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Language Maintenance through primary school education: The case of Daighi.



Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Submitted to The University of Edinburgh: 19th February 2020

Declaration of Authorship

Edinburgh June 2019,

I hereby declare that:

- a) I have composed this thesis
- b) This thesis includes my own work and
- c) This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Chia-Ying (Annie) Yang

Chia-Ying (Annie) Yang : _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

'Life happens when you are doing a PhD', said Yvonne quite early on in my PhD journey. At this end point of this doctoral journey, I am certain that life takes its course, and there will always be challenges ahead of me. However, my experiences told me that I should not have fear to face the next steps; because of the strong support I have from people around me.

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Lay Summary of Thesis

While celebrating the rich linguistic diversity of the world, one should not overlook the effort of language maintenance that contributes to it. This study focuses on a local language in Taiwan referred to as Daighi, meaning 'Taiwanese language'. Although it was the dominant language before 1945, currently Daighi is one of the threatened local languages in Taiwan with younger generations (under 30 years old) being mostly monolingual, speaking Taiwanese Mandarin. However, starting from 2009, the Ministry of Education implemented the Local-Language-in-Education Policy to make studying local and indigenous languages as one of the primary school mandatory subjects in the National Curriculum.

This study explored the language maintenance endeavours in primary schools, focusing on Daighi. The aim was to identify the extent language attitudes are promoted through the mandatory local language classes at primary school level. Interviews were used to explore the insights of the frontline Daighi teachers, and Daighi classes of these teachers were observed to investigate their practices and to match these with their perceptions. The findings suggest that in spite of the good teaching practices found at schools and attitudes to support language maintenance, there is still a gap in terms of actual language maintenance, which is defined as developing students to become bilinguals who are proficient in both languages. The themes emerged from the findings also suggest that language maintenance is not best achieved by focusing on classroom practice alone but also on unsupportive language policy, exam-oriented educational system, perceived language attitudes of the government, local authority, school, colleagues, family and students; identified as influential authorities that contribute to the ongoing language shift to Taiwanese Mandarin.

The current findings comprise an overview of the efficacy of the current efforts towards language maintenance but also a starting point for the exploration and assessment of the emerged factors that seems to affect language maintenance.

Abstract

Ongoing language shift to Taiwanese Mandarin is a pressing concern in Taiwan. With the concerns of losing the rich linguistic and cultural assets of Taiwan's multilingual society, this study sets out to explore the language maintenance endeavours in primary schools, focusing on Daighi. Exploration of language attitudes is the angle this study adopts to approach language shift, looking specifically at whether language attitudes are promoted through the mandatory local languages class at primary school level. However, a large piece of the picture would be missed without the evaluation of the context, which is crucial to understand Daighi's position. Sociocultural theory is then adopted as an analytical lens to view teachers' practices as mediated actions, and to make visible the impact of context in Daighi maintenance. Interviews are used to explore the insights of the frontline Daighi teachers, and Daighi classes of these teachers are observed to investigate their practices, and to match these with their perceptions. In spite of the good teaching practices found at schools and attitudes to support language maintenance, there is still a gap in terms of actual language maintenance, which is defined as developing students to become functional bilinguals (Li Wei, 2006). It is possible that language maintenance is not best achieved by focusing on classroom practice alone. The Discussion Chapter then presents the mediators from global level, national level to classroom, students and teacher agency. Language policy, educational system, and perceived language attitudes of the government, local authority, school, colleagues, family and students emerge as influential mediators that contribute to the ongoing language shift to Taiwanese Mandarin. This study provides an analytical insight into Taiwanese local language education and language attitudes. Through engaging with the teachers, it also inspired critical reflections of their own practices. The findings of this study demonstrate an in-depth understanding of Daighi maintenance and shift, and provide a starting point for further research in Daighi, and in the area of language maintenance in multilingual settings.

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Methodological Conventions

The fonts of the extracts differ based on the language teachers use.

Daighi

Taiwanese Mandarin

English

Japanese

Italian or other languages

Extract numbering

Daighi is in Italics and underlined

Taiwanese Mandarin is in normal font

English is in Bold

Japanese is with straight underline

Italian or other languages are with dotted underline

The codes indicate pseudonyms of the participant, city they teach in (T for Taipei and C for Changhua), teach teaching (P4 for primary 4 and P6 for primary 6), data collection mean (interview questions are referred to using the specific numbers of the question, CO for classroom observation, and post for post observation interview), and the last number indicates the page of the document. For example, Tracy.TP6.6.b.19/20 stands for Tracy, Taipei, teaching primary 6, answering to interview question 6.b, and data found on the transcript page across 19 and 20.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

As a Taiwanese whose mother tongue has shifted from the ethnic mother tongue – Daighi – to Taiwanese Mandarin, the National Language of Taiwan, I did not regard that as an issue until I started my Master’s programme in Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh in 2010. Exposed to an international setting, I became aware of my identity as an international student from Taiwan. As a linguist, the first aspect I looked into was the linguistic assets I possess. It did not take long to realize the endangered status faced by my ethnic mother tongue, Daighi, which is going through an intergenerational language shift. Daighi is the ethnic mother tongue of 73.3% of Taiwanese (Chen, 2010:82; Scott and Tiun, 2007:54; and 75% according to Liu, 2012:109), but as discussed in detail in later sections, it is no longer the case that people under 30 are speakers of their ethnic mother tongue. This awareness of the impending loss of a set of linguistic assets evolved into my main interest when choosing my first master’s research in Applied Linguistics, which focused on parents passing on Daighi in Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi bilingual family settings. Both difficulties in finding data and the findings themselves suggested that only a limited number of bilingual families who know this combination of languages are devoting themselves to passing on Daighi at home. Also, although children growing up in such a bilingual environment became better skilled in Daighi, it is still not the language of their day-to-day life. As a result, concern over preserving Daighi persists. This realization then directed me to look into the educational setting, and conduct a cross-disciplinary research across applied linguistics and education, in order to investigate whether including Daighi as one of the mandatory subjects in primary school education could be effective in maintaining the language.

What is the function of the school in language maintenance? Edwards (1985) answered this question by pointing out that ‘schools have always been considered to have great extra-academic significance ... education has often been perceived as the *central* pillar in group-identity maintenance, providing an essential support for linguistic nationalism and ethnic revival’ (p. 118, original emphasis). In other words, the school plays a significant role in the field of language maintenance.

The core purpose of this research is to explore whether the Local-Language-in-Education Policy (discussed in the form of National Curriculum) implemented by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education in 2009 offers a route to the preservation of Daighi, from the perspective of teachers' interpretation and implementation of this policy, with a specific focus on the promotion of language attitudes. The focus of language attitudes as the main and crucial factor for language maintenance and shift is also foregrounded by Bradley and Bradley (2002:1) and Sallabank (2013:60). According to Bradley and Bradley (2002), speakers' attitudes toward particular language is linked with how the language is used, or determines whether it is used or not (p.2-3), which in turn has impact on the vitality of the language. In this study, I interviewed twenty Daighi teachers, eleven teaching in Taipei (five teaching primary 4, and six teaching primary 6), nine in Changhua (four teaching primary 4, and five teaching primary 6), and observed two classes per teacher. In choosing these two cities, I studied Taipei because it is the capital city of Taiwan, where, according to Census 2010, Taiwanese Mandarin is the predominant language, with over 90% of the residents reporting that they use it at home; whereas in Changhua, by contrast, Census 2010 indicated that over 96% of residents used Daighi at home. One needs to be mindful, however, that the data the Census 2010 collected were self-reported, in response to the questions: (1) Were you born after 26 December 2004? (2) What language(s) do you use at home? a. National language, b. Minnanyu, c. Hakka, d. Indigenous language, e. Others; and (3) What language(s) do your parents use to communicate with each other? a. National language, b. Minnanyu, c. Hakka, d. Indigenous language, e. Others. Such questions may not collect data that accurately reflect language use in Taiwan, since individuals' interpretations and standards vary: one individual may perceive themselves to speak a language and report it even if they only know a few words, while another individual may not report speaking a language even though they can conduct a basic conversation in it. Although the Census may not reflect language use in Taiwan, it is the first and, to this day, the only Census to record the language use of the population. The statistics collected by the Census also match statements in the literature to the effect that an intergenerational language shift is taking place (see Huang, 1988; Chan, 1994; Hong, 2002; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004; Chen, 2010:86). The evidences include a decrease of Daighi usage in younger generations, suggested in Chan's (1994) doctoral thesis focusing on language shift in Taiwan, as well as the later studies by Chan and her colleagues Yeh and Cheng (2004), drawing on a scale of 2900 copies of valid questionnaires, finding 'a striking

decrease in native language proficiency was found in the younger generation (under the age of 31)' (Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004:100).

In addition to geographical differences in language use, this research set out to explore and compare other aspects, namely attitudes to Daighi and Daighi education, matching these with the relevant classroom practices, and the comparative teaching approaches between and within categories of teachers holding different types of contract. Teachers' attitudes and the classroom practices they are perceived to adopt are explored through interview and matched with classroom observation data, to investigate the extent to which perception matches reality.

In terms of different contract types, this study selected those teachers teaching primary 4 and 6, because in most schools in Taipei, primary 4 classes are taught by home teachers, while primary 6 classes are taught by supplementary teachers. The differences between the two contract types are, broadly defined, as follows: a home teacher is responsible for one classroom, teaches most subjects for that classroom, and stays in the room when supplementary teachers are teaching; supplementary teachers, on the other hand, specialize in a particular subject, in this case, Daighi. For instance, all the P5 and P6 Daighi classes in Primary School A are taught by two Daighi supplementary teachers. Since the supplementary teachers have less contact with the students compared to home teachers, not only is classroom management a salient constraint on their teaching, but the presence of the home teacher may further restrict classroom practices due to different teaching styles and beliefs about the subject.

While the literature and National Curriculum may suggest that Daighi is the dominant language among other local languages, the findings, using the applied linguistics and educational lens, demonstrate that Daighi may be structurally supported, but pedagogically and experientially is not meeting the desired goal for the younger generation, namely the use of Daighi on a day-to-day basis. Their usage of Daighi reflects its endangered status. To enable deeper understanding of this context-heavy research, the next section defines the key terms used in this context-heavy study.

1.2 Key terms

As the definitions of terms may differ from study to study, it is important to define those used in this study and explain how they are used. The key terms discussed are: naming of Daighi, positive language attitudes, threatened language, language maintenance and shift, mother tongue and mother tongue education.

1.2.1 Naming of Daighi

Names are never neutral. In this research, Daighi is the name used to refer to this target language in Taiwan. In the literature, it is also known as Minnanyu, Tai-yu, Taiwanese, Southern Min, Taiwanese Holo language, Taiwanese Hoklo language, Taiwanese Hokkien, Hokkienese, Holo/Hoklo/Ho-lo-oe, Tai-gi. However, I argue that 'Daighi', the first translation of the name of this language in the literature, should be adopted. Moreover, given that this name is Anglicized, use of the same term in the literature can potentially increase the visibility of studies of Daighi in an international context.

The two main reasons for using Daighi are as follows. Firstly, Daighi is the phonetic transcription of 'Taiwanese language', which is how the language has been referred to among Taiwanese ever since the Japanese colonial era (Hsiau, 2012). The emergence of the term can be traced back to the literature produced in the Qing dynasty in 1852 by Liu Chia-Mo, in his *Poetry of Realism*. However, as pointed out by Klöter (2009), 'the very name of the "Taiwanese language" is a contentious issue' (p. 108). One of the scholarly debates on this nomenclature arises from the fact that 'Taiwanese languages' refers to all languages used in Taiwan, which includes also the Hakka language and Austronesian languages/Formosan languages (see Chiung, 2007; Sandel, 2003). Nevertheless, Daighi became the 'Language of Taiwan' because it is the mother tongue of the majority – the Southern Min ethnic group comprising 73.3% of Taiwanese residents (Chen, 2010:82; and 75% according to Liu, 2012:109). Additionally, the Japanese colonization enhanced the link between the language and Taiwanese people, since to them, Daighi is the perceived meaning and name of this language (Chen, 2010; Hsiau, 2012; Liu, 2012).

Secondly, this name is pronounced in Daighi rather than in Taiwanese Mandarin¹ (Tai-yu), and spelt in the Daighi tongiong pingim (Taiwanese phonetic transcription system, DT). DT is the standardized Romanization system developed by the Ministry of Education and implemented in 2001. This spelling system, compared to the one introduced later – the Taiwan Language Phonetic Alphabet, TLPA, gradually replacing DT since 2006 (see Su, Zhang, Zheng, Wang and Xia, 2000)–is consistent with the Latin alphabet, which reflects the appropriate sound, pitch and diacritic symbols. For instance, the representation of plosive, voiceless, alveolar consonants, an unaspirated sound, is represented as ‘d’, and the aspirated sound as ‘t’, as opposed to ‘t’ and ‘th’ in TLPA. Thus, it is ‘Daighi’ (in DT), not ‘Tai-gi’ (in TLPA). This use of the name ‘Daighi’ to refer to the language is the first in the literature, as the only other context in which it is used is that of the spelling system, where it is given the name: Daighi tongiong pingim (DT), as mentioned earlier in this paragraph.

This account does not imply that the name ‘language of Taiwan’ is exclusive to Daighi. If Hakka and Austronesian languages were to adopt the status of ‘the language of Taiwan’, taking the approach of this thesis, it would be advisable for them to use the name, but to pronounce and spell it in their own languages.

The other names used in the literature listed below fail to meet the criteria adopted in this study. Minnanyu (Yang, 2008; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004), the official name introduced by the government as the name of the language in National Curriculum. This name is the Romanization of ‘Southern Min Language’ pronounced in Taiwanese Mandarin, and used in official documents such as the National Curriculum in Taiwan. The term presents political bias, and fails to reflect the naming of the language among Taiwanese people; the other term – Taiyu (Hsiau, 1997) – represents the way

¹ This study refers to the Mandarin used in Taiwan as Taiwanese Mandarin. Taiwanese Mandarin differs from Chinese Mandarin in terms of all written scripts (simplified characters in China and traditional or complex characters in Taiwan); Romanization (only used in China); and lexicon and pronunciation (Wang, 2004). In the lexicon and pronunciation, the two Mandarins differ in ‘pronunciation, diction, and idiomatic expressions’ (Bosco, 1994:395). Moreover, Wang (2004) pointed out that, as Daighi has been the language of the majority, Taiwanese Mandarin is largely influenced by it. From the perspective of phonology, Taiwanese Mandarin ‘tends to lose palatalization in retroflex initials, making it sound distinctive from the Beijing standard version of Mandarin’ (p. 799). Another perspective is that of the lexicon, in that ‘Taiwan’s Mandarin has incorporated many lexical units from Holo, some of which can be traced back to Japanese as they were coined during the colonial period’ (ibid., p. 799).

'Language of Taiwan' is pronounced in Taiwanese Mandarin, rather than the language itself, and is therefore relatively less authentic. Another commonly used name is 'Taiwanese' (Liu, 2012; Edwards, 1985; Sandel, 2003), referring to the language of Taiwan, thus following the rule of naming some languages, such as Japanese, after their countries of primary usage. This name is controversial in the same way as the name 'Daighi', namely that 'Taiwanese' should also include the Hakka and Austronesian languages, but Daighi is how Taiwanese people refer to the language, and 'Taiwanese' is not. 'Southern Min' (Chen, 2010; Huang, 2007) is how the language is referred to in Fujian, the Chinese province where Daighi originated. This name also fails to represent the way Taiwanese people refer to the language, as is true also of the following names used in literature: Taiwanese Min-Nan Language (Liu, 2012), a combination of Romanization of 'Southern Min' pronounced in Taiwanese Mandarin and 'language' in English; Taiwanese Holo Language, Taiwanese Hoklo Language, Taiwanese Hokkien, Hokkienses (Liu, 2012; Edwards, 1985), the Romanization of the Chinese province Fujian pronounced in Southern Min Language; Holo/Hoklo/Ho-lo-oe, the name of the province where Daighi originated, pronounced in its own language.

Attempts to address this language based on its pronunciation have been made by Li (1999), Lim (1996, 1997, and 1998), Sandel (2003) and Klöter (2009), who used the name 'Tai-gi' to refer to it. Sandel's (2003) justification for using Tai-gi is that it is 'taken from the language itself and is an emic term that indexes Taiwan alone' (p. 549). Nevertheless, the spelling 'Tai-gi' again does not properly reflect the pronunciation as argued in regard to the spelling system above. Therefore, 'Daighi' is used in this research.

1.2.2 Positive language attitude

To understand 'attitude', it is important to examine the three components commonly attributed to attitude in the literature, and defined by Oskamp and Schultz (2005:9) as follows: **Cognitive**, 'the ideas and beliefs that one has about the attitude object'; **Affection**, 'the feelings and emotions one has toward the object'; and **Behaviour**, 'one's action tendencies toward the object'. According to Oskamp and Schultz (2005), this thought-emotion-behaviour distinction follows Plato's explication of attitude, using the terminology of cognitive, affective and readiness or conation (see Baker, 1992; Oskamp and Schultz, 2005). In terms of theoretical viewpoints on how the three

components comprise attitudes, three main ones are discussed across the literature: Tri-Componential Viewpoint/Tripartite Structure, Separate Entities Viewpoint, and Latent Process (cf. Olson and Maio, 2003; Oskamp and Schultz, 2005). This study adopts the Latent Process Viewpoint as a theoretical framework, for the following reasons.

The classical Tri-Componential Viewpoint sees attitude as a single entity consisting of the three components: Affective (emotional), behavioural, and cognitive. It is through analysing the three components that one can define attitude. For example, one can appreciate and be passionate about Daighi (emotional), and see Daighi as an important language in that it preserves ancestors' wisdom (cognitive), and dedicate oneself to teaching Daighi and promoting the learning of Daighi (behavioural). However, this has raised criticism from other scholars concerning the degree of consistency among the three components (Oskamp and Schultz, 2005). Some argue that the components are independent entities, a criticism proposed by the Separate Entities Viewpoint which is explained next, and that there is no reason to consider these three as components of the same concept (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Oskamp and Shultz, 2005). Others, to the contrary, see these three components as correlated to such a degree that it becomes pointless to distinguish them as three separate components (McGuire, 1969; Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962; Bagozzi, Tybout, Craig and Sternthal, 1979; Brekler, 1984; Eagly, Mladinic and Otto, 1994; Huskinson and Haddock, 2004). Still others question whether every attitude comprises all three components (Zajonic, 1980; Olson and Maio, 2003; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993).

Because of the drawbacks of the Tri-componential Viewpoint, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) strongly advocate the Separate Entities Viewpoint. By this approach it is mainly argued that there is no necessary congruence among the three components (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975): it depends on the situation. For instance, 'I like this book' does not necessarily imply 'I am going to buy this book' (see Oskamp and Schultz, 2005:11). Moreover, one can have multiple beliefs (belief being the label for the cognitive component in this viewpoint) about the same object, such as 'this book is interesting', and 'this book is inexpensive'.

It is clear that both these two viewpoints see attitude as a combination of the three

components, with the definition of attitude depending on how the three components correlate with each other. However, in a context-heavy case such as Daighi, where social, political, and cultural backgrounds play crucial roles, both these viewpoints overlook the importance of sociocultural factors and their influence on attitudes. This is where the Latent Process Viewpoint (DeFleur and Westie, 1963) comes in.

The definition of Latent Process Viewpoint (DeFleur and Westie, 1963) is summarized by Oskamp and Schultz (2005) as '(an) approach (that) postulates a hidden process occurring within the individual, which we call an attitude; and it uses this attitude as an explanation of the relationship between stimulus events and the individual's responses' (p. 11). That is, this viewpoint sees attitude as non-directly observable, while it is through observable, planned stimuli that observable cognitive, affective, or behavioural responses are triggered. Analysing these responses then enables the understanding of attitude, a latent and non-observable construct. The following figure by Oskamp and Schultz (2005) exemplifies this concept well.

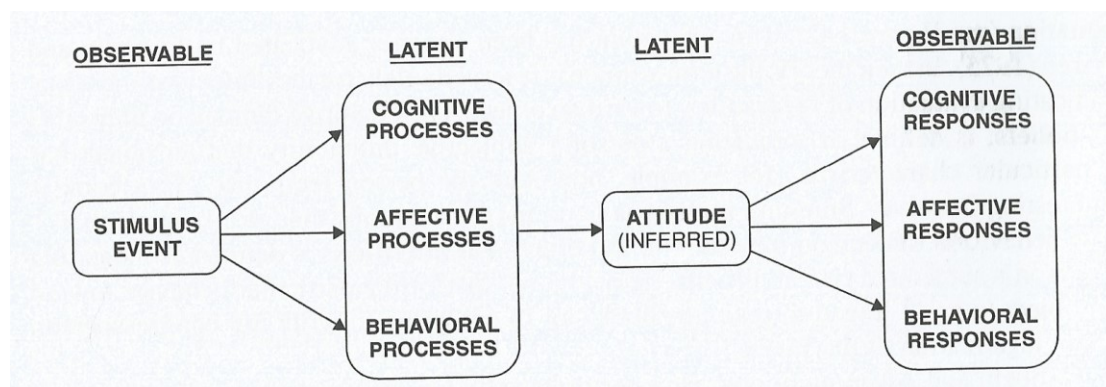


Figure 1 The Latent Process Viewpoint (Oskamp and Schultz, 2005:12)

This theoretical framework fits this study well, because language attitudes are viewed as non-observable, and it is through the stimulus event, i.e. interviews, and observable behaviour, i.e. classroom observation, that one is enabled to infer attitude. For these reasons, the Latent Process Viewpoint is adopted.

On the other hand, Wood's (2006) definition of beliefs also contribute to conceptualize the nature of language attitudes in this study. According to Woods (2006), 'the first (definition of beliefs) is that beliefs are not discrete, as suggested by the research, but rather, are interconnected and structured' (p. 202). This definition fits well with the Latent Process Viewpoint adopted in this study to view language attitude, in the sense

that it also sees attitudes as a combination of these three components, and as inferred through cognitive, affective, and behavioural responses (see the 'observable' column in Figure 1). 'The second (definition of beliefs) is that beliefs are not stable entities within the individual, but situated in social contexts and formed through specific instances of social interaction and, as a result, are constantly evolving' (Woods, 2006:202). This definition as a concept to view language attitudes also fits well with the rationale of this study, namely that language attitudes are not stable, and can be promoted through appropriate teaching practice. Thirdly, 'beliefs are not separable or separate from other aspects of a learner's cognitive processes, but integrated in a larger dynamic model of thought and action, forming not the periphery but the central framework within which all learning takes place' (Woods, 2006:202). This view again matches this study, as the centre of this research is an investigation of how language attitudes are promoted by students learning Daighi. Wood's (2006) definition of beliefs provides an alternative approach to help unpack the nature of language attitudes in this study, viewing it as a connected and constantly evolving entity.

1.2.3 Threatened language, language shift and maintenance

Fishman's (1991) definition of a threatened language focuses on intergenerational transmission. To him, a language is threatened when 'their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation' (p. 1). Building on this definition, Fishman (1991) proposed a Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) that divides language vitality into eight stages, and to this day remains the 'foundational conceptual model for assessing the status of language vitality' (Lewis and Simons, 2009:4). However, due to the insufficient categories GIDS provides, also noted by Fishman (2001) himself, Lewis and Simons (2009) proposed an elaboration of the GIDS model – the EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). This model is built on GIDS, with incorporation of subsequently identified features and alternative approaches for evaluating the status of language endangerment, as developed by UNESCO (Lewis and Simon, 2009). The EGIDS is considered more accurate for depicting the threatened status of Daighi.

To put it in EGIDS terms, Fishman's (1991) definition of a 'threatened language' is a combination of a level 6b status – labelled as threatened, and a level 7 status –

labelled as shifting. A level 6b threatened language is defined as '(a) language used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users', and is categorized as 'vulnerable' by UNESCO's standard (accessed in November 2017). 'Threatened' is an appropriate term to describe the status of Daighi, which, along with the status of Hakka, was described by Edwards in 1985 as 'threatened with extinction' (p. 179). He documented the diglossic Taiwanese speech community at that time as being stable, with Taiwanese Mandarin used in public domains, and other languages used at home (see also Cheng, 1979; Kaplan and Tse, 1982; Tse, 1982). However, Taiwanese Mandarin has now replaced the other local languages in home domains and beyond, pushing the status of the non-Taiwanese-Mandarin languages to a further vulnerable stage. In other words, an ongoing language shift is taking place.

In terms of language maintenance and shift, in addition to explain why EGIDS framework, two seminal frameworks in the field are discussed and justified how they are not fit for purpose for this thesis. These two frameworks are Kloss's (1966) clear-cut and ambivalent factors, and Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) taxonomy of the structural variable affecting ethnolinguistic vitality. Based on his study of language maintenance efforts in immigration context - German-American language maintenance efforts in the United States between late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Kloss (1966) proposed two lists of factors that are critical to language maintenance and shift – clear-cut factors and ambivalent factors (p. 206-212). The six clear-cut factors are categorised as favourable to language maintenance, with the first one being the most powerful one for a group to resist assimilation – (1) regio-societal insulation, where religion plays an influential role, but only among small groups. The other five factors are those that are not restricted to small groups, and are interlinked connecting groups regardless of their size – '(2) time of immigration; (3) existence of language islands; (4) affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools; (5) pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts; and (6) former use as the *only* official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period' (Kloss, 1966:206). On the other hand, ambivalent factors are defined as those that can be crucial in contributing to the maintenance of a language, or have limited effect. These factors are '(7) high educational level of immigrants; (8) low educational level of immigrants; (9) great numerical strength; (10) smallness of the group; (11) cultural and/or linguistic similarity to Anglo-Americans; (12) great cultural and/or linguistic dissimilarity between minority and majority; (13) suppression of minority tongue(s); (14) permissive attitude of the

majority group; and (15) socio-cultural characteristics of the minority group in question' (p.209-212).

Due to the immigration context of Kloss's (1966) work, both lists of factors that are thus not immediately appropriate to apply to the Daighi context discussed in this thesis, given that Daighi is the language of the majority, and Taiwanese Mandarin speakers are the minorities that came to Taiwan in 1949 (see Chapter 2 for details). For instance, among the factors identified on both lists, those that have immediate link to immigration context (factor (2), (5), (6) and (14)) are not appropriate for the Daighi context discussed in this thesis given the nature of the context (see Chapter 2 for details). Secondly, as Daighi is going through in intergenerational language shift in an island – Taiwan, factors related to size ((9) and (10) and geography (3) are again not appropriate for the Daighi context. Thirdly, the religion factor ((1) and (4)) that are prioritized by Kloss (1966) as an influential factor has not been identified as critical in Taiwanese context, according to Yeh, Chan and Cheng's (2004) study on language use in Taiwan. In their study, two main factors are identified as determinants of language use are first ethnicity – where language is seen as both a communicative tool and a symbolic tool of identity (Edward, 1977, 1984), and their study suggests that those of other ethnic background also use Daighi as communication tool (Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004: 86); and second, social factors (Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004: 81-83). Within the social factors, two of them are put forward. The first one being social characteristics of community as to how open or conservative a community is, where open and welcoming communities are more likely to foster language shift, and languages in the latter type of community are more likely to be maintained (St. Clair, 1982), which overlaps with Kloss's (1966) factors (11), (12) and (15). What is interesting to note is the rationale identified behind acquiring Taiwanese Mandarin being linked to social mobility (Van den Berg, 1988; Lu, 1988; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004), which reasoning is evidenced to be more significant than what Kloss (1966) identified as the similarity level among different group. The second sub-factors are age, gender and education level, where the education factor matches with Kloss's (1966) factor (7) and (8), in the manner that lower education level speakers are more likely to maintain their fluency and use of a language (see Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004:90). Despite some similarities, most of the factors that Kloss (1966) proposed are not appropriate to unpack the Daighi context due to the nature of contextual dissimilarities.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) proposed 'a taxonomy of the structural variable affecting ethnolinguistic vitality' (p. 309), the factors of vitality include three main sections: status (economic status, social status, sociohistorical status and language status – within / without), demography (distribution – national territory / concentration / proportion, and numbers – absolute / birth rate / mixed marriages / immigration / emigration), and institutional support (formal – mass media ' education government services, and information – industry / religion / culture) (Giles *et al.*, 1977:309). The aim of this structure is to determine the extent an ethnolinguistic group continues to 'behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (p.308). The higher the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group is, the higher the likelihood of the group is to be maintained, or will be able to maintain its language (Pauwels, 2016:109). As this ethnolinguistic vitality focuses on inter relations between ethnic groups, this aspect does not fit well with the case of Daighi (see also Clyne, 1991 on critiques of its restricted applicability). For Minnan people, the original ethnic group of Daighi, ethnicity is not considered as a distinct factor given the 'intermarriage between indigenous people and people from other areas in Asia for a long period of time' (Liu, 2012: 109; see also Yeh, Chan and Chen, 2004). Given the communicative function of Daighi in Taiwan, as discussed in the earlier, those of other ethnic background – Hakka and Indigenous, also speak Daighi. Moreover, the restrictions this ethnolinguistic vitality structure presents limits its applicability. These include 'inexact and not sufficiently independent' use of the variables or 'tools of analysis'; not addressing the differential weighting of variable and factors' (Husband and Saifullah Khan, 1982; cited in Pauwels, 2016:109); and unclear measuring mechanism to determine the level of ethnolinguistic vitality. Thus, thesis is not drawing on Giles *et al.*'s (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality structure to address the case of Daighi.

This thesis adopts the definition of language maintenance and shift of EGIDS model. The EGIDS model describes level 7 shifting language in these terms: 'the child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children' (Lewis and Simons, 2009:8). This places it in UNESCO's 'definitely endangered' category. However, to be more accurate in describing the shifting situation of Daighi, this study adopted Pauwels' (2016) definition to include the language shifting process going beyond the home domain:

'The term "language shift" (LS) is used when the abandonment of one language for another language results not in the complete disappearance or death of the former but merely the disappearance of it from the specific speech community (or part thereof) that finds itself in the contact situation. In sociolinguistic terms, LS involves the gradual replacement of one's main language or languages, often labelled L1, by another language, usually referred to as L2, in all spheres of usage. Important in this definition are the phrases "gradual" and "spheres of usage": LS is both a process and an outcome.' (Pauwels, 2016:18-19)

Pauwels' (2016) definition expanded the generational transmission aspect to the replacement of one language by another in different domains, and the status change of the first language (L1) and the second language (L2). From the generational point of view, L2 becomes the mother tongue of younger generations while L1 remains the older generations' mother tongue; but from the societal point of view, L2 gradually replaces L1, regardless of generations. It is crucial to keep in mind the changing of mother tongues across generations, as the term refers to different languages according to different generations. The term Mother Tongue and how it is used is discussed in the next section.

Language maintenance (LM), on the other hand, is important to define here as it sets an index for when a language is maintained. In contrast with the gradual replacement of L1 by L2 in certain domains, LM is described as 'the continued use or retention of an L1, a minority or heritage language in one or more spheres of language use' (Pauwels, 2016:20). She identified three elements of an LM situation: '(1) the period of continued use since the initial language contact, (2) the extent to which it is the exclusive language in any given context and (3) the number of contexts (usually called "domains" or spheres of usage) in which the L1 continues to be used either exclusively or in conjunction with another language' (p. 21). The current situation of Daighi contradicts most of the categories depicted above, thus indicating a language shift away from Daighi, apart from the political domain, where Daighi is the predominant preferred language². In this study, Daighi is regarded as maintained when it continues to be one of the dominant languages in the Taiwanese multilingual society, along with

² Liu (2012) noted that 'Mandarin-speaking politicians learned Taiwanese language (Daighi) to show the sincerity of their integration into Taiwanese culture', and 'politicians of both sides had to speak Taiwanese (Daighi) in order to win the trust of Taiwanese voters' (p. 112). Daighi, in this case, can be regarded as a symbol of Taiwanese identity.

Taiwanese Mandarin. This definition of language maintenance is referred to in the Discussion chapter, to match the findings of the study.

Two main field of enquiries are embedded in language maintenance and shift studies – ‘immigration contact settings’, and ‘indigenous linguistic minorities’ (Pauwels, 2016). The ‘immigration contact settings’ studies include contexts such as Creese and Blackledge’s (2011) work on complementary schools in U.K. of young students learning Bengali, Cantonese, Gujarati, Mandarin and Turkish (2011) and Panjabi (2015); Aravossitas’s (2014) study in the context of Greek heritage community-based programmes in Canada; Spanish teaching in U.S.A. (García, 2008); U.S.A. immigrants’ individual social network and its impact on their language maintenance (Stoessel, 2002). On the other hand, ‘indigenous linguistic minorities’ discusses the contexts where the continuity of the use of a language in its own territory is threatened or endangered (Pauwels, 2016:14), examples include: Irish Gaeltacht (Cooper, 1989; Hindley, 1990), Manx (Gawne, 2002; Hemsley, 2009), Cornish (Thiers, 1986; Genesee, 2015), Ancient Greek (Hantzopoulos, 2013), Luxemburgish (Horner and Weber, 2008; Horner, 2009), Catalan (Artigal, 1993; Casesnoves, Mas and Tudela, 2019), Basque (Adler, 1977; Cenoz, 2009; Urla, 2012), Alaskan (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998) and Scottish Gaelic and Welsh (O’Hanlon, 2015). Given the nature of the Daighi settings falls into the enquiry of ‘indigenous linguistic minorities’, the Research Context Chapter (Chapter 2) will focus on existing studies in this field of enquiry.

1.2.4 Mother tongue and mother tongue education

As the census (2010) suggests, the first language, or mother tongue, of those under 30 is Taiwanese Mandarin, whereas the mother tongues of those from 30 to 60 are both Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi, while those 60 and above are native in Daighi, with a certain percentage (around 37.86% according to Wu, 1992: 353-359) bilingual in Japanese.

The term ‘Mother Tongue’ in some studies of Taiwanese languages was introduced to describe local languages (Daighi and Hakka) and indigenous languages (Austronesian languages) (Dreyer, 2003; Huang, 2000; Scott and Tiun, 2007; Wu, 2009; Zhang, 2002). However, in other literature, these languages are categorized as

native languages (Chen, 2006; Liu, 2012) or indigenous native languages (Yeh, Chan and Chen, 2004). What is worth noting is that categorizing these languages as mother tongues or native languages neglects the fact that these are no longer primary school students' first languages. Therefore, in this study, I follow some other scholars' categorization to refer to Daighi and Hakka as local languages or ethnic mother tongues, and Austronesian/Formosan languages as indigenous languages (Chen, 2006; Hubbs, 2013; Hsiau, 1997).

The National Curriculum (2009) refers to Daighi as Taiwan Minnanyu, and acknowledges that it is not their target students' (primary 1 to 6) first language. It sets the objectives³ on the assumptions that their target students lack interest in Daighi, and that it is essential to improve their basic skills in that language. However, in another government-supported context, i.e. Mother Tongue Day, Daighi is regarded as the mother tongue and its use is encouraged on the day. This practice not only ignores the fact that Daighi is perhaps no longer the mother tongue of the majority of students; it also fails to reflect the multilingual side of Taiwanese classrooms and society.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

Nine chapters are included in the design of this research, structured within a Language Policy framework – viewing language policy as text, defined by Spolsky (2004:5) as 'language intervention, planning, or management', or a statement regulating the use of particular languages; discourse, defined by Spolsky (2004:5) as 'language beliefs or ideology about language and language use'; and practice, defined by Spolsky (2004:5) as 'the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire', which views language policy as implicit, that influences the interpretation and production of language choice. First of all, to explain the motivation behind it, this study begins with a brief introduction of the research

³ '(1) Cultivate students' interest and attitude to explore and feel passionate about Minnanyu, and develop their self-initiative learning habit; (2) Improve students' basic Minnanyu skills in listening, speaking, spelling, reading, and writing, to enable them to use and express their thoughts in their daily lives; (3) Develop students' ability to think, communicate, discuss, appreciate and problem solving through Minnanyu; (4) Enhance students' ability to apply Minnanyu knowledge, expand life experience, know multiple cultures, in order to meet the needs of the modern society' (National Curriculum, 2009).

initiative, introducing the definitions of key terms adopted in this study, along with a brief account of the research methodology (Chapter 1 – Introduction). However, to enable deeper understanding of this context-heavy research, the second chapter (Chapter 2 – Research Context) draws on the key terms used in this study, to explain the research context in terms of language policy as text, and language education, which provide a basis for the establishment of Daighi Education. The third chapter (Chapter 3 – Literature Review) explains the theories adopted as a framework for the study, using the research context to explain how the theories are adapted to fit the research. These theories include the core theoretical lens of this research – language policy and sociocultural theory, drawing on Spolsky’s (2004) language policy framework, Ricento and Hornberger’s (1996) and Shohamy’s (2006) language policy framework, to explain sociocultural theory (Wertsch, 1997). It then discusses Biesta, Priestly, and Robinson’s (2015) idea of agency as a component of sociocultural theory and language policy. It also discusses another relevant theory that informs this study – Li Wei and García’s (2014) translanguaging as pedagogy for multilingual classrooms (see also Creese and Blackledge, 2010 on *flexible bilingual pedagogy* or *flexible bilingualism*). In the next chapter (Chapter 4 – Methodology), I review and argue for this study as a qualitative research employing the lens of social-constructivist primarily using interviews and classroom observation as research instruments, and adopting a grounded theory coding system as initial steps in analysing data. The findings chapters then present the results, focusing on teachers’ perceived and actual practices. This is analysing language policy as discourse in the Language Policy framework. The first findings chapter (Chapter 5) discusses the current attitudinal situation regarding Daighi and Daighi education; the second findings chapter (Chapter 6) explores teachers’ positive attitudes to Daighi, the approaches developed to promote students’ positive attitudes, and how they adopt translanguaging as pedagogy in their teaching. This translanguaging phenomenon can lead to provision of a pedagogy that is potentially useful for reflecting the teachers’ current use of languages, pointing in turn to the creation of resources with which to direct the future use of Daighi and other existing languages; the third findings chapter (Chapter 7) focuses on perceptions of the methods teachers employ in the classroom, as well as matching those with classroom observation data to investigate the extent to which the perceptions and actual practices agree. As the findings suggest that teachers’ dedication and endeavours were not sufficient to maintain Daighi, the Discussion chapter (Chapter 8) employs Wertsch’s (1997) sociocultural theory to help

in understanding the factors perceived as shaping teachers' ways of teaching or act as obstacles in their teaching, and Biesta et al.'s (2015) agency framework to unpack teachers' practices. This is viewing language policy as practice in the Language Policy framework employed in this thesis. As the findings identified issues restraining the maintenance of Daighi that go beyond teachers' pedagogy, in the Conclusion chapter (Chapter 9) potential next steps are presented. They include: Daighi status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning, as well as proposing questions regarding the potential form for Daighi to be maintained. The Conclusion chapter summarizes the key findings of this research, answers the research questions, identifies the contribution of the research, presents the challenges and limitations faced when conducting this research, and offers my reflections on this journey.

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Chapter 2 Research Context

This Research Context chapter sets out to explain the complex background with which Daighi is associated. To unpack this complexity, the chapter draws on the key terms defined in the Introduction Chapter, to presents the history of Daighi, which explains how Daighi arrived at the complex situation it is in today. The last section of the chapter explores the current situation od Daighi, starting from a review and comparison between Daighi context and other existing threatened language context, it then moved on to discuss the implications of Daighi education, thus setting a basis on which to understand teachers' practices.

2.1 History of Daighi

Carr (1961) points out an interesting yet essential viewpoint on the understanding of history, namely that 'knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, has been "processed" by them, and therefore cannot consist of elemental and impersonal atoms which nothing can alter... The exploration seems to be endless, and some impatient scholars take refuge in scepticism, or at least in the doctrine that, since all historical judgements involve persons and points of view one is as good as another and there is no "objective" historical truth' (pp. 7-8). In other words, history is subjective, not the collection of neutral facts that many may believe it to be.

This section on the historical emergence and development of Daighi is a summary based on the literature. It is important to note that the section is rather descriptive due to restricted access to information. The lack of a systematic record of Taiwanese history over the colonial periods that Taiwan went through results in a seemingly filtered mono-storyline, particularly on the politically sensitive issue of Daighi. In this section, I aim to present the information on attitudes to Daighi based on the literature available.

2.1.1 Emergence of the language – Daighi

Daighi was derived from the language of the Southern Fujian province (Minnan region) of China. In the late 17th century, the language arrived along with many migrants from the southern regions of China, mainly from the province mentioned –

Fujian (80% until the 19th century), and Guangdong province (15% until the 19th century) (see Hsiau, 2012:35). Those who came from Fujian, known since then as Minnan, became the majority (73.3% of 23,059 million people as estimated by the Bureau of Statistics, 2009), while those from Guangdong comprised the Hakka ethnic group in Taiwan (12% of the Taiwanese population to this day) (see Scott and Tiun, 2007:54; Huang 1995:21; Chen, 2010:82)⁴. As the mother tongue of the Minnan majority, Minnanyu or Hokkein (or Daighi in this study, see 2.1.1, Naming of Daighi in this chapter) therefore became the lingua franca in Taiwan (Chen, 2006). However, it would be inaccurate to refer to the language used today in Taiwan by the same name – Minnanyu or Hokkien – because to the present day, Daighi is considered to differ from its origin (Liu, 2012:109). Daighi has been highly influenced by the Austronesian languages (indigenous languages) and Japanese since the 17th century (Lin, 2013), not to mention the local history and cultural aspects that Daighi incorporates.

2.1.2 Two waves changing the status of Daighi up to 1987

The status of Daighi in Taiwan before 1895 was relatively stable; it was the most widely spoken language in the monolingual community (Scott and Tiun, 2007), along with a small proportion of bilingual speakers of other mother tongues (15%), i.e. Hakka or indigenous languages. However, Taiwan evolved into a bilingual and diglossic community, having gone through the Japanese (1895-1945) and KMT (1945-2016) colonisations. Daighi and other local and indigenous languages became the Low Languages (L), and Japanese or Taiwanese Mandarin the High Language (H). The status of Daighi in the two respective colonial periods is explained below.

2.1.2.1 Japanese colonization (1895-1945)

Two main impacts of Japanese colonization on Daighi were: first, that Taiwan became a bilingual and diglossic society, and secondly, that such colonialism fostered a sense of 'Taiwanese identity', leading to the initial emergence of the terms 'Taiwanese' and 'Daighi'.

⁴ The sociolinguistic background of Taiwan based on a population of 23,059 million (Bureau of Statistics, 2009) is: (1) Daighi speakers: 73.3%, (2) Mainlanders: 13%, (3) Hakka: 12%, (4) Austronesians: 1.7% (Scott and Tiun, 2007; Huang, 1995; Chen, 2010).

Becoming bilingual and diglossic

'Japanese colonization had massive influence on Taiwanese life and on its language situation ... Taiwanese were rewarded for speaking Japanese at work and at home. The policies proved very successful. While Japanese did not become the home language of many Taiwanese, Huang (1995:96) estimates that 51% of the population understood the language in 1940, rising to 71% by 1944. Taiwan therefore evolved into a diglossic society, where Japanese was the High (H) official language of administration and education and hence the language of power and prestige.' (Scott and Tiun, 2007:55)

Despite the influence of small groups of colonizers – Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese, the multinational contact had not resulted in the formation of explicit language policies (Hubbs, 2013; Liu, 2012; Scott and Tiun, 2007; Wu, 2009). Starting from 1895, Taiwan gradually evolved into a bilingual and diglossic society, as a result of the official language policy implemented during the first long-term colonization by Japan (Scott and Tiun, 2007; Hsiau, 1997). It was bilingual, because towards the end of the Japanese colonization (1944), 71% of Taiwanese understood Japanese (Huang, 1995:96, see also Hsiau, 2012; Wu, 1992:353-359; Chou, 1995); and it was diglossic because the colonial language policy made Japanese the High Language (H) and Taiwanese local and indigenous languages the Low Language (L). High Language (H), as defined by Ferguson (1972) and Fishman (1967), is the standard language in a diglossic community, where L is the regional dialect. Referring to certain languages as dialects⁵ devalues them. L and H are also used in different domains. According to Fishman's (1964, 1965, 1968) domain analysis framework, L is adopted in intimate domains such as family and friendship, whereas H is used in status domains such as religion, education and employment.

To position Daighi and other local and indigenous languages as L, Japanese colonizers suppressed these languages by treating them as 'dialects' in the Japanese language-in-education policies they implemented, a policy which aimed to first assimilate, and later to Japanize Taiwanese people (cf. Ruiz, 1984; Sandel, 2003; Wei, 2006; Hubbs, 2013; Gold, 1986; Tsao, 1999). During the assimilation period

⁵Language and dialect: (1) Mutual intelligibility: 'a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects' (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:3); (2) 'A language is a dialect with a navy' (Marx Weinreich, translated by Bright, 1997:469); (3) 'A more common distinction of language and dialect reflects linguistic hierarchies within a political entity' (Klötter, 2009:104, see also Holmes, 2008).

(1895-1937), the Taiwanese were encouraged to learn Japanese, although it was not mandatory. Taiwanese indigenous and local languages were also taught in primary schools established by the Japanese government. However, starting in 1937, when the Japanese government planned to use Taiwan as a military base in preparation for World War II, they sped up the assimilation process and initiated the Japanization period. To Japanize Taiwanese people, one of the policies imposed by the Japanese government in 1940 was the changing of names, the aim being to instill a Japanese identity in Taiwanese people. Taiwanese people were also encouraged to convert to the Japanese Shinto religion. The Japanese colonizer became stricter, especially with regard to the use of Taiwanese indigenous and local languages, with the Taiwanese forced to speak Japanese, and all non-Japanese languages forbidden in the public sphere. This eventually led to 'Japanese [being] the only language in which most educated people on the island could read and express themselves effectively on formal occasions and topics' (Chen: 2001:98). At the same time, 'people who did not speak the national language were deemed "second class citizens"' (Wei, 2006, cited in Hubbs, 2013:82). Ironically, one of the repercussions of this colonial language policy 'gave Taiwanese people a common language and helped to foster a feeling of "Taiwanese identity"' (Scott and Tiun, 2007:55; Hubbs, 2013; Gold, 1986; Tsao, 1999; Wei, 2006; Wu, 2009).

Fostering Taiwanese identity and the emergence of the name 'Daighi'

As argued above, Japanese colonialism in turn fostered the sense of 'usness' in opposition to the colonizers (Hsiau, 2012). Therefore, groups of people previously known, or identifying themselves, as 'Fujianese', 'Guangdongnese', 'Zhangchew-nese', 'Fucheng-nese' and 'Lugang-nese', these being the names of the regions in China that they came from, all became 'Taiwanese', and the language of the majority became 'Tai-yu' (see 2.1.1 for the Naming of Daighi).

Written form of Daighi

Another aspect of Daighi development during this period that is worth noting is the writing system. In this regard, two main arguments are discussed in the literature: (1) Daighi does not have its own written system, and *han-bun* 漢文 (Classical Chinese, the characters shared among Sinitic languages) cannot fully represent it (Hsiau, 2012; Chen, 1920; Klöter, 2009); and (2) 'Daighi and its related Southern Min languages

have been written for at least 400 years' (Klötter, 2009:110). The first argument is based on the inconsistency between the spoken and written forms. In his proposal to develop a written system for Daighi, Chen Shing (1920) points out that the written form *han-bun* 漢文 was a representation of classical literature, rather than of the spoken form of Daighi. As exemplified by Scott and Tiun (2007), 'reading (literature) in one's own mother tongue used to be a common practice in Sinitic language areas... In *han-oh-a*⁴ 漢學仔 (traditional private schools), where students learned *han-bun* 漢文 (Classical Chinese), local languages were used as the medium of instruction, texts were read in *wenyanin* (literary pronunciation) and explained in colloquial language' (p. 55). In this case, Daighi could not be used to read *han-bun* 漢文 (Classical Chinese), but was largely used as an educational medium, while not representing its spoken aspect.

Chen Shing's (1920) proposal was advanced under the Japanese colonization as a movement inspired by the growing Taiwanese identity, which suppression by an outside force had fostered (Scott and Tiun, 2007). He proposed to develop a writing system for spoken Daighi, with the aim of raising Taiwanese writers' awareness of the need to produce literature through spoken Daighi, and to enhance Taiwanese culture. An interesting issue raised here is that in the first Daighi Literature Movement in 1920, the following leaders – Chen Shing (1893-1947), the later Chang Wo-Chun (1902-1955), Huang Chao-Ching (1897-1972), and Huang Cheng-Tsong (1886-1963) – believed that China was a symbol of modernity, while Taiwan represented a backward society under the Japanese colonization (Hsiau, 2012). As a result, they proposed that, to catch up with China, Taiwanese literature should follow the Chinese Vernacular Movement initiated in early 1917 by Hu Shi (1891-1962) and Chen Du-Xiu (1879-1942). Not only did these Taiwanese literature leaders strongly promote Chinese literature, they also devalued Daighi:

'Still some people firmly believe that: "classical literature is no longer functional, we have to use vernacular, we need to use Daighi, the language we use in our daily lives"... Indeed, nine out of ten of the languages we use on a daily basis have no script. That is because our language is local (earthy); it is the low-class language without scripts, and most of it is nonsense. Therefore, there is no literary value to it; this is a fact, without a doubt. Hence, our new literature movement has the objective of changing Taiwanese language. We want to

change our earthy language to a language that makes sense and can match the scripts. We want to rely on the Chinese national language to reform the Taiwanese earthy languages. In other words, we want to unite Taiwanese languages with Chinese languages... If we can do this, then our culture will not be separated from China, and we can establish the basis of vernacular literature. The reform of Taiwanese languages is sensible.' (Chang Wo-Chun, 1979[1925]:102-103, cited in Hsiau, 2012:93, translated by the researcher of this study)

The aim of reforming Daighi is clear, being based on a presumption that the writers' own languages were unformed, so that the languages of China should be the model. The arguments in the literature movement in 1920 focused on the debate between use of the Chinese vernacular or of Classical literature to write Daighi literature, whereas the second Daighi Literature Movement in 1930 focused on using Daighi or the Chinese national language as the written form (Hsiau, 2012). The major difference between the two movements is the emergence of a voice in the literature promoting Daighi as the written form. As part of this effort, the earliest written Daighi in the Japanese colonial period appeared in the published journal *Nanyin* in 1932, edited by Yeh Rong-Chong (1900-1978). This is regarded as a major step for Daighi, in that it thereby became a 'written language' in both the classical and the vernacular forms of literature. As this movement began in the Japanese colonial period, under Japanese influence, traces of Japanese language are found in Daighi, including grammatical features and loan words (see also Lin, 2013). Such Japanese influence further widens the differences between Daighi and its Chinese origins (Scott and Tiun, 2007; Wu, 2009).

Nonetheless, even now the general understanding remains that Daighi is not a written language (Chen, 2010), but borrows Mandarin characters as its script (Klötter, 2009). The Daighi Literature Movement described above, and the ideological reasons underlying it, may also contribute to this understanding. Daighi being a non-written language reinforces its lower status in the linguistic hierarchy, as pointed out by Klötter (2009), who observes that 'throughout the history of civilization, written languages have enjoyed higher prestige than unwritten languages' (p. 110). However, this very assumption that Daighi is a non-written language is questionable. As one can infer from the argument above, the case is not that Daighi borrows Mandarin characters, but that all these Sinitic languages, including Mandarin, Daighi and others, share the same script – *han-bun* 漢文 (Classical Chinese), for the same purposes of production

and representation. An analogy to this is the use of the Roman alphabet in English, French, Italian, German and so on. These languages are different, but they adopt combinations of letters of the same alphabet to represent words and produce their written forms. The difference between the Roman alphabet and *han-bun* 漢文 is that each *han-bun* 漢文 character has a meaning to it in addition to sound representation. Since all languages share the same script, it is therefore inappropriate to promote Mandarin as a language by defining it as the owner of the script, and devalue other languages by positioning them as unwritten languages.

As a form of resistance to Japanese imperialism, Taiwanese identity was fostered. The Daighi Literature Movement provided a space in which to continue to develop Taiwanese identity. It also showed an appreciation of Chinese literature, positioning it as the symbol of modernity. This high expectation, however, turned into a crucial disappointment when the Kuomintang (KMT) retreated to Taiwan, and later it developed into a conflict with the KMT.

2.1.2.2 Kuomintang (KMT) government colonization (1945-1987) – arguably, to 2016

This part of the history is important as it can be argued that it marked the starting point of the Taiwan–China conflict, which has a strong impact on politics worldwide to this day. Even though this section presents incidents from the past, the storytelling process is never neutral. The following section is my attempt to deliver it in a neutral tone, focusing on the changes to linguistic ecology during this period in time.

Sustained linguistic hierarchy and devaluation of Daighi

The suppression of Taiwanese indigenous and local languages continued after 1945. The KMT government lost the Chinese Civil War against the Communists (PRC) in 1949 and retreated to Taiwan. Up to 2 million people (now known as *waishenren*, ‘outside-province persons’, or mainlanders), including 600,000 troops, arrived in Taiwan in the role of colonizers, and took over positions of power and prestige in Taiwan (Scott and Tiun, 2007). Due to the KMT colonizers’ unequal treatment of the Taiwanese, along with the language barrier and lack of a common historical background, the tension between Mainlanders and Taiwanese increased, leading

eventually to the outbreak of the '228 incident' – the Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947 (Liu, 2012:111). The aftermath of the '228 incident' was the implementation of 38 years of martial law (1945-1987). This period was also known as the 'White Terror'. The Mandarin-only policy that KMT implemented during this period was regarded as the second wave of 'assimilationist language policy' (Scott and Tiun, 2007), with the aim of de-Japanization, or 'Chinisation' (Hsiau, 1997; Wei, 2006). Similarly to the introduction of the Japanese language during the Japanese colonization, Mandarin, which was foreign to Taiwanese people, was the new national language. Needless to say, Mandarin replaced Japanese to become the H in the Taiwanese linguistic hierarchy, while Taiwanese indigenous and local languages remained the L. Besides retaining their low position, the local and indigenous languages were severely disadvantaged due to the presence of martial law (1949-1987) (Tiun, 2005; Scott and Tiun, 2007; Liu, 2012).

Among a number of restrictions imposed by the martial law, Yeh, Chan, and Cheng (2004:76) summarized the policies on Taiwanese local and indigenous languages:

1. No dialects can be used as the medium of instruction in the schools
2. No dialect is taught as a subject
3. Dialect writing is prohibited
4. In the military, the governmental organizations, and educational institutions, public use of dialect is banned
5. The use of dialects in the media is curtailed, and any attempt to use it must cease altogether
6. The dialects are given no legal status
7. The notion that using dialects is unpatriotic is encouraged via the Speak Mandarin Campaign, which equates speaking Mandarin with love and fidelity for one's country

First of all, non-Mandarin languages were devalued as 'dialects' instead of 'languages'. Secondly, these non-Mandarin languages were banned as subjects in schools and as means of communication. In order to avoid punishment, Taiwanese students consequently learned to avoid using their mother tongue in schools or other public spheres. As a result, Mandarin replaced non-Mandarin languages in various domains. What is also worth noting is the successful promotion of Mandarin (Chen 2008), through a combination of factors, perhaps leading Taiwanese people to believe that 'the advantages of using Mandarin were far greater than those using native languages, and these advantages created a myth that Mandarin was a better language' (Liu, 2012:111). The factors included Mandarin being positioned as the

language of power and prestige, while non-Mandarin languages were positioned as non-legitimized languages, banned in the public sphere, and presented as inappropriate and vulgar. These methods arguably had a strong impact on the association of Daighi and other Taiwanese local and indigenous languages with 'backwardness, crudeness, illiteracy, low socioeconomic status, rurality, and so forth' (Hsiau, 1997:308, cited in Hubbs, 2013:83), which in turn triggered an intergenerational language shift to Taiwanese Mandarin language (Hsiau, 1997; Huang, 1988; Young, 1989; Scott and Tiun, 2007).

The monolingual Mandarin-Only policy was another assimilation process undergone by the Taiwanese. Although many Taiwanese switched to speaking Mandarin and identified with the KMT (Liu, 2012), the conflict between Mainlanders and Taiwanese was not eliminated.

2.1.3 1987-2000 Towards multilingualism (Taiwanization/indigenization)

With the trend to democratization, martial law was lifted in 1987, and the official end of the White Terror period occurred in 1991. One of the significant contributors to the lifting of martial law was the establishment in 1986 of the first opposition political party – the Democratic Progress Party (DPP). The DPP is predominately composed of Daighi native speakers, which can be interpreted as an outcome of the Taiwanese people's sense of the underrepresentation of their role, especially in the KMT government. Starting in 1988, the first Taiwanese-born successor to President Chiang Ching-Kuo, President Lee Teng-Hui, initiated the trend termed 'Taiwanization', 'Desinicization', 'localization' or 'indigenization' (Wu, 2009; Chen, 2006; Jacobs, 2005; Scott and Tiun, 2007). His introduction of the term 'new Taiwanese' included not only those residents who had been living in Taiwan for generations, but also those new immigrants who had come to live Taiwan (Dreyer, 2003). In addition, he showed an intention to switch from the military perspective to one rooted in Taiwan and its development, by replacing the political slogan 'Fighting back against Mainland' with 'Footing in Taiwan, taking an international view' (Chen, 2006). Nonetheless, language use was not significantly changed until 2000, when the first Taiwanese-born DPP candidate, Chen Shui-Bian, won the democratic presidency election (Liu, 2012).

2.1.4 2000-2008 Democratization (promotion of local languages)

This period of history is significant for a number of reasons. First of all, with Daighi-speaking President Chen ruling Taiwan, Daighi-speaking Taiwanese people gained a higher status in terms of power and prestige (Chen, 2008). Secondly, the improved status of Taiwanese people in turn promoted Daighi to the position of symbol of Taiwanization, since Daighi was the language of the majority (Liu, 2012; Zhong, 2002; Chen, 2008). However, as mentioned in the language shift section (see 2.1.3), to this day, it is only in the political domain that Daighi has remained the predominant language. Shi (2002) pointed out that 'in Taiwanese residents' daily lives, the Taiwanese language (Daighi) was still considered a vulgar language, which would be inappropriate if spoken in schools, in government offices, or on other formal occasions' (Shi, 2002, cited in Liu, 2012:112). As a result, there was 'a shift towards the predominance of Taiwanese Mandarin as evidenced by its growing use in the intimate domain' (Lee, 1981:121). The domains where a considerable shift towards Mandarin was found included the workplace, friendship, and the home (Scott and Tiun, 2007:60; Hsiau, 1997:308; Huang, 1988:301; Young, 1989:323).

In response to the concern over loss of Daighi as well as the recognition of languages as rights (Scott and Tiun, 2007:60), the Local-Language-in-Education policy was introduced at primary school level in 2001. This is explained in the Daighi education section below (2.3.1.1).

2.2 Current Daighi situation

Building on the past, this section looks at the current situation of Daighi. To put Daighi into a wider global context, the section begins with a comparison of Daighi with threatened languages in other contexts. As explained in Chapter 1.2.3, the existing studies review in this section fall in the field of enquiry of indigenous linguistic minorities. To name a few language examples: Irish Gaeltacht (Cooper, 1989; Hindley, 1990), Manx (Gawne, 2002; Hemsley, 2009), Cornish (Thiers, 1986; Genesee, 2015), Ancient Greek (Hantzopoulos, 2013), Luxemburgish (Horner and Weber, 2008; Horner, 2009), Catalan (Artigal, 1993; Casesnoves, Mas and Tudela, 2019), Basque (Adler, 1977; Cenoz, 2009; Urla, 2012), and the three used to compare with Daighi: Alaskan languages, and Welsh and Scottish Gaelic.

2.2.1 Threatened language in other contexts

Comparing Daighi with three other threatened contexts – those of Alaskan languages, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic – can help us to understand the problems that Daighi is facing. These examples can also provide potential paths for Daighi to take. Certain features are common: native speakers of Daighi and of Alaskan languages both hold negative attitudes towards their ethnic native languages, as Welsh and Scottish Gaelic native speakers did a few decades back. Either native speakers or younger generations were or still are reluctant to use, learn and teach their mother tongues. Fortunately, similarly to the Celtic context, Taiwanese nationalists and those sympathetic to them view Daighi as a valuable linguistic and cultural heritage, thus promoting the preservation of Daighi.

This discussion focuses on how attitudes to the language can cause it to be demoted through education as in the Alaskan examples, or be promoted as in the Celtic language cases by linking the language with positive perceptions. As both these can potentially be applied to Daighi, I will compare Daighi cases with these contexts.

2.2.1.1 Threatened language status

Compared to the Celtic (Welsh – 21% native speakers in Wales, and Scottish Gaelic – 1.2% native speakers in Scotland in 2001) and Alaskan (fewer than 50 speakers of most Alaskan indigenous languages) cases, Daighi may not seem to be facing an equally critical threat, judging by the percentage of its speakers: 81.9% of Taiwanese residents over 6 years reported in the 2010 census that Daighi was one of the languages used at home (Census, 2010:26). However, as argued in the Introduction chapter, there is a limit to how reliable these self-reported data from only 16% of residents are. Even so, the 2010 Census data (see Chart 3 below) indicated a gradually decreasing percentage among younger age groups, providing evidence of intergenerational shift in language use, matching with the findings of literature (see Huang, 1988; Chan, 1994; Hong, 2002; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004; Chen, 2010, and Chapter 1.1). In addition, the 2010 Census showed a geographical difference in this language use: in north Taiwan, 90% of residents in New Taipei City, Taipei City, Hsinchu City, Taoyuan City, Hsinchu County and Hualien County reported using Taiwanese Mandarin at home; in the south, over 96% of residents in Changhua County, Yunlin County, Tainan City and Chiayi County reported using Daighi at home.

	Population	Percentage of language used at home				
		Mandarin	Daighi	Hakka	Polynesian languages	Others
Total	21 407 235	83.5	81.9	6.6	1.4	2.0
Gender						
Male	10 695 283	84.1	81.9	6.8	1.4	2.2
Female	10 711 952	83.0	81.9	6.4	1.3	1.9
Age group						
6-14	2 418 610	96.0	69.7	3.8	1.0	0.8
15-24	3 146 521	94.9	78.6	4.8	1.3	1.0
25-34	3 799 930	91.9	83.2	5.6	1.3	1.8
35-44	3 531 622	90.4	84.1	6.4	1.5	2.3
45-64	6 068 715	78.9	86.3	8.1	1.5	2.6
Over 65	2 441 837	45.3	81.7	10.1	1.3	3.1
Education level						
Primary school and under	4 867 888	61.5	81.6	6.9	1.9	2.0
Junior high school	3 517 932	80.8	83.7	6.6	2.0	1.9
High school	6 030 372	89.5	83.4	7.3	1.4	1.7
Bachelor degree and above	6 991 043	95.1	79.8	5.9	0.6	2.4

Note: More than one language can be reported to be used at home, therefore the percentage here shows relatively by what percent is a language being used in home domain.

Figure 2 Language use at home of Taiwanese residents over 6 years old (end of 2010) (Census, 2010)

To better understand the context of Daighi, I now review and compare it with the contexts of the Alaskan and Celtic languages respectively.

Alaskan languages

'The loss of Native American languages is directly connected to laws, policies, and practices of European Americans and English-speaking Americans' (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998:60, see also Dorian in the same volume for a discussion of European language attitudes). Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) list four major factors:

- Christian ideals associated with English as the language of God;
- An older generation who remember harsh educational policies that punished the use of native languages;
- Negative socioeconomic stigmas attached to native languages;
- Mixed messages on the value of learning native languages in the community.

The 'mixed messages' consist, on the one hand, of the fact of the native languages being taught and people supporting their learning; on the other hand, of an overwhelming anxiety and negative associations surrounding the language as reported by native students, with assimilation into English being the general goal of

these bilingual programmes (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998:65-67). Even though the policy was eased recently, the loss of native languages continues, because younger generations are reluctant to learn or use them, and parents also are reluctant or unable to teach them. As a result, 19 out of 20 languages are not being passed down to younger generations and face extinction (Krauss, 2007, cited in Galloway and Rose, 2015:52).

Daighi may not be as severely threatened as Alaskan languages, but both Daighi and Alaskan native speakers share similarly reluctant attitudes, and it is these attitudes that may result in extreme cases of language death. Therefore, the Alaskan language case can be one possible scenario to apply to Daighi.

Celtic languages

Both Welsh and Scottish Gaelic are classified by Fishman (1991:81) as 'threatened languages' (Jones, 2009). One of the attempts to the maintenance of these languages are establishing Celtic-medium – that is, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic-medium – education. O'Hanlon (2015) investigated both parents' (year 2000) and pupils' (year 2007) reasons for choosing and continuing with Celtic-medium education, and listed 4 major rationales for both groups' decision:

- Heritage – 'encompassed family heritage, community heritage and national heritage';
- The benefits of bilingualism – 'incorporated cognitive and personal benefits, with parents citing easier acquisition of additional languages, enhanced curricular attainment, enhanced confidence and the advantages of biculturalism';
- Perceived quality of Celtic-medium education – 'derived from parental beliefs that Welsh-medium or Gaelic-medium education would provide a positive pedagogical context for their children. Parents cited positive recommendations from other parents whose children were in Celtic-medium education, small class sizes (and the linked perception about fostering high-quality learning experiences), the belief that the early immersion approach was the best way to learn a language and the atmosphere of Celtic-medium education';
- Employment – 'included enhanced employment opportunities in both Scottish and Welsh context, and there was additionally a perception amongst several parents in the Welsh context that Welsh was, or would become, a necessary qualification for employment and social mobility, particularly following the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999'. In the Scottish context, however, English was viewed as modern and more important than Gaelic for children's career development (Roberts, 1991, cited from O'Hanlon, 2015:251)

With the establishment of Celtic-medium schools and improvements in attitudes towards Celtic languages by means of education, the Celtic language heritage could potentially be maintained (Hinton, 2013). However, could these rationales based on benefits to Celtic learners also apply to Daighi learners?

Heritage

This is a rationale shared with the Daighi context. An increasing number of Taiwanese people, those of Minnan ethnicity in particular, are aware that Daighi is a valuable linguistic and cultural heritage for the family, community and nation. This is the main motivation for promoting and maintaining Daighi.

Social mobility

Daighi was believed to be of benefit to pupils' future careers, according to Lee (2009). In 2015, it was widely reported that Daighi speaking ability was even a requirement for entering the Department of Medicine in Taipei Medical University in Taiwan. Even so, Lee's (2009) findings show that such a link between mother tongue and employment is not a long-term prospect, since the purpose of using Daighi at that institution was still to communicate with older generations (over 65 years old).

Benefits of bilingualism

As most Taiwanese are already bilingual in Taiwanese Mandarin and English or other languages, the opportunity to become bilingual cannot provide an attractive motive for pupils in Taiwan. Also, amongst English and other local or indigenous languages, English is largely promoted in the National Curriculum, so, for the pupils, it is then a matter of deciding on the third major language subject (Chen, 2006; Lee, 2009). Perhaps promoting Daighi and another local or indigenous language to become Taiwan's second language could be a possible direction to take.

Quality of education

The lack of a corpus for academic and formal settings in Daighi (Scott and Tiun, 2007:65) also limits the practicality of using Daighi as the medium of teaching in primary schools. Therefore, in Taiwan there are no Daighi-medium schools, or bilingual schools in Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi, whereas, interestingly, there are

quite a few English-medium schools, or English and Taiwanese Mandarin medium bilingual schools. These are also popular parental choices, reflecting the Taiwanese linguistic hierarchy, within which the indigenization efforts (Daighi language classes) often lose out against the internationalization efforts (English language classes). Due to the lack of a corpus and support for Daighi medium education, the quality-of-education rationale found in the Celtic context is not applicable to Daighi.

Apart from the heritage rationale, the others are also not directly applicable to the Daighi context. Thus, to maintain Daighi by following the Celtic context, promotion of the heritage rationale is the key. With Daighi being valued, the benefits-of-bilingualism rationale can be applicable, and in turn Daighi bilingual education can become possible, potentially increasing social mobility for Daighi speakers. As explained, this study focuses on the promotion of a positive language attitude to Daighi to enhance its perceived value.

2.2.2 Current Daighi education situation

To promote positive attitudes to Daighi through education, it is essential to understand Daighi's situation. This section explains language policy as texts (see Chapter 1.3). The limits of implementation discussed here include six aspects: Local-Language-in-Education (LLE) Policy, English in Education policy, standardization of Daighi and the development of its writing system, learning materials and teaching methods, teachers' language ability, and training and teachers' attitudes to mother tongue education. The English in Education policy has an impact on the simultaneously implemented Local-Language-in-Education (LLE) policy, as English is weighted above local or indigenous languages (see Quality of Education section above). Also, since the Daighi writing system was not standardized until 2006, its development has been time-consuming and expensive, deferring the development of Daighi learning materials and teacher training programmes. Lastly, these obstacles may influence teachers' attitudes to Daighi education, perhaps in turn affecting classroom teaching and learning.

2.2.2.1 Local-Language-in-Education (LLE) Policy

In response to language endangerment, Romain (2008) identified three routes in the literature: '(1) do nothing; (2) document endangered languages; (3) sustain/revitalise threatened languages' (p.8). The first route is also interpreted by UNESCO (2003) as

equivalent to 'active assimilation'. Examples of such effort leading to extinction are Cornish in U.K. (Thiers, 1987), Australian indigenous languages (Arvanitis, Kalantzis and Cope, 2014), where the endangered status of the language was not officially recognised before the death of the last monolingual speaker of Cornish (Thiers, 1986, cited in Austin and Sallabank, 2011).

On the other hand, official support from government can act as a crucial factor to determine the vitality of a language, as Romain (2002:2) notes 'because official policies banning or restricting the use of certain languages have been seen as agents of assimilation, ... it is no wonder that hopes of reversing language shift have so regularly been pinned on them' (see also Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). However, Sallabank (2013) argues that the 'desirability and utility' of official support for endangered language revitalisation is debateable (p.147). For instance, two cases – Māori in New Zealand as a successful example and Irish Gaeltacht as less successful one were compared in Cooper's (1989) study. Although both cases gained governmental official support at status level (see Spolsky, 2004 for Māori case), the main difference identified by Cooper (1989) was the initiative body. In the case of New Zealand Māori, 'the initiative for the revitalization programme has come from the Māoris themselves...where in Ireland, the government promoters of maintenance made no serious attempt to promote the enthusiasm of people of the Gaeltacht (the areas where Irish is spoken) themselves. The initiative came from outside' (p.161). Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) and Fennell (1981) further emphasize that to revitalise or maintain a language official support alone is not enough, unless it is combined with fostering positive attitudes towards the language (see also Sallabank, 2013). Dorian's (1987) study of the Faroe Islands is another successful example. The importance of language attitudes is again brought to the fore.

The Daighi case of this study, however, has a different root. Instead of being supported by the government, it went through persecution (see Chapter 2.1), which, as argued by Adler (1977), has helped languages to survive. Successful examples in such cases include also Basque in Spain where language is a symbol of independence movement (Adler, 1977; Urla, 2012), or Manx in the Isle of Man being linked to activism and identity (Gawne, 2002). The first official support for Daighi was implemented by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education implemented education language policy before the official status of Daighi was recognised.

Language education policy, as Shohamy (2006) emphasized, 'is considered a powerful tool as it can create and impose language behaviour in a system which it is compulsory for all children to participate in' (p.77). Tsunoda (2005) also states that 'perhaps the most effective means for assimilation is education of children. It has promoted the dominant language, at the expense of minority languages. It has had drastic effects on the maintenance of minority languages' (p.62). DeKorne (2010:117) identified two beneficial elements for Indigenous language in education context: immersion approaches to education (Kipp, 2008; Hinton and Hale, 2001), and community control or engagement in education (Abele et al., 2000; May and Aikman, 2003; Crawford, 1998). In the case of Celtic languages reviewed in Chapter 2.2.1.1, the Celtic-medium was embedded in the immersion approach, established as an effort to maintain the language, and to strengthen the link between language and identity (O'Hanlon, 2012). On the other hand, the Amazonian Brazilian case by Hornberger (1998) was a case of community control, as she explained the indigenous teacher education course sponsored by the Comissão-Pró-Índio (CPI) of Acre State holds annually since 1983. One of the features of this course she emphasized, is its 'language as resource' (Ruiz, 1984) orientation, which according to the study, it has a positive impact on the vitality and revitalisation of endangered indigenous languages (p.444). These studies provide background to discuss the Daighi case in the following.

The Taiwanese Local-Language-in-Education (LLE) Policy ⁶ by MOE was implemented in 2001, reflected in the National Curriculum. According to a fieldwork report by Taiwanese journalists, the students who started school in 2001 were still using Taiwanese Mandarin as their main communication tool (Chou, 2013). The goal of enabling Daighi to serve the same communication function as Taiwanese Mandarin has not yet been achieved. This section explains the Local-Language-in-Education Policy in National Curriculum, to help in understanding its set objectives and proposed pedagogical approaches.

⁶ Policy is defined as 'official documents that declare some intention regarding language use' (Johnson, 2013:25).

The policy I refer to in this research is the revised version of the Local-Language-in-Education Policy (2009)⁷ for the nine-year compulsory education programme focusing on Daighi, presented on 15 July 2009, and implemented on 1 August 2011 (see National Curriculum in Appendix 1). In this version, Daighi was positioned as a mandatory subject, the four aims of the policy being: (1) to develop students' positive attitudes to Daighi through cultivating their interest in Daighi and their active learning of the language; (2) to help them improve their listening, speaking, spelling, reading and writing ability, thus enabling them to express their thoughts in daily lives; (3) to develop their ability to think, communicate, discuss, appreciate, and solve problems in Daighi; (4) to enhance students' ability to learn through Daighi, to broaden their living experiences, and to familiarize them with multiple cultures, in order to meet the needs of modern society (see Appendix 1). Based on the discussion in Chapter 2.2.2.1, it is argued that language policy is more effective when combined with fostering positive attitudes (Fennell, 1981; Dorian, 1987; Sallabank, 2013). Having the positive attitude improvement as the first objectives in the National Curriculum, sets the background and goal for this current study. Targets to achieve are also broken down according to different primary levels. For instance, the listening ability target for fifth and sixth grade students is to be able to capture the information in Daighi conversations (see 1-3-1 in Appendix 1). Another aim in the area of speaking is to be able to recite poems and ancient literature (see 2-3-10 in Appendix 1). Despite setting these language ability targets, the policy did not describe its approaches to meeting these targets, nor the practicality in developing these skills. In other words, this policy leaves room for schools and teachers to interpret it. As teachers' policy interpretation shapes their teaching, thus their interpretation can be crucial in determining the future of Daighi (see Yanow, 2000 and Johnson, 2013 on the importance of policy interpretation). Exploring the interpretation of the Local-Language-in-Education Policy, as explained in Chapter 1.1, is then one of this study's main tasks.

⁷ In 2014, a twelve-year compulsory education system was introduced, to be implemented in late 2016, after my data collection. Thus, this research refers to the 2009 version. The main differences between the 2009 and 2016 editions are that the 2016 edition used the name Taiwanese Minnanyu once in the objectives, in recognition of its differences from Minnanyu; emphasis on the system as a response to UNESCO's promotion of language as a right, and on revitalizing, passing on and innovating use of the local and indigenous languages; Daighi as an optional subject for high school students; and emphasis on internationalization through indigenization. These emphases further strengthen the importance of Daighi in Taiwan, and identify the status of Daighi as endangered.

2.2.2.2 English in Education Policy

The competition between learning English, symbol of internationalization, and learning local or indigenous languages, symbols of indigenization, arose with the simultaneous implementation of the New English in Education (EE) Policy in 2001 and the LLE Policy. The goals of English education include: '(1) to develop students' basic English communicative abilities; (2) to develop students' interests in and ways of learning foreign (English) languages; (3) to enhance students' awareness of and interest in domestic and foreign cultures and customs' (MOE, 2001, Article 89122368). Research indicated that the EE policy was implemented more effectively than LLE (Chen, 2006:322), which reflects Taiwanese language attitudes, with English regarded as a more 'important' language than local and indigenous languages (Chen, 2006:330). For example, in Taiwan, parents generally hold positive attitudes towards 'earlier start' English education, based on a belief that it will enhance children's international and potential socioeconomic advantages (Chen, 2003). In support of this statement, Graddol (2006:89) reported a public survey showing that 80% of Taiwanese residents accepted English as the second official language in the country, although it is not legally positioned as such. In the primary school context, English was given the second most hours and resources, right after Taiwanese Mandarin (Chang, 2005; C. Chen, 2011; Hubbs, 2013). These resources included more textbooks, teaching tools, electronic equipment and spacious classrooms for language tasks and activities than local languages received (Chen, 2006:332). The prioritization of internationalization's power over indigenization stands as another limitation on Daighi education.

2.2.2.3 Standardization of Daighi, writing and spelling system

As previously discussed (see 2.2.2.1), the general, questionable understanding to this day remains that Daighi is a spoken language (Chen, 2010), with written characters borrowed from Taiwanese Mandarin (Klöter, 2009). Building on this general belief, it is a matter of urgency to codify and standardize an appropriate variety of Daighi (Chen, 2010:88). Before 2006, when the Taiwanese MOE announced a standardized version, it was up to individual publishers to choose from the existing varieties of Daighi in its written form. These include a mixture of a logographic syllable-based character script like Taiwanese Mandarin, and one of two existing phonetically based scripts (i.e. the Taiwanese Romanization system (Daighi Tongiong Pingim) or the

Taiwanese Language Phonetic Alphabet (TLPA)) (Chiung, 2001; Tiun, 1998; Scott and Tiun, 2007:67; Su, Zhang, Zheng, Wang and Xia, 2000). Thus, the new words and spelling systems developed for Daighi may vary between different textbooks (Scott and Tiun, 2007:63).

In the 2006 standardized version, the Daighi characters are in the form of Han characters, divided into three categories. First, there are the original characters. These are the documented characters originally used for Daighi, including Middle Chinese. The second category comprises those characters borrowed⁸ from Taiwanese Mandarin and pronounced in Daighi. The third category is pronunciation-borrowing characters, which also include characters newly invented for Daighi (see Minnanyu on the Ministry of Education's official website).

However, when it comes to application, since some teachers are unfamiliar with the writing system used in the textbooks, many prefer to use their own materials for classes (Chen, 2006:330). This becomes another obstacle to standardization. A further barrier concerns politics, inasmuch as 'KMT considered any writing based on non-northern Mandarin to be a threat to national unity' (Hsiau, 1997:312; Scott and Tiun, 2007:66), and the KMT policy treated Daighi as a low-status 'dialect' (Chen, 1999:117). This perceived value of Daighi on the part of the KMT, along with the aforementioned obstacles, slow down the process of developing and standardizing Daighi.

2.2.2.4 Learning materials and teaching methods

The Nine-Year-Integrated Curriculum provides guiding principles for teaching materials and teaching methods. The curriculum suggests a list of 12 principles for textbook editing (see Appendix 1, Section 5). The main suggestion is that the teaching materials should be useful, interesting, coherent, and connected to everyday life; the curriculum also emphasizes literary content, starting with the development of ability in oral expression and progressing to writing/spelling ability. However, as mentioned

⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2.2.2.1, the discourse around the use of *han-bun* 漢文 being other languages borrowing from Mandarin, rather than all these Sinitic languages sharing these script.

in Chapter 2.3.2.3 concerning the standardization problem, individual teachers and schools have to develop their own materials (i.e. teaching idioms, old sayings, nursery rhymes and folk songs) (Chen, 2006:330), or use these as supplementary materials to the adopted commercial textbooks that fail to integrate community culture (Scott and Tiun, 2007:63; see also Hubbs, 2013 for a discussion on the lack of sufficient resources in teaching indigenous languages).

In terms of teaching methods, the Integrated Curriculum lists 7 principles (see Appendix 1, Section 5); the main recommendation is face-to-face interaction, using simple and interesting texts, with the aim of expanding Daighi teaching from classroom settings to community and family settings. However, the adoption of proper teaching methods is deferred by the lack of appropriate and complete teaching materials, not to mention another layer of obstruction: the teachers' teaching and language ability.

2.2.2.5 Teacher training and teachers' language proficiency

The first local language teacher certification test was held by the MOE in 2002, consisting of both written and oral sections. Those who passed proceeded to teacher training programmes before beginning to teach in primary schools. The training courses last only 36 or 72 hours, covering the topics of language, literature and culture, language proficiency, and training in language teaching (Scott and Tiun, 2007:61). Such training is insufficient, as found by both Lee's (2009) and Scott and Tiun's (2007) studies, which indicated inadequate teaching or language proficiency in both home teachers and supplementary teachers. Teachers often make mistakes in classrooms because of being unfamiliar with the spelling system (Lee, 2009:36). Although supplementary teachers show a more satisfactory language proficiency than home teachers, they may not have the professional knowledge or adequate teacher training background that home teachers possess (Scott and Tiun, 2007:61). In addition, the nature of the supplementary teacher contract – to only teach Daighi in a prescribed number of classes – means that classroom management becomes an issue. Therefore, teachers' language proficiency and teaching skills can be another obstacle to Daighi maintenance.

2.2.2.6 Attitudes to Daighi in the primary school sphere

Lee's (2009) study of primary school teachers' beliefs and behaviours as related to mother-tongue language teaching in Kaohsiung City provided the present study with insight into the background of attitudes to Daighi education and learning, in terms of teachers' attitudes to positive language attitudes promotion. Both questionnaire and interviews were used as research tools, and interestingly, opposite results were found: questionnaire data results showed a positive attitude to local language education, while interview data showed a relatively negative one (Lee, 2009:20). This further justifies the research tools adopted for this research, which consist mainly of interviews with semi-structured questions, supplemented by classroom observation.

The three main negative attitudes expressed by teachers towards Daighi education were as follows. Firstly, teachers were not supportive of mother-tongue education, believing that the responsibility for mother-tongue maintenance should not lie solely on primary schools, but also on families (Yang, 2008:45; Lee, 2009:24). Secondly, the communication function was perceived as not comparable to Taiwanese Mandarin, and benefits for future careers were not considered promising (Yang, 2008:44; Lee, 2009:21, 29). Lastly, Daighi teachers critiqued 'Mother Tongue Day' as merely a performance rather than a contribution to the preservation of mother tongues. They described the Taiwanese education system as 'exam-oriented', so that only if mother tongues were included in the University Entrance Exam, along with Taiwanese Mandarin and English, could mother tongue education be emphasized (Yang, 2008:41; Lee, 2009:27). Such negative background attitudes to Daighi, again, may make maintaining the mother tongue challenging.

2.3 Conclusion

This Research Context chapter started with an explanation of key terminology to help understand this study – why 'Daighi' is the name used, latent process viewpoint of attitudes, Daighi as a threatened language, how language shift and maintenance is defined in my study, mother tongues of different generations, and mother tongue education for the purpose of language maintenance. After defining the terms used in this study, the chapter moved on to discuss Daighi history, the information on which enables understanding of the complex situation associated with Daighi today. These includes its low position in the diglossic bilingual and multilingual society,

understanding its link with Taiwanese identity, and evidence of Daighi as a written language, but perceived as not. The last part of this chapter looked at the current implications of Daighi education. It began by positioning Daighi through a comparison with other endangered languages, the Alaskan and Celtic languages, then shifted to a focus on the current situation of Daighi education in relation to various topics. These included learning the importance to Daighi teachers' interpretation of the LLE policy, English being prioritized over Daighi, challenges in both standardizing Daighi writing and spelling system, and in developing learning materials and teaching methods. Insufficient teacher training and inconsistent language proficiency among teachers is another issue, along with the negative attitudes to Daighi in the primary school sphere, it makes Daighi education difficult. These discussions provide the contextual background knowledge needed to understand this research.

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Chapter 3 Literature Review

This Literature Review chapter explains the theories adopted to give insights into teachers' perceptions and practices in the classrooms. As sociocultural theory is the overarching theoretical lens that enables understanding of the foundation and rationale of this research, I explored the relevant literature that have informed my thinking around my study through the sociocultural theoretical lens. The first body of literature is on language policy, specifically in regard to language status planning and acquisition planning, as this approach that enables me to consider the language policies in their contexts, and for unpacking and improving LLE policy. Given the specific nature of the context and what my data has shown, this study also draws on agency, and views it as a component of sociocultural mediation. This agency focus helps us to understand what has impacted or shaped teachers' practices in classrooms. Next, I consider the literature on translanguaging as pedagogy, which allows us to see how language teaching takes place in a multilingual classroom.

3.1 Language policy and planning

As discussed in Research Context chapter, Daighi is a contextually heavy case, which directed the selection of sociocultural theory as an overarching theoretical lens for this research. Sociocultural theory has no single lens, but for the purpose of this study, I draw on Wertsch's (1991) conceptualization of mediated action, which provides a lens through which to see teachers' practices as mediated actions. He expanded the original sociocultural work of Vygotsky (1978) from the focus on the evaluation of human mind and its interaction with the 'real world' (Daniels, 2008) to an approach that emphasizes the human mind as mediated by the external world (see Wertsch, 1991:6). In applying this lens to my research, teachers' practices are viewed as mediated actions, in the sense that actions are shaped by contextual factors such as cultural, historical, and institutional settings, through mediators.

Such sociocultural theoretical lens can be expressed in language policy through perceiving language policies as the 'onion' proposed by Ricento and Hornberger (1996). To them, the 'onion' is consisted of language policy, language planning agents, levels and processes (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:402). They explained that 'at each layer (national, institutional, interpersonal), characteristic patterns of

discourse, reflecting goals, values, and institutional or personal identities, obtain' (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:409). To unpeel this 'onion', as proposed by Shohamy (2006), 'there is a need to examine these other indicators beyond policy documents' (p.53). This includes not only to examine language policy as text, but also view such text as a representation of the embedded ideologies (Ball, 1994). To unpack language embedded ideologies, the three components proposed in Spolsky's (2004) framework captures the nature of Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) 'onion' approach, and fits well to unpack the context-heavy nature of the Daighi case discussed in this thesis. These three components are language policy as management (referred to as language policy as 'text'); language policy as beliefs (referred to as language policy as 'discourse'); and language policy as practice (Spolsky, 2004:5). The approach to unpack the Local-Language-in-Education policy for Daighi in this thesis is through understanding language policy as 'discourse' and as 'practice' (see also Chapter 1.3). However, when applying this model of Spolsky's (2004; 2009) to practice, it is important to keep in mind the limitations of it. As Sallabank (2013) rightly points out that 'it is static; there is no indication how to move language policy forward' (p.28), where 'dynamic' and 'non-static' is crucial especially in the attitude improvement context (see also Chapter 1.2.2 and Woods, 2006).

As discussed in Chapter 2.3.2.1, Daighi teachers' interpretation of the LLE policy shapes their teaching practices, and the main tool for exploring their policy interpretation is interview, one of the key research tools suggested by Yanow (2000), Johnson (2013), and Hult and Johnson (2013). Language planning, on the other hand, offers an approach through which to unpack and support LLE policy.

The term 'language planning' was first introduced by Haugen in 1959, and is defined as 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community' (Haugen, 1959:8). The subject of Haugen's definition comes to be known as corpus planning, which entails 'activities related to the manipulation of the forms of a language', as suggested by Johnson (2013, p.27). Corpus planning, however, is not the focus of this study. The relevant language planning approach for this study is provided by Rubin's (1977) broader definition, which can be further applied in the field of language maintenance:

'Language planning is deliberate language change, that is, changes in the systems of a language code of speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes.' (Rubin, 1977:282)

The approach of deliberate language change, as proposed by Rubin (1977), is interpreted by Johnson (2013) as a 'top-down' policy, enacted by some government body as an intentional process (p.27). This rather contemporary view of language planning is discussed by scholars in terms of two aspects, later expanded to three. The first two are corpus planning (as defined above) and status planning, where the latter is focused on 'how a society could best allocate functions and/or uses for particular languages' (Johnson, 2013:27). To help in understanding the concept of status planning, Johnson proposed a few questions: 'Which language should be official? Which language should be used in schools? Which language(s) should be used in the media?' (p.27). These questions provide a starting point for unpacking the rationale behind language status planning.

The third aspect to discuss is acquisition planning. Acquisition planning, proposed by Cooper (1989), is defined as 'organized efforts to promote the learning of a language' (p.157), with two initial bases: '(1) the overt language planning goal and (2) the method employed to attain the goal' (ibid., p.159). Three types are discussed under overt goals:

'(a) acquisition of the language as a second or foreign language, as in the acquisition of Amharic by non-Amharas in Ethiopia, French by Anglophones in Montreal, spoken Mandarin by Taiwanese; (b) reacquisition of the language by populations for whom it was once either a vernacular – as in the renativization of Hebrew, the attempts to renativize Irish, and the revitalization of Māori – or a language of specialized function, as in the return of written Chinese to Taiwan; and (c) language maintenance, as in the efforts to prevent the further erosion of Irish in the Gaeltacht.' (Cooper, 1989:159)

In addition to the key concept used in viewing acquisition planning, what is also interesting to note here is the example of the acquisition planning of Mandarin in Taiwan, depicting the context of Mandarin language policy from the viewpoint of the ruling government at that time. It was a period of Mandarin acquisition (see Van den Berg, 1985) at the expense of the learning of local and indigenous languages. The description 'reacquisition of written Chinese in Taiwan' was debatable, as during the Japanese period the literacy rate of Japanese was low, and thereafter the literacy rate

in general was low. It could be argued that what was needed was acquisition, rather than reacquisition, of written Mandarin. Here it can be argued that the case of Daighi should be categorized under (c) language maintenance. This category is described by Cooper (1989) as 'maintenance of acquisition' (p.159), with the acquisition targeting the next generation, to ensure a sufficient percentage of the population who acquire or speak the language.

'With respect to the means employed to attain acquisition goals', as proposed by Cooper (1989), 'we may distinguish three types: those designed primarily to create or to improve the **opportunity** to learn, and those designed primarily to create or to improve the **incentive** to learn, and those designed to create or to improve **both opportunity and incentive** simultaneously' (p.159). According to Cooper (1989), methods that focus on opportunity and incentive improvement can be divided into direct and indirect, where direct methods consist of 'classroom instruction, the provision of materials for self-instruction in the target language, and the production of literature, newspaper, and radio and television programmes in simplified versions of the target language' (p.159). These are means that a language learner is potentially exposed to in his/her surroundings, with the policy-making body attempting to provide language learning **opportunities**. Indirect methods, on the other hand, include 'efforts to shape the learners' mother tongue so that it will be more similar to the target language, which will then presumably be easier to learn' (ibid., p.159). That is, indirect methods involve corpus planning of the learners' mother tongue – Taiwanese Mandarin in this case – in order to achieve the 'easier learning of target language' goal. This project, however, may be challenging and long-term.

Other methods aimed at increasing the **incentive** to learn, as exemplified by Cooper (1989), position the target language as a matriculation examination subject (English in the Israeli secondary-school), or setting language prerequisites for employment (Irish in Eire, and French in Quebec) (p.160). These methods for increasing incentives are arguably similar to the concept of 'status planning' – involving the functions and uses of a language as explained above. In other words, setting the 'needs' for a language in turn creates the desire or motivation to acquire it. This approach may be suitable for an exam-oriented educational system like that of Taiwan (Yang, 2008; Lee, 2009).

In terms of measures to simultaneously improve **opportunity and incentive** to learn a target language at the educational level, the proposed methods are:

'Use the target language as the medium of interaction for contexts in which the learner either must enter or wants to enter. Examples are immersion or bilingual educational programmes, such as French-medium instruction for Anglophone children in Montreal, the kohunga reo in New Zealand, the fourth-century vocational education conducted by missionaries via Giiz, and twentieth-century missionaries' use of Amharic as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia.' (Cooper, 1989:160)

Other methods can also be effective, such as drawing on available linguistic resources as means of teaching, including translanguaging as pedagogy, discussed in the next section (see Li Wei and García, 2014; Baker, 2011), or flexible bilingual pedagogy (see Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

In sum, status planning looks at the perceived allocated functions and uses of a language (Johnson, 2013), whereas acquisition planning focuses on learning a language, through increased opportunities and/or improved incentives to learn it. In this study, the focus is on the perceived status of Daighi (status planning), and on teaching and learning materials used, resources provided, and teaching approaches (acquisition planning).

3.2 Agency as the heart of language policy

Following the discussion in viewing language policy as discourse and practice (see Chapter 3.1), this thesis pays attention to the role of agency – classroom practitioners, 'the heart of the language policy (at the centre of the onion)' (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:417). These agencies are positioned as 'language policymakers, rather than just blind followers who implement policies mandated from above' (García and Menken, 2010:250). Instead of adopting the definition of 'agency' as discussed in the literature worldwide – that is, viewing agency as a holistic and individualistic social action (Hollis, 1994; Biesta *et al.*, 2015; Pantic, 2015; Fullan, 2003) – this study uses the definition by Biesta *et al.* (2007) to recognize the role of 'socio-culture' in agency (Biesta and Tedder, 2006), thus achieving congruence with the language policy lens this study adopts. According to the definition by Biesta *et al.* (2007), agency is 'not something that people can *have* – as a property, capacity or competence – but is something that people *do*. More specifically, agency denotes a quality of the

engagement of actors with temporal-relational contexts-for-action, not a quality of the actor themselves' (Biesta *et al.*, 2015:626). This statement showcases agency as an act of interaction between the agency and its social context.

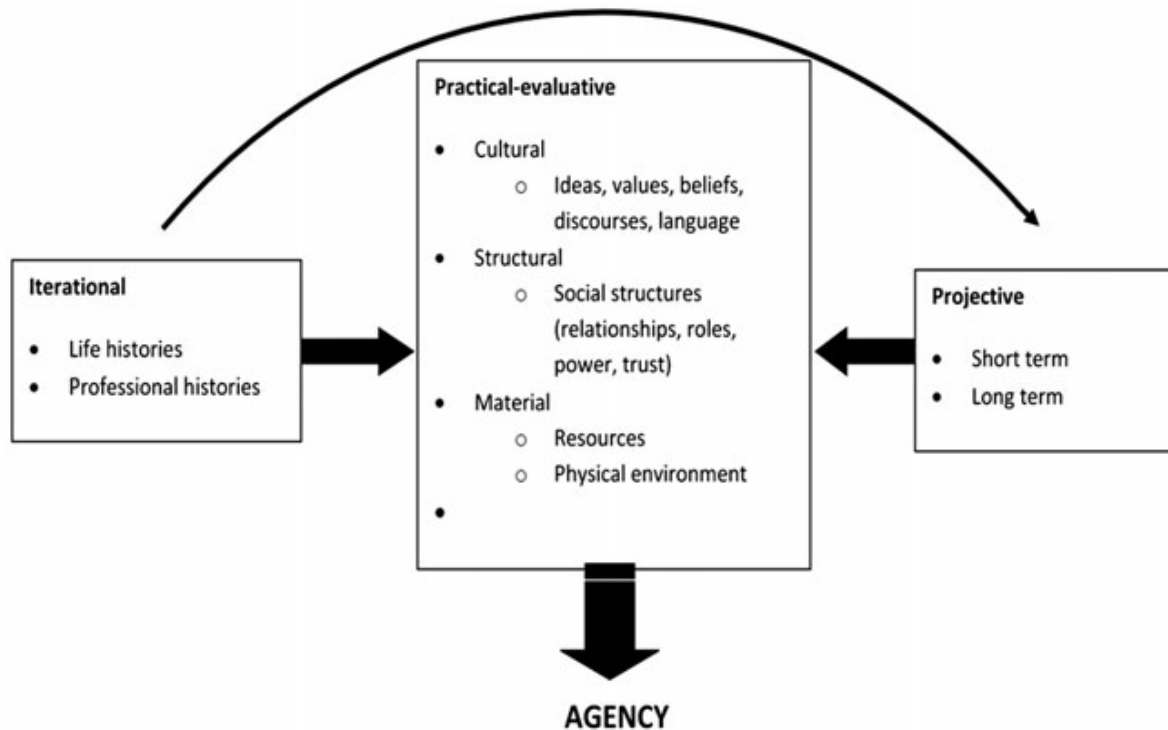


Figure 3 A model for understanding the achievement of agency (Biesta *et al.*, 2015:627)

Biesta *et al.*'s (2015) agency model is adopted (see Figure 3) to organize the mediators identified through interviews. Biesta *et al.* (2015) explained that this model is guided by two concepts. The first is the 'ecological conception of agency-as-achievement' (Biesta *et al.*, 2015:627), which views teachers' actions as 'the way in which actors critically shape their responses to problematic situations' (Biesta and Tedder, 2006:11; Biesta *et al.*, 2015): again, emphasizing the importance of sociocultural context in shaping teachers' actions. The second comprises the ideas in Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) *Chordal Triad of Agency*, which presents agency as 'a configuration of influences from the *past* (iterational), orientations towards the *future* (projective) and engagement with the *present* (practical-evaluative)' (Biesta *et al.*, 2015:636, emphasis in the original).

The iterational dimension is defined as '*the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action, routinely incorporated in practical activity, thereby*

giving stability and order to social universes and helping to sustain identities, interactions, and institutions over time' (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998:971, original emphasis). In other words, the iterational dimension is a reflective process that looks at the impact of past events and professional development on the person's teaching practice. In this study, the discussion focus of iterational dimension is on teachers' life histories and professional development histories, specifically on the transformation from external (*interpsychological*) to internal (*intrapsychological*), as emphasized in the literature (Johnson and Golombek: 2016:4). If put into a second language teacher education context, the focus is on the teachers' internalizing of 'the informed habits of mind, productive instructional concepts and practices that support student language learning, and the particular view of L2 teaching', and enactment of these in the L2 classroom (Johnson and Golombek, 2016:7). Unpacking teachers' life histories and professional development histories enables us to understand their motivation in devoting themselves to this profession, and the professional development support that prepared them to pursue the profession of Daighi teacher.

Teachers' professional development pursues the short-term and long-term goal of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi. In Emirbayer and Mische's definition (1998:971), this projective dimension encompasses '*the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future*' (original emphasis). That is, having the short-term and long-term goal in mind shapes and is shaped by both the professional development plan and the present dimension – the current practice in the classroom.

The practical-evaluative dimension, or the present dimension, is defined as entailing '*the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgments among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations*' (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998:971, original emphasis). That is, in a real-time classroom situation, teachers are equipped with knowledge and skills that enable them to make various decisions, which lead to different trajectories. These decisions are analysed according to three aspects – cultural, material, and structural.

'Cultural aspects have to do with ways of speaking and thinking, of values, beliefs and aspirations, and encompass both inner and outer dialogue. This links to life stories in the iterational dimension, and the aspiration of teaching in the projective dimension. Material aspects have to do with the resources that promote or hinder agency and the wider physical environment in and through which agency is achieved. Structural aspects have to do with the social structures and relational resources that contribute to the achievement of agency.' (Priestley, Biesta and Robinson, 2015:30)

When the cultural aspects lens is applied to analyse my data, teachers' attitudes and values are explored not only through interviews and observations, but also through the languages used and dialogues engaged in. The structural aspect lens looks at the relationship between the Daighi teacher and the MOE, schools, and colleagues. These aspects help the understanding of implicit mediation on teachers' actions. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, the material aspect focuses on the resources and physical environment.

Biesta *et al.*'s (2015) agency model is an analytical framework that draws on sociocultural theory, allowing a systematic understanding of the actions carried out by the teachers, and inferral of the perceived socioculturally problematic situations that teachers are in. In addition to the analytical framework used in this study, this study is also informed by language policy literature and translanguaging theory, which are presented in the following.

3.3 Translanguaging as pedagogy

Translanguaging as pedagogy is another body of literature this study draws on to better inform the research context. Given the context of Taiwanese classroom are multilingual, where Taiwanese Mandarin, English, Daighi and other languages are present, the translanguaging as pedagogy theory is relevant and essential for analysing teaching approaches in this study. Translanguaging as pedagogy theory discussed here also fits well with sociocultural theoretical approach, in that it unpacks the way teachers draw on the 'multilingual nature' of the classroom, to implement their teaching practices. The specific aspects of translanguaging as pedagogy theory discussed here focuses on the analysis of the use of different languages, including what they are and why they are employed, and the function of each language. The discussion starts by defining the terms.

3.3.1 Translanguaging as bilingual or multilingual interaction

Before focusing on translanguaging, it is important to first distinguish the differences in meaning between the terms ‘translanguaging’ and ‘code-switching’ adopted in this study. This will enable understanding of the adoption of translanguaging throughout the thesis.

3.3.1.1 Code-switching

‘Code-switching’ was first used by Hans Vogt in 1954 in ‘Language Contacts’, in the field of linguistics (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998; Benson, 2001; Nilep, 2006) – not by E. Haugen as is often believed (Auer, 1998:24). Vogt stated: ‘code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic’ (1954:368). On the other hand, Haugen’s focus draws on ‘the code switching which occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech’, with switching defined as ‘alternate use of two languages’ (1956:40). Close to that time, code switching was used in the sense of ‘recoding’ (Diebold, 1961 and Jakobson, 1961:250). Such a mixture of meanings led Alvarez-Caccamo to point out that at that early stage, ‘code switching did not have a uniform meaning’ (1998:32). To this day, it is challenging to provide a description that grasps the core features of code-switching (Bullock and Toribio, 2009:2). However, the broad definition of code-switching, widely used today, is that ‘[it] is used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation’ (Myers-Scotton, 1991:1), rather than a development of Haugen’s (1956) notion of *switching*. Four main approaches are identified in the study of code-switching in bilingualism: the psycholinguistic approach (e.g. Boloyai’s study on code-switching, imperfect acquisition, and attrition, 2009; Miccio, Hammer and Rodríguez, 2009:242), the grammarian approach (e.g. Li Wei, 2007; Poplack, 1978, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995; Muysken, 1995), the social-psychological approach (e.g. Scotton, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1988; Gafaranga, 2017; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Howard Giles, 1973), and the conversationalist approach (e.g. Auer, 1995, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Li Wei, 1998; Auer, 1998:4, Gafaranga, 1999, 2009; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002; Li Wei, Milroy and Pong, 1992:77; Levinson, 1983; Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Roger and Bull, 1989).

Whichever approach is followed, one of the most noteworthy features of research on 'code-switching' is that 'practically all research on "code-switching" has been based on the identification of "code" and "linguistic variety" as interchangeable notions' (Alvarez-Càccamo, 1998:34). 'It reflects a monoglossic ideology through which the languages of a bilingual speaker are conceptualized as two discrete systems that can be separated and regulated in time and space' (Ganuza and Hedman, 2017:201; see also García, 2009). This is one of the main aspects differentiating it from the later emerged term which has received recent scholarly attention – 'translanguaging'.

3.3.1.2 Translanguaging

Like code-switching, translanguaging has been given various definitions by different scholars. Even with distinguishable focuses, all definitions point in but one direction – 'bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively' (García and Lin, 2016:2). That is, translanguaging 'takes as its starting point the *language practice of bilingual people as the norm*, and not the language of monolinguals, as described by traditional usage books and grammars' (García, 2012:1, emphasis in original; see Li and García, 2014:22). Instead of viewing the process of switching between two or more languages, translanguaging 'considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages' (Li Wei and García, 2014:2; see also Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Jørgensen et al., 2011).

The emphasis on translanguaging as a single linguistic repertoire is relevant to this study, in the sense that current Taiwanese society is bi-/multi-lingual, with Taiwanese Mandarin, Daighi and English occurring naturally within conversations, and this study also views the combination of these linguistic features as one linguistic repertoire. In the literature, various terms are used to describe such multilingual linguistic practices. Canagarajah (2011) categorized the terms used for translanguaging in different fields. These include:

Composition: codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2006; Young, 2004), transcultural literacy (Lu, 2009), translingual writing (Horner et al, 2011)

New Literacy studies: multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000), continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003), pluriliteracy (García, 2009)

Applied linguistics: plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2000), third spaces (Gutierrez, 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2011)

Sociolinguistics: field lects (Auer, 1999), hetero-graphy (Blommaert, 2008), poly-lingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Madsen, 2011), flexible bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2010), contemporary urban vernaculars (Rampton, 2011), translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), translanguaging (García, 2009; Li Wei and García, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2011), multilingual turn (May, 2014:2; see also Creese and Blackledge, 2015:21)

This study adopts the term 'translanguaging' to capture the sociocultural aspect of multilingual classroom practices. Firstly, 'languaging' 'refers to the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning of the world' (Li Wei and García, 2014:8; see also Maturana and Francisco Varela, 1998). Languaging also 'shapes and is shaped by the context' (A. L. Becker, 2000:9). To learn a new way of languaging is not just to learn a new code, Becker says; it is 'to enter another history of interactions and cultural practices' and to learn 'a new way of being in the world' (Becker, 1995:227; 2000:8). In other words, languaging is strongly tied to the social context. For Li Wei (2011), translanguaging is 'both *between* different linguistic structure, systems and modalities, and going *beyond* them' (Li Wei and García, 2014:24). It 'creates a social space for the multilingual user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinate and meaningful performance' (Li Wei, 2011:1223). That is, translanguaging is a form of engaging with and making visible sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociohistorical differences through multiple discursive practices, a concept which is also congruent with the sociocultural theoretical lens adopted in this study. 'Translanguaging' is defined in this study as enabling the communicative function of languages in linguistic practices and interaction, through linguistic features that are traditionally and socially constructed as belonging to two or more separate languages, but viewing such a mix as one linguistic repertoire. On a psycholinguistic view, translanguaging is used as 'a process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought and

to communicate about using language' (e.g. Lado, 1979; Hall, 1996; Smagorinsky, 1998; Swain, 2006; Maschler, 2009; García, 2009; Baker, 2011).

In addition, one should not neglect a rich body of literature on translanguaging between spoken and sign languages (see McKee and Napier, 2002; Best, Napier, Carmichael and Pouliot, 2016; Napier and Rosenstock, 2016). Alastair Pennycook (2016, 2017) further expanded this notion of language, defining it as applicable 'not only to the borders between languages but also to the borders between semiotic modes' (2017:270). This spatial repertoire and multimodal translanguaging take in the work on *linguistic landscapes* (LL), where, in his view, the version of language has moved from being 'a study of "the presence, representation, meanings and interpretation of languages displayed in public places" (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael, 2015:1) to include "images, photos, sounds (soundscapes), movements, music, smells (smellscape), graffiti, clothes, food, buildings, history, as well as people who are immersed and absorbed in spaces by interacting with LL in different ways" (Shohamy, 2015:153-154)' (Pennycook, 2017:270). But however varied are the 'languages' included in the current vibrant scholarly translanguaging discussion, in this study I will focus on the audible languages. The 'languages' considered in the study are traditionally bounded as Taiwanese Mandarin, Daighi, English, and Japanese. In order to show how translanguaging takes place, I will address the 'languages' using their traditionally bounded names to show how they are merged and used as one linguistic repertoire.

3.3.1.3 Translanguaging as pedagogy

The word 'translanguaging', coined by Cen Williams (1994; 1996), comes from Welsh – *trawsieithu*, and was used for education setting. It was defined as 'a pedagogical practice where students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of receptive or productive use' (Li Wei and García, 2014:20). For instance, students are asked to read or listen to one language, but speak or write in another (see also Baker, 2011). One of the starting points of discussion on translanguaging as pedagogy, or pedagogical translanguaging, was the research on complementary schools in the UK carried out by Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge (2010). In a broader sense, translanguaging as pedagogy is defined as 'pedagogy practices that use bi-/multi-lingualism as a resource rather than ignore it or perceive it as a problem' (Baker,

2017:434; see also Ganuza and Hedman, 2017:210). It is argued that, in its expanded sense, translanguaging as pedagogy is inclusive of students with different linguistic backgrounds, a point emphasized by García and Sylvan (2011) and García and Kleifgen (2010). It is also perceived as promoting effective learning. Colin Baker and Wayne (2017) listed four educational advantages of translanguaging to elaborate on this idea: '1) it may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter'⁹; 2) it may help students develop oral communication and literacy in their weaker language¹⁰; 3) it may facilitate home-school links and cooperation¹¹; 4) it may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners¹²' (pp. 280-283). Another notion of translanguaging as pedagogy that I want to stress is its use to 'interrogate linguistic inequality' (García and Kano, 2014:261; Li Wei and García, 2014), since treating Daighi equally to other languages – Taiwanese Mandarin and English – is regarded as essential in this study, as a means of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi. Li Wei and García (2014) argue that:

'Translanguaging offers a way to do this [extending school-based practices with home-based practice] by transgressing educational structures and practices, offering not just a navigational space that crosses discursive boundaries, but a space in which competing language practices, as well as knowledge and doing, emerging from both home and school are *brought together*. It is precisely the bringing together of all students' languaging and doing that generates new knowledge and learning, as well as new languaging and texts. That is, translanguaging *transgresses and destabilizes* language hierarchies, and at the same time *expands and extends* practices that are typically valued in school and in the everyday world of communities and home.' (Li Wei and García, 2014:68, original emphasis)

⁹ According to Cummins (2017), promoting a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter is possible given that '(a) pre-existing knowledge is a foundation for further learning and (b) there is ease of crosslinguistic transfer as two languages are inter-dependent' (Cummins, 2017; cited in Baker and Wright, 2017:280).

¹⁰ Translanguaging approach attempts to prevent students to overly draw on their stronger language to complete coursework, and 'to develop academic language skills in both languages leading to fuller bilingualism and biliteracy' (Baker and Wright, 2017:282).

¹¹ Home-school link is enabled when the 'child can communicate with their parents in their usual medium, so the parents can be more involved and support the child with their schoolwork' (Baker and Wright, 2017:282).

¹² In Baker and Wright's (2017) US schools' example, developing English skills is the main aim. In which case, they define the fourth translanguaging as pedagogy advantage to be 'if English learners are integrated with first language English speakers, and if sensitive and strategic use is made of both languages in class, then learners can develop their second language ability concurrently with content learning' (p. 282).

Even though code-switching and translanguaging are ‘not two discrete terms and have overlaps’ (Baker, 2017:99), code-switching comes from a relatively more ‘linguistic perspective’, while translanguaging emphasizes the ‘fluidity and dynamic, sometimes messy and inventive, making and conveying meaning’ aspect of bi/multilingual communication (Baker, 2017:99; García, 2009a). However, ‘in listening to a conversation in a classroom, to differentiate between code-switching and translanguaging is often difficult’ (Baker, 2017:99). In order to analyse classroom practices through a translanguaging approach, I here conceptualize the term ‘translanguaging as pedagogy’ as used in this study in the following way.

It is one linguistic repertoire which includes the use of more than one ‘language’ to enable effective learning through engaging students’ entire linguistic repertoire, and to allow them to make meaning and make sense of the multilingual classroom. It fits within the sociocultural lens through the use of multiple discursive practices that make visible the different or shared histories, identities, heritages, and ideologies of the multilingual users (see Li Wei and García, 2014; Mignolo, 2000; see also Li Wei, 2011 on translanguaging space). If the purpose of a language is to communicate, then that of the one linguistic repertoire of pedagogical translanguaging is, in this context, to learn the ethnic mother tongue. This purpose is accomplished through the use of subconscious translanguaging (or *natural translanguaging*) and conscious translanguaging (or *official translanguaging* as termed by William, 2012). Within conscious translanguaging or official translanguaging, I discuss the different functions of ‘languages’ used for the purpose of learning the ethnic mother tongue, starting by explaining ‘translanguaging space’ where translanguaging is enabled.

a. Translanguaging space or a space for translanguaging

The literal meaning of ‘translanguaging space’ is a space for translanguaging. For Li Wei (2011b), it is where ‘the interaction of multilingual individuals “breaks down the artificial dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psycho in studies of bilingualism and multilingualism”... to integrate social spaces (and thus “language codes”) that have been formerly practiced separately in different places’ (Li Wei and García, 2014:24). ‘Translanguaging space’ is then a space for the interrogation of linguistic inequality, which is one of the important functions of adopting translanguaging as pedagogy for this study. It is

enabled through the use of 'language codes' or 'languages' that were traditionally practiced separately in different domains (see Fishman, 1967 on diglossia and language domains) in one space, i.e. the classroom; thus it '*transgresses and destabilizes* language hierarchies' (Li Wei and García, 2014:68). The two foci of translanguaging discussed are: conscious translanguaging or official translanguaging, and subconscious translanguaging or natural translanguaging.

b. Conscious translanguaging / official translanguaging

'Official translanguaging' is defined by Li Wei and García (2014) as a pedagogical practice that is 'conducted and set up by the teacher' (p.91). To them, such pedagogical practice includes 'more planned actions of the teachers in interaction with students', whereby teachers either draw on the linguistic repertoires shared with students in order to 'deepen explanations to the class of complex parts of the topic being taught or to have profound discussions of language or social issues' (Li Wei and García, 2014:91-92); or to have their students express themselves, 'using their full linguistic repertoire to show complete understanding of a subject area' (Li Wei and García, 2014:91-92). This notion is similar to what Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012b) described as *teacher-directed translanguaging*, in the sense that such pedagogical practice involves activities structured and planned by the teacher (see Lewis, Johns and Baker, 2012b; Li Wei and García, 2014). Their definition of conscious translanguaging provides an approach enabling the analysis of Daighi teachers' planned and structured activities.

c. Subconscious translanguaging / natural translanguaging

Natural translanguaging is referred to by Williams (2012) as 'acts by students to learn, although it may also include the teachers' use of translanguaging with individuals, pairs and small groups, "to ensure full understanding of the subject material"' (p.39). The term 'natural translanguaging' in this study refers to the use of multiple 'languages' in an utterance without specific functions. This will be another approach through which to observe language use in both interviews and classrooms in this study.

Translanguaging as pedagogy is an approach that helps us to understand how Daighi teaching practices are taking place in a multilingual classroom: for instance, how

meaning making and language learning are enhanced by drawing on teachers' and students' linguistic repertoires, and how linguistic equality can be better achieved. Translanguaging as pedagogy will be applied as an analytical approach, and how it can be used as a language teaching technique will be demonstrated. Whereas most existing studies focused on translanguaging as pedagogy in a bilingual space (Lin, 2006 on English teaching in Cantonese classrooms in Hong Kong; Cen Williams, 1996 on Welsh and English; Kano, 2010 on Japanese and English; see more examples in Li Wei and García, 2014 and Baker and Wright, 2017), the examples discussed in this study add to the body of literature on translanguaging as pedagogy in multilingual settings (Baker, 2011; Cenoz, 2009; García, 2009).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the key theories applied in this study. Both the language policy and agency analytic framework are used to understand, through a different focus, the elements and factors that shape teachers' classroom pedagogy. The language policy approach can provide further insights to help in understanding the features of the Local-Language-in-Education Policy, and how it shapes teachers' classroom practices. The last section – the translanguaging as pedagogy approach – helps us to see how teachers are drawing on their own and students' multilingual linguistic repertoire to achieve language learning and promote linguistic equality. The information provided in Chapter 2 – the Research Context chapter, along with this Literature Review chapter, inform the core background knowledge for this research.

Chapter 4 Methodology

The research method is the key to collecting the appropriate data and analysing them in a manner that can provide answers to my research questions. This chapter explains how interview and classroom observation are the appropriate methods for exploring teachers' perceptions of the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on Daighi, and the methods teachers employed to enhance students' attitudes to Daighi. The final versions of the research questions are:

Key research question:

- How is the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi interpreted and implemented on the ground? Analyse through investigating teachers' perception of their contributions to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom practices.

Sub-questions:

- To what extent do Daighi teachers perceive that they are promoting positive attitudes to Daighi?
- What are the methods Daighi teachers perceive as best to adopt in classes in order to promote positive attitudes?
- To what extent do classroom practices match teachers' perceptions?

This chapter is divided into four main sections: research design, pilot study, main study and data analysis. Understanding the research design helps to conceptualize the rationale behind the pilot study design, while the pilot study informs the development of the main study. The data analysis section explains how findings are generated, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of reflexivity, validity and reliability.

4.1 Research design

This section explains the rationale behind adoption of a qualitative approach, with an interpretivist stance, influenced by a social constructivist view. It also discusses the research tools I employ to collect data, and justifies the modifications or combinations

added to those existing methods to form a tool better suited to exploring the aims of this study.

4.1.1 A qualitative research

In the field of language attitude studies, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used. For example, in Baker's (1992) attitude and language study, he draws on quantitative surveys to identify variables deemed to have an impact on attitudes to language, such as gender, age and language background. The statistical approach is the tool employed to analyse the data. In another example, O'Hanlon's (2015) study explores the rationale for choosing Scottish-Gaelic-medium and Welsh-medium education at primary and secondary school stages. She used mixed methods, including interviews and questionnaires to explore perceptions of the target languages. Through thematic analysis, she identified reasons for choosing such bilingual education, and through statistical analysis she compared the results of both contexts. Even though both qualitative and quantitative approaches are commonly used in language attitude studies, the quantitative approach, as pointed out by Riagain (2008), is still favoured by policy-makers, sociologists and political scientists to measure and collect data on language attitudes (p.332). Nguyen and Hamid's (2018) study is one of the few that take a qualitative approach, to investigate eight college-age ethnic minority students' attitudes towards formal and informal language policies in various domains, and towards their own bilingualism. This study takes a similar qualitative approach on the basis of the qualities of that approach as discussed below.

While a quantitative approach values the objective view of knowledge (Dornyei, 2007:32), subjectivity is favoured by qualitative traditions (Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2013), without excluding the feature of objectivity¹³ (Silverman, 2013). Dornyei (2007) emphasized subjectivity, or *insider meaning*, as one of the main characteristics of qualitative research. In his words, 'subjective opinion, experiences and feelings of individuals' are crucial in exploring participants' view of the situation being studied (Dornyei, 2007:38). For example, teachers' views matter because their actions are

¹³ Silverman (2013) argues that 'qualitative research consists of many different endeavours, many of which are concerned with the "objective" (i.e. scientific) study of realities which in some sense are "objective" (e.g. how culture works; the logic of conversations)' (p. 6).

mediated by their perceived contextual factors (see discussion in Chapter 3.1). Context is also important in the qualitative approach, as opposed to the 'decontextualizing' feature of the quantitative approach (Robson, 2011). This quality also matches the context-heavy nature of this study. Moreover, instead of taking a neutral value-free position, as the quantitative approach does, the qualitative view values 'both personal commitment and reflexivity (self-awareness) of the researcher' (pp.18-19), in acknowledgment of the observer paradox (Labov, 1972). A quantitative approach yields data that represents the generalized voice of a collective group of people, diminishing the differences among individuals and the role of the researcher who engages in the data collection process (Robson, 2011). This study, however, does not share the same perspective, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

For one thing, the focus of the study is on exploring participants' perceptions, and such perceptions may not be quantifiable, as maintained by Mackey and Gass (2011:173). Secondly, as argued by Dornyei (2007), 'the downside of quantitative methods is that they average out responses across the whole observed group of participants, and by working with concepts of averages it is impossible to do justice to the subjective variety of an individual life' (p.35). In contrast to the quantitative approach, this study encourages the diversity of views that have emerged, which rationale positions this research within the qualitative paradigm.

As for the definition of the qualitative paradigm of this study, unlike the straightforwardness with which quantitative studies are described (Dornyei, 2007:35), 'qualitative research is (not only) difficult to define clearly ... (it also lacks) distinct methods or practices that are entirely its own' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:6-7). As 'qualitative research is many things to many people' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:10), the following section explains what qualitative research is in this study, through the lenses of the epistemological approach, ontological influence, and the research instruments adopted.

4.1.2 Epistemology: An interpretivist view of knowledge

The *interpretivist* approach is the core of qualitative research. Dornyei (2007) suggested that 'qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive, which means that the research outcome is ultimately the product of the researcher's subjective

interpretation of the data' (p.38). These researchers' subjective interpretations can be 'guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:22). The sets of beliefs include beliefs about epistemology (here taking the *interpretivist* view of knowledge), ontology (taking the stance that knowledge, or reality, is socially constructed), research instruments (using interviews and participant observation as the research tools with which to gain knowledge), and the role of the researcher, which is equally important and is elaborated in the reflexivity section.

4.1.3 Ontology: A social constructivist influence

Originating in the book *The Social Construction of Reality*, Berger and Luckmann (1971) coined the term *social constructionism ontology*. Their core argument is: 'reality is socially constructed ... all human "knowledge" is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, the sociology of knowledge must seek to understand the process by which this is done in such a way that a taken-for-granted "reality" congeals for the man in the street. In other words, we contend that *the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality*' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971:13-15, original emphasis). Social constructionism is rooted in phenomenology, and has recently been related to postmodernism (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009; Creswell, 2014). Even though this research adopts neither phenomenology nor postmodernist epistemology, it values the view of reality as socially constructed. Two approaches are positioned within this ontology – social constructionism and social constructivism, and both approaches hold that 'reality – or at least selected parts thereof – is not something naturally given...[but] socially constructed' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:24). The main difference between the two is this: social constructionism emphasizes reality construction through interaction between people, and maintains that meaning exists through such interaction. But while 'constructionist approaches are also sometimes referred to as *interpretivist*, indicating a focus on how the social world is interpreted by those involved in it' (Robson, 2011:24), the social constructivist focuses on individual interpretations of the world, rather than interaction (ibid.).

This current research takes the *Social Constructivist* approach because it is interested in how individuals, namely the *Daighi teachers*, interpret or perceive the reality under

discussion – attitudes towards Daighi, Daighi education, and the development of students' positive attitudes to Daighi. Appropriate data collection tools are vital to enable such investigation of this socially constructed reality. The following section explains why interview and classroom observation are selected.

4.1.4 Research methods – Data collection

To answer the research questions, the individual interview method is selected as the main data collection instrument, with classroom observation as secondary. The main reason for adopting more than one research instrument is to avoid relying entirely on one approach, but rather to 'deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:4).

4.1.4.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is defined by Dornyei (2007), as a way 'to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn' (p.126) (see also Patton, 2002). The primary schools I investigated in this research were recruited through personal connections and snowballing¹⁴. Purposive sampling is the sampling method favoured by most qualitative researchers, in contrast to quantitative sampling methods, where samples are selected randomly among target participants. A concern this method has raised is about the representativeness and distribution of experience within the population (Dornyei, 2007:126). To compensate and increase the generalizability of the findings of qualitative studies, Firestone (1993) suggests 'providing rich, "thick" descriptions' as the appropriate method (p.22), since this enables readers to 'make inferences about many factors that may be left unexplored in the studies relying on sample-to-population or analytic generalization' (ibid., p.22). Two main contextual aspects of sampling in the present case are first, the choice of 4th and 6th grades, and secondly, the choice of cities – Taipei city and Changhua city.

¹⁴ I adopt *snowball or chain sampling*, starting with 'a principled list of key participants, who are then asked to recruit further participants similar to them in some respect central to the investigation' (Dornyei, 2007:129).

Table 1 Sampling criteria matrix

Primary level / Geographical level	Taipei City	Changhua City
4 th Grade		
6 th Grade		

As discussed in Chapter 1.1, I selected two grades for this research for comparison purposes: (1) difference in teaching approaches adopted by home teachers compared with supplementary teachers; (2) differences in teaching and learning outcomes reflected through the approaches adopted, since P6 is the final year of Daighi as a mandatory subject (see Language-In-Education Policy, 2009). I also compare geographical differences in terms of language proficiency: Taipei (where Taiwanese Mandarin is the dominant language) and Changhua (where Daighi is the main communication tool). Combining the criteria discussed above, a participant fitting the criteria has to be: a Daighi teacher, either a home or supplementary teacher, currently teaching primary fourth or sixth grade, in a primary school located in Taipei city centre or Changhua city centre.

4.1.4.2 Research instruments

4.1.4.2.1 Interviews

Because of the latent nature of attitudes (Mackey and Gass, 2011:173; Oskamp and Schultz, 2005; see also Chapter 2.1.2), a non-directive interview approach (Barbour, 2008; Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000; Holt, 2018) is adopted for this research. It provides time and space for participants to share their thoughts, without being constrained by a rigid set of questions (Jones, 2004; Morse, 2003; Blaikie, 2010:97; Holt, 2018). This rationale also explains why questionnaire is not suitable for this research, as it is 'a directive mode of questioning (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:4; Blumer, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967; Roulston, 2010), and the close-ended nature of the answers constrains severely the depth of the knowledge to be acquired' (Codó, 2008:171).

Another commonly used attitude investigation method is the matched-guise technique (MGT) developed by Wallace Lambert and his associates (Lambert *et al.*, 1960; Lambert, 1967). The common measurement in matched-guise technique is the

semantic differential scale (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957). The matched-guise technique is designed to control all variables except linguistic factors. To do so, the researcher(s) recruit(s) a number of bilingual speakers who are fluent in both languages, and ask(s) them to read and audio-record the exact same passage in both languages. These recorded passages are then arranged to appear as if each passage was recorded by a different speaker. The listeners have to judge the passages, leaving a mark on perceived traits of the speakers on the semantic differential scale, which is composed of black spaces with two opposite extremes of a trait (e.g. friendly and unfriendly) (see Fasold, 1987:149-151).

However, the matched-guise-cum-semantic-differential method is another technique which is not suitable for this study. Firstly, Taiwan is a multilingual and diglossic community (Chen, 2010:95) with different languages being used in different domains (see Ferguson, 1959 and Fishman, 1967/1972). For example, one might find the passage or topics recorded in Daighi 'inappropriate' in an educational domain where Taiwanese Mandarin is the norm, which may further influence responses. Secondly, MGT itself has a rigid set of questions which constrain participants' expression of their thoughts. Altogether, neither questionnaire nor MGT is fit for this study.

'Active interview'

As explained in the ontology section, this study adopts the *social constructivist* stance, wherein reality exploration and knowledge construction are highly dependent on the individual's interpretation. In order to 'avoid misunderstandings or errors of interpretation or to cast interpretation as a social construction in its own right' (p.4), Holstein and Gubrium (1995) point out the need to 'develop better understandings of the meaning that are being conveyed in practice by both interviewer and respondent' (pp.3-4). They proposed the 'active interview' method, which puts an emphasis on reality constructing and meaning-making through the active engagement of both interviewer and respondents (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:4). This definition of active interview also matches another aspect of the social constructivist stance, namely that meaning making is a co-construction process (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:4; see also Blumer, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967; Roulston, 2010).

Not only are the active interviewer and active interviewee important, it is also crucial to use a set of interview questions designed for this purpose. Moreover, as a

contextually complex and sensitive case, the interviewer's stance and interview questions are tailored for this specific context.

'Semi-structured interview questions for non-directive interview approach'

This study adopts semi-structured interview questions, giving the participants freedom to semi-direct the interview, and to express their thoughts on topics of interest to this study.

As discussed in previous sections, Daighi is a sensitive case. To avoid directing participants, none of the questions enquires directly what the Daighi teachers' attitudes are to Daighi, or asks whether their goal in teaching Daighi is to promote positive attitudes. I consider the importance of promoting Daighi more salient if the teachers bring it up themselves during discussions. Semi-structured questions are adopted for this purpose, as they use open-ended questions rather than the closed, structured questions of the questionnaire (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015:31). However, as opposed to the unstructured interview design, it is still important to follow a *guide* that ties the questions to the interests of this research (Robson, 2011:280). Such a level of freedom for both interviewer and interviewee is essential especially when taking an active interview approach.

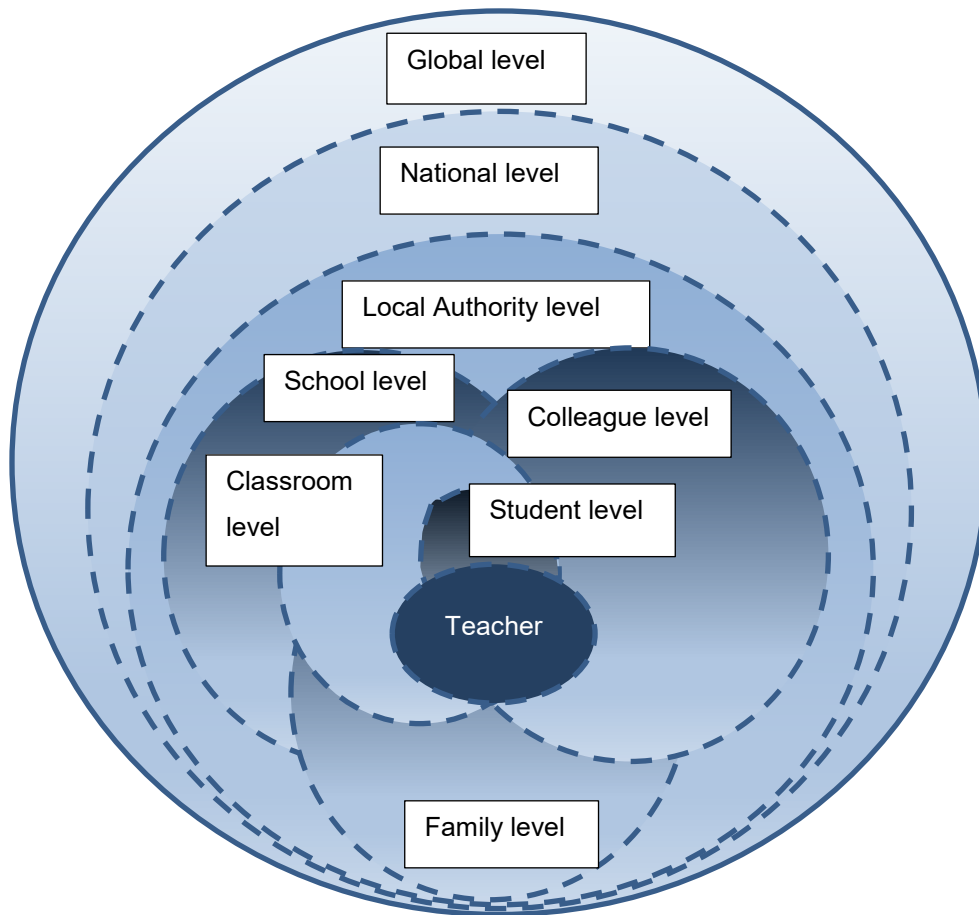


Figure 4 Sociocultural theoretical framework lens: layers / levels

The questions are designed on the basis of the sociocultural theory lens that this study adopts, containing topics from different layers (see Figure 4 below) which are viewed as mediators. These include language policy, teaching materials, teaching methods and education in other languages.

An example of a semi-structured interview question can be:

In the school you teach, are the students provided with the freedom to select what language to learn? Why do you think they chose Daighi? (Main study interview question 3, March 2015, see Appendix 7 for full interview questions)

The process is crucial. It needs to be flexible depending on what the teachers' views are towards Daighi, as their views will direct the development of the active interview conversation. This flexibility also enables the discussion of relevant topics, which

potentially engage participants to a greater extent. Therefore, the interview approach adopted in this study is a non-directive interview design, taking an active interview approach, using semi-structured questions.

4.1.4.2.2 Unobtrusive Observation

The purpose of observing classrooms is to explore how Daighi teachers' perceived strategies match their classroom teaching practices. The approach I employed in this observational method is *unobtrusive observation* (Robson, 2011:316).

In his definition, such an observational style is 'non-participatory in the interest of being *non-reactive* ... [and] is more usually unstructured and informal' (Robson, 2011:316). The observation method is, as described by Robson (2011), a technique of directly watching and listening to what participants are doing, in order to obtain data concerning 'their views, feelings or attitudes', since these are not obtainable through direct inquiry (p.316). The observational method in this study is set as a secondary supportive method, to complement the data obtained by my main data collection tool – interview.

Field-notes and audio recording as data collection tools

Both checklists and tasks are commonly used methods of classroom observation (Wajnryb, 1992; see also Richards and Farrell, 2015). 'Checklists provide a clear focus for observation ...[but] can only be used for certain aspects of a lesson, such as features that are easy to count, and should focus on only one or two aspects of the lesson' (Richards and Farrell, 2015:94). Tasks, on the other hand, focus on specific activities as a whole, and are defined as 'a key way of achieving active involvement' (Wajnryb, 1992:15).

These two approaches to classroom observation are ideal for studies that focus on the application of certain teaching practices. Such an approach also 'provides a convenient means of collecting data that frees the observer from forming an opinion or making an on-the-spot evaluation during the lesson', as argued by Wajnryb (1992:8). However, these tools are not suitable for this study, as it is designed to be exploratory and inductive. Field-notes and audio recording in the classroom are the

methods adopted. These instruments record all that occurs, enabling themes to emerge at the data analysis stage.

Field-notes, according to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001), are means of 'producing *written accounts* and descriptions that being versions of these worlds to others' constitute a record of 'situations and events [that took place], as well as people's understandings of and subjective reactions to these matters' (pp.352-361). The field-notes I take for my study form a running account of the activities in the classroom. I also consider students' responses and interactions between teacher and students, since these can provide information on the effectiveness of teachers' practices. However, it should be made clear that the field-notes I took were not in the same form as those used in ethnographic research, which are 'composed day-by-day, open-endedly, with changing and new directions ... [and] are an expression of the ethnographer's deep local knowledge, emerging sensitivities and evolving substantive concerns and theoretical insight' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001:355). In contrast to this format, the field-notes for this study 'consist of brief descriptions in note form of key events that occurred throughout the lesson. They provide a summary of the lesson as a whole, or can be time-based (e.g. every five minutes)' (Richards and Farrell, 2015:95). Moreover, only a limited number of field-notes were taken per teacher (one per teacher in the pilot study and two per teacher in the main study). These field-notes are not a record of the researcher's reflections, but rather of classroom activities.

The data collection tools adopted, both non-directive active interview with semi-structured questions and unobtrusive classroom observation, provide by their nature sufficient flexibility to the process and outcome of the research. Thus it is important to conduct a pilot study, as stressed by Dornyei (2007). A pilot study was conducted with the aims not only of testing the non-directive active interviewer role, semi-structured questions and observational technique, but also of developing a suitable interviewer practice.

4.2 A pilot study

This pilot study section presents the research context, including the school syllabus and access to the research site. The findings of the pilot study inform changes to the research instruments to fit them for the main study.

4.2.1 Data collection context

4.2.1.1 Pilot study – Research site

For purposes of confidentiality, I refer to the primary school used for the pilot study as Primary School A. Primary School A was selected because of: (1) its detailed syllabus across 6 grades: the learning target being set week to week and matched with objectives of the National Curriculum (2009); (2) its students' learning attitude: they are passionate about language learning, although, due to lack of Daighi input in Taiwanese Mandarin-dominant Taipei City, their Daighi proficiency is low (see Primary School A's syllabus in Appendix 2); (3) personal connection to it: I graduated from this school and stay in contact with my teachers and some administrators.

After obtaining agreement to conduct a pilot study in Primary School A, I was helped by these individuals to contact and arrange interview meetings with the school's two supplementary teachers responsible for P5 and P6.

The National Curriculum (2009) allocated only 40 minutes per week for the local and indigenous languages class throughout the six years. Students were asked to choose one mother tongue from among Daighi, 5 Hakka varieties, and 43 indigenous languages (see Appendix 4). In Primary School A, the majority of students selected Daighi and remained in their original classroom, while those who chose other languages moved to the allocated language classrooms. The two supplementary teachers only came to the campus on Mondays to teach the sixth grades, home teachers staying at the back of the classroom during the class (see discussion in Chapter 1.1).

4.2.1.2 Pilot study – Access challenge

I arrived in Taiwan on the 5th of June 2015, a week after my first-year progression board. Theoretically, I had three weeks to collect data, which would give me ample

time to do interviews in the first week, analyse the data and prepare for classroom observation. However, the administrator of Primary School A informed me that I could not visit the campus during the first week, because it was both a marking week and a teaching evaluation week when evaluators from the local authority or higher up came to observe the teaching. I visited the campus on the second Monday, but found out that it was the last teaching week for P6 students, as they were graduating on the following Monday. Therefore, I had only that day to collect all the data I needed for the pilot study, and fortunately I succeeded in doing it.

As mentioned above, students were graded during the previous week, and the following Monday was the day of the graduation ceremony, making the Monday Daighi class that I observed the last one. The timing was not ideal because firstly, students did not have to worry about their grades since marking had been done the week before, so they could relax more in class. For example, as mentioned by the first Daighi teacher and evidenced by my observation, some students no longer kept a copy of the course book. Secondly, with the graduation ceremony coming up, students were excited. Some students were not participating in the classes and some were working during the class on the poster they were going to use for the graduation ceremony. Despite these limitations, the interesting findings directed important changes that needed to be made to better fit them for the main study.

4.2.2 Pilot study – Research instrument modification rationale

The pilot study findings suggested the need to modify two research sub-questions, the research tool, the research design, and the data analysis. Each modification is listed below, and discussed in the following order: what was planned prior to pilot study, what modification was made after the pilot study, why was it needed, and lastly, the plan for the main study. These modifications are also shown in Table 2, attached as Appendix 3.

4.2.2.1 Pilot study – Research sub-questions

The overarching key research question remained unchanged – *How is the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi interpreted and implemented on the ground? Analyse through investigating teachers' perception of their contributions to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom*

practices. Changes were made to the first two of three sub-questions. The original first research sub-question was: *What is the Daighi teachers' perception of the national and school Daighi educational language policy in order to improve students' attitude to Daighi?* The assumption underlying this sub-question was that Daighi teachers were aware of educational language policies at various levels, including the national curriculum and school syllabus. However, the interviews with the two Daighi teachers suggested that it was unclear whether or not they were familiar with the National Curriculum's objective of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi, or whether they were using the school syllabus as the outline of their course design. For instance, when asked to share their thoughts on the National Curriculum's objective of promoting positive attitudes towards Daighi, Teacher A stressed the importance of encouraging students to increase their interest in Daighi, but no further discussion of the National Curriculum was offered. It was unclear whether the teacher's thoughts referred to promoting positive attitudes towards Daighi, or to this particular objective of the National Curriculum. Similarly, Teacher B mentioned the importance of schools' emphasis on Daighi education, but it was unclear how school policies influenced their course design and whether promoting positive attitudes towards Daighi was one of their teaching objectives. Therefore, the first research sub-question was modified to focus on teachers' thoughts on promoting positive attitudes towards Daighi: *To what extent do Daighi teachers perceive that they are promoting positive attitudes to Daighi?*

Since the first research sub-question was revised, the second research sub-question needed to be modified in line with it. The original second research sub-question was: *How do the Daighi teachers enact the Educational Language Policies in the classroom?* This question was no longer fit for purpose as the focus had changed from interpreting Educational Language Policies to perception of the importance of promoting positive language attitudes. So the second sub-question was changed to: *What are the methods Daighi teachers perceive as best to adopt in classes in order to promote positive attitudes?*

The three sub-questions were modified to achieve one focus: centring teachers' thoughts or attitudes on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi (sub-question 1), methods they perceived as best to use in classrooms to promote positive language attitudes (sub-question 2), and matching their perceptions with action (sub-question

3). Focusing on these sub-questions can also better answer my overarching key research question: *How is the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi interpreted and implemented on the ground? Analyse through investigating teachers' perception of their contributions to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom practices.* Excluding the discussion of educational language policies, i.e. National Curriculum and school syllabus, does not discount the importance of these, as this influential factor is still included in one of my interview questions about the factors that influence teachers' course design and teaching methods.

4.2.2.2 Pilot study – Research instruments modification for the main study

Non-directive active interviews

The original design of the interview contains three main sections. The first section consists of biographical data and language use, language proficiency and language choice in different settings. The second section, focused on teachers' attitudes towards Daighi education, begins by asking for participants' Daighi teaching qualifications, Daighi teacher training and length of time as a Daighi teacher, and what factors they think shaped their Daighi teaching. It then moves on to focus on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi as an objective of the National Curriculum, on their teaching goals and plans to reach their goals, and on what they perceived their role to be in improving attitudes to Daighi. They were also asked to share thoughts on the simultaneous English Education. The last section centred on participants' teaching experiences, such as the difficulties they encountered and what they value the most in Daighi education.

The pilot interview suggested modifications of both the order of the interview and the questions. Changing the section order of my interview was directed by concerns about potential effects on participants of being asked first of all for biographical information and details of teaching qualifications and background. Asking these personal background questions might have been interpreted as questioning their teaching ability; thus such questions might not be appropriate at the start of an interview. As suggested by Hermanowicz (2002:488-490), 'first questions are introductory, easy to

answer and nonthreatening', so I decided to ask language use questions to begin my interview.

Additionally, in line with the 'non-directive interview' approach, another modification to the interview question design was to adopt a semi-funnel-shaped interview approach (see Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015:156) to explore participants' attitude to Daighi, Daighi Education, and positive language attitude promotion. This approach is used to avoid leading or shaping participants' answers by starting with the aspect that I am interested in, but rather to first explore their values surrounding Daighi teaching, then narrowing down the answers to my focus. In this way, I can both explore the teachers' other important values and goals, and identify their attitudes based on the views they share with me, in order to direct the interview conversation. With a semi-funnel-shaped interview design, instead of ending my interview by exploring teachers' attitudes, I broaden it again to discuss the simultaneous implementation of English Education, and finish up with questions on biographical data and teacher qualifications.

Classroom observation

To answer the third research sub-question – *To what extent do classroom practices match teachers' perceptions?* – classroom observation is the chosen research instrument for documenting teachers' practices, in order to match these with their shared perceptions as documented by interview. The research plan prior to the pilot study was to observe classrooms after analysing the interviews, so that I could make a checklist based on the interviews and use it when observing the corresponding classes. However, since I only had one day to collect data at Primary School A, I had to modify my data collection plan. I interviewed both 6th grade supplementary Daighi teachers and asked permission to observe their classes on the same day. Since I did not have a checklist made up prior to classroom observation, I kept field-notes and audio recordings.

The open running record field-notes turned out to be more appropriate, as they allow themes to emerge, unlike a pre-designed checklist which narrows down the research focus. Along with the greater amount of information captured in audio recordings, I could provide a better view of overall classroom activities. As a means of enhancing the understanding of classroom culture, one classroom observation, as done for the

pilot study, was not sufficient to provide the necessary information. Therefore, another modification I made was to expand the classroom observation period to two per teacher for my main study.

Post-observation interview

I also decided to conduct a post-observation interview for the main study. This was informed by the pilot study, which allowed a follow-up confirmation to provide further information, thus improving validity and reliability through double-checking with the Daighi teachers.

4.2.2.3 Pilot study – Ethics

Ethical approval from Moray House School of Education and Sports was gained after conducting the pilot study. The original research plan was to gain consent from all those who are affected by my data collection process, including teachers and students. However, when conducting my pilot study, I had only one day to collect my data. Therefore, I decided to only ask for the Daighi teachers' consent because it was the teachers' voice that was the main focus of this study, a focus that might have been lost had the students' voice been included also.

The pilot study better informed the research context, by narrowing down the research sub-questions and suggesting modifications to the data collection timeframe, including accessing periods for reaching participants, and observing more than one class per teacher. It also justified taking a semi-funnel-shaped interview approach and choosing the interview questions to suit the research context. Keeping a running record and audio recording proved to be a better method for recording all activities, and conducting post-observation interviews to check with participants helped to reduce researcher bias when interpreting their shared thoughts. The experience of acting as a non-directive active interviewer and unobtrusive observer equipped me more thoroughly for the main study data collection.

4.3 Main study – Data collection

In this section, I present a brief overview of my participants, data collection timeframe, accessing participants, ethics, procedure, challenges and limitations, and changes to my research tools.

4.3.1 Main study – Data collection timeframe

Given that my fieldwork took place in Taiwan and I was based in Edinburgh, it was important to secure a sufficient number of participants for snowballing prior to my visit. Thus, I started finding participants in both cities, Taipei and Changhua, in September 2015 for my 23rd March to 18th May 2016 data collection period.

I started the data collection in Taipei, and by the end of March I had completed all interviews with Taipei teachers and finished observing seven teachers' Daighi classes. I started collecting data in Changhua in April, with an overlