. On different occasions he described his D1 as "very similar to Baakwaa", "like Hakka dialects", "close to what the Taiwan people speak". The confusion may be partly explained by the fact that several Hakka, Min and Yue dialect varieties are in contact in Zhanjiang City. On the other hand, it is likely that the name of Lam's D1 has never been a topic of conversation in the family. It is a pity that his parents were not available for interview to clarify this. Whatever his D1 is, Lam said that it was very unpleasant to hear, but he was willing to demonstrate upon my request.

12.4   The Sandwood Girls Group

12.4.1   Min: D1 Cantonese

Min's father is from Sandwood Township and her mother from Temple Township, another nearby township. Min's family name is also Liang, and she said that if a person's family name is Liang, she could be sure that person was a local. Min remembered the difficulties she had in learning Hanyu Pinyin and Putonghua in the Sandwood kindergarten and school, but thought that she had overcome them now. She paid considerable attention to whether or not others speak Cantonese correctly, and to the self-appointed task of teaching Cantonese to non-Cantonese speakers.

Jiaxin was one of her keenest pupils. As we see in the excerpts, she frequently corrected others' errors by interrupting their speech, which could sometimes be quite annoying.

12.4.2   Jiaxin: D1 Jiangxi Hua

Jiaxin's parents are from Jiangxi Province, the same as Yuan in the Grand-Estate School. Her mother used to be the assistant of a well-known local tailor in Sandwood and is now self-employed. Her father worked in a nearby factory. They said that there were about 3000 people from their home town in Sandwood, which was why they decided to come here in the first place. Jiaxin went to kindergarten in Jiangxi Province, where her D1, Jiangxi dialect was spoken. When she was brought to Sandwood to live with her parents and elder brother, she understood neither Putonghua nor Cantonese. She remembered not being understood and gradually picking up Putonghua in the Sandwood kindergarten, but forgetting her D1. Jiaxin was now relearning her D1 at home and learning Cantonese at school from Min, because she wanted to. She actively made use of Cantonese in school, including in the focus group discussions.

12.4.3   Kiki: D1 Cantonese

I got to know Kiki even before I went into the Sandwood class because her mother Miss Wu was a teacher in the school and sat behind me in the office. Although she is not a native of Sandwood, she attended the Sandwood kindergarten and school because of her mother's job. Her mother started to teach her Putonghua before she went to kindergarten for fear that she would lag behind others. She mentioned measures of punishment for not speaking Putonghua in the kindergarten, which were not mentioned by other students. She used to be in a senior year but reread Year Four in order to be better prepared for middle school. Therefore Kiki herself was a new student in the class, but she helped to introduce others to me at the beginning of the study.

12.4.4   Ying: D1 Cantonese

Ying has a Sandwood native father and a Hunannese mother (from the same home town province as the Grand-Estate girl Rain). Ying was born in Sandwood and lived with her parents and younger brother. Sometimes her maternal grandmother would come and stay with them. Her mother could speak good Cantonese and Ying's D1 was Cantonese. She also learned the Hunan dialect to communicate with her maternal relatives, especially her grandmother. Being the child of an interdialectal

marriage in such a close-knit community brought many challenges for Ying. Her language experiences were not only different from her "pure" local classmates, but also different from Fan and Qiu, the "mixed" girls in Grand-Estate School.

12.4.5   Hu: D1 Hakka dialects

Hu was born in Sandwood and her parents are from Meizhou City in the Hakka region of Guangdong Province, the same as another Sandwood boy Gong. Her parents came to Guangzhou and worked in factories during the 1990s, and now own a small imaging service shop. Hu, her parents, her grandmother, and some other relatives lived together. Her parents could speak Hakka dialects, Cantonese, and Putonghua, but her grandmother spoke only the Hakka dialect. The home language was the Hakka dialect but Hu's parents still complained that she was not speaking it well enough. Hu said that she was never taught to speak Cantonese or Putonghua by her parents. Instead, she learned through playing with other children and listening to conversations in her parents' shop. She did not go to Sandwood kindergarten but attended another preschool for 1 year, where she learned Hanyu Pinyin before entering Sandwood School. Hu used to learn Cantonese from Min in Year Four but gave it up later, because she reckoned that there were too many things to learn, such as English.

Chapter 13
Appendix Two: The Schools and the Teachers' Profiles

13.1 The Grade-Estate School

The secondary sector building and the primary sector building in Grand-Estate School sit opposite each other across the central playground, connected by a column-shaped multi-function building. The administrative offices, such as the headmaster's office, are located on the top floor of the secondary sector building. The primary school teachers' offices are situated in the primary sector building where the classrooms join the multi-function building. Teachers can see the classrooms clearly through the window facing the courtyard and if walking out to the corridor, they overlook the central playground and the secondary sector teachers' office on the other side. The year 5 teachers' office is on the second floor, spacious, air-conditioned, and well-maintained by a designated cleaner (Figs. 13.1, 13.2).

Five teachers worked in the office, each being allocated a large worktop and a brand new desktop computer. There was no extra desk, so that I sat at a student desk by the window next to Miss Lee when I stayed in the office. Miss Lee, Miss Pan, and Miss Huang were the head teachers of the three classes in grade 5 respectively. In general, Miss Pan and Miss Huang taught Chinese, Miss Lee taught English, and Mr Chik and Miss W taught Maths, but they usually taught a few other courses, such as science and social studies. Miss Huang was the chief and the Chinese course leader of year 5. All the female teachers in the office were married, had young children, so casual talk in the office often concerned child-rearing. Miss Lee and Miss W understood little Cantonese, while Miss Pan, Miss Chik, and Miss Huang were born in Guangdong Province and were fluent Cantonese speakers. Yet the latter three rarely talked in Cantonese, except when addressing parents. Miss Tina, the Chinese teacher of class B, which I observed, worked in the year 4 office downstairs.

The teachers usually ate their lunch in the office and chatted with one another from 12 to 1 p.m. From 1 to 2 p.m. they would take a nap in the office if it was not their turn to supervise students who stayed in the classrooms rather than going home for the midday break.

As the head teacher of class B, Miss Lee taught not only English but also a number of social studies, practice, and activities courses. However, she never used the

Fig. 13.1 The central playground, the multi-function building, and the administrative offices of the Grand-Estate School (Photo taken by the author)

Fig. 13.2 The central courtyard, the teachers' office (where the air conditions are attached), and the classrooms (on the *left*) (Photo taken by the author)

designated textbooks for the latter courses, dismissing them as too simple and boring. Instead, she used that class time for extra English activities or the students' self-study. Miss Lee was 25 years old and just returned from her maternity leave at the beginning of the study. She received education up to college level in her hometown, Hunan Province, and remembered being taught in the Hunan dialect until senior high school. Her husband Mr Lee, also a Hunannese (by traditional standard), grew up in northern China speaking only Putonghua, because his parents could not speak each other's dialect. Mr Lee learned Cantonese during college in Guangzhou, but Miss Lee did not speak Cantonese, so that the whole family now spoke Putonghua at home. Miss Lee had no intention to teach her son Cantonese or Hunan dialect.

Like Miss Lee, Miss Pan, as the head teacher of class A, taught a number of different courses including Chinese to her own class, but she also taught science to class B. She was born in Zhanjiang, a coastal city in western Guangdong Province, where the local dialects include several Cantonese, Hakka, and Teochew varieties,

as well as some hybrid varieties. Miss Pan grew up speaking several varieties which she learned from her friends in school. While her parents spoke the Hakka dialect at home, she said she only spoke "Zhanjiang Baakwaa" (the local and dominant variety of Cantonese) to them. She had also started to use Putonghua regularly since very young because her family lived in the military community where different people mingled[1]. She considered herself as gifted in learning languages, as both her Guangzhou Hua and Putonghua were rather standard. She achieved 1B (92–97 out of 100) in PSC, which is a rather high grade, because only professional broadcasters and anchors in certain TV stations are required to achieve 1A. She had been teaching in Guangzhou since 1990, first in kindergartens and later in primary schools, but always in Tianhe District. Her husband was from Sichuan Province and the home language was Putonghua. Her son was attending kindergarten when the study began, and she did not teach him Cantonese at home. Instead, she expected that he would pick up enough by himself through listening and talking to other kids.

Miss Tina taught Chinese to class B, and other classes in grade 4 and 2. The examination performance of class B was not as good as the other two classes, so that she devoted a lot of classroom time for the students to do text-oriented drills. Miss Tina used to teach in a private secondary school in Tianhe District, where the students often spoke Cantonese. Based on that experience, she reckoned that the students would naturally use more Cantonese when they went to secondary school. She took up the current job in Grand-Estate School 1 year before the study began. Miss Tina was 25 at the start of the study. She went to school in Guangxi Province until senior 2 when (in 2002) she continued to study in an outer suburban district of Guangzhou, and had stayed in Guangzhou since then. She is a native speaker of the Guangxi variety of Yue dialects, but she said that a native Cantonese speaker (for example, vice-headmistress Miss Cheung) can immediately notice her "accent". Nevertheless, she said she used quite a lot of Cantonese in the teacher's office because there were other Cantonese-speaking teachers in the office.

Mr Chik was a probational Maths teacher at the beginning of the study, who taught Maths to two grade 5 classes and hosted the weekly science programme of the school radio station. He is from Qingyuan (Guangdong Province), a small city famous for its agricultural products, where the indigenous residents mainly consist of Hakka and Cantonese people. Mr Chik's native dialect is what he called Fucheng Hua, a hybrid variety of Cantonese and the Hakka dialect. He is proficient in Cantonese and Putonghua, and understands some Sichuan Hua (one of the South-western varieties of the Mandarin dialect group) since he went to college in Sichuan Province. Mr Chik is younger than I am, aged 23 when the study began. He said Putonghua was the medium of instruction in all the schools he attended, whether situated in villages, towns, or big cities. Mr Chik rarely spoke Cantonese

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[1] Such governmental, military, and research units were often "transplanted" from elsewhere and often functioned in a near self-sufficient way. The lingua franca in these communities is often Putonghua, and the first generation could live and work in it for a lifetime hardly knowing any Cantonese or the local dialect. Several teachers and students in the study are the first or second generation to grow up in such "Putonghua enclaves"

in the office even if only the two of us were present. Some students knew that he could speak Cantonese, but he had never spoken any in class. When chatting with friends online, he sometimes typed Cantonese, but he thought that he was just using homophonic characters to approximate speech and reckoned that there was no standard for written Cantonese.

13.2   The Sandwood School

All teachers' offices, including the administrative offices were located on the east side of the U-shape teaching building, with the classrooms in the south and north wings. The Chinese, English, and Maths teachers of 2 years shared one big office, in which there were 12 work desks, each equipped with one (often outdated) desktop computer. The whole campus was maintained by one cleaner and the students occasionally shared cleaning responsibilities.

Miss Wu and Miss Liang worked in the year 3 and 4 teachers' office on the first floor, where I had my own desk too. The grade 5 and 6 teachers' office on the second floor was where Miss Wong and Miss Chun worked. Through the door and the front window, the teachers could see the classrooms on both sides, while the back window opened towards the playground and the teachers' dormitory across it (Fig. 13.3).

Most teachers in the office were in their thirties or forties and had children who were attending schools or even universities. All of them were from Guangdong Province, with half of the teachers from Sandwood or the neighbouring townships. Most of them had been teaching in the school since they first became a teacher. Cantonese was the dominant language in the office when the teachers were chatting with one another. One of the female Chinese teachers was a native Teochew speaker and she tended to switch to Putonghua more often than the others. All the teachers tended to use Putonghua when they addressed students or quoted texts

from textbooks. The Chinese teachers were also the head teachers of their class, so that they usually taught a number of social studies, practice, and activity courses in addition to Chinese. The teachers usually ate lunch together in a large conference room on the ground floor with teachers of other grades and school administrators, and thus lunchtime was an important occasion for socialising. The conversations were almost exclusively in Cantonese. After that, most teachers went back to their dormitory for a rest.

Miss Wu was the Chinese teacher and head teacher of class A, year 4, as well as the mother of Kiki, a key participant in class C, year 5—the class I followed. Miss Wu was from Nanhai, a small city neighbouring Guangzhou. Miss Wu thought that the Nanhai variety of Cantonese is more similar to the standard variety spoken in the traditional city centre of Guangzhou than the Sandwood variety. There is some truth in that claim. Miss Wu started primary school in the late 1970s and continued her secondary and tertiary education in Guangzhou. Her husband is from Guangzhou and a native Cantonese speaker. She had been teaching at Sandwood School since she first became a teacher in 1991. She recalled clearly the difficulties she encountered when learning Hanyu Pinyin at first. She noticed a great change in the school language environment between now and her time at school. To prepare Kiki for the Putonghua-dominant environment at kindergarten, Miss Wu started to teach her some basics since she was 2 or 3 years old, but the home language was Cantonese.

Miss Liang is the Chinese teacher and head teacher of class C, year 4. When I first started the fieldwork in Sandwood School, I followed her class as arranged by the headmaster, but later I switched to year 5, class C and collected data systematically in that class. I still visited year 4 regularly, so that I was familiar with her routines. Miss Liang is a local of the Sandwood Township. She attended Sandwood School from the late 1970s, went to the same teachers' college with many of the current teachers (such as Miss Wu), and finally became a teacher in the school in 1991. She was my young cousins' primary school teacher, so that she knew of my family even before we met each other. It was the same with several other teachers, which made me feel familiar with the school even though I had never attended it. Miss Liang was married to a former teacher in the school who was from another province, and the home language was Putonghua. Miss Liang said she could not bear hearing her husband's broken Cantonese so she decided to accommodate him. Her daughter Nora, whose first dialect was Putonghua and who understood only a little Cantonese, was attending year 3 in Sandwood School. Miss Liang said that she decided to teach Nora Putonghua first because she considered it an advantage for schooling. Currently, she was trying to teach Nora some Cantonese to match her identity as a "half-Guangzhouer".

Miss Wong was the Chinese teacher and head teacher of class C, year 5 (the class I followed), as well as the computer teacher of class C, year 4, where I first got to know her. She was the second head teacher in year 5 whom I asked for permission to follow their classes. The first teacher was reluctant while Miss Wong promptly and happily agreed. We built a good rapport during the study and became good friends afterwards. Miss Wong was transferred to Sandwood School at the same

time my study started, as the result of a teacher mobility programme in the district. Her teaching approach was interactive and learner-centred—ostensibly from other teachers I observed in the school—which she said was inspired by her own teacher. Miss Wong designed a number of classroom activities and student projects that directed the students' attention towards the cultural heritage in the local community. She is a native Cantonese speaker born in Guangzhou, starting primary school in the mid-1970s. The teachers in her primary school taught in both Putonghua and Cantonese, but when she went to a key secondary school in the traditional urban district, the medium of instruction became Putonghua. Many students in that school were from the military or governmental units nearby (the Putonghua enclaves), and it was the first time Miss Wong realised that her Putonghua was not sufficiently standard. She became a primary school teacher in 1998 in a school that later became a "Model School". She reflected on her language-use practice there and in Sandwood School upon my prompt. She was married and her son was about to start college when the study ended. Their home language was Cantonese.

Miss Chun was the Maths teacher of class C, year 5. She code-switched between Cantonese and Putonghua in every lesson I observed, while she underestimated her tendency to do so. She is a local of Southport Township, the township neighbouring Sandwood where "Chun" is a majority surname. However, she grew up in the community of a state-owned research unit (a Putonghua enclave) rather than in the villages. She acquired Putonghua before she went to the community primary school in 1982, where the majority of students did not speak Cantonese. She claimed that she could not speak the Southport variety of Cantonese, although I could still recognise the Southport accent in both her Cantonese and Putonghua. She was married but had no child yet. She imagined that she would teach her children Putonghua first in the future because it would be more useful for schooling. On the one hand, she admitted that there were fewer and fewer native Cantonese speakers, but on the other hand, she was optimistic that Cantonese will continue to be used in Guangzhou.

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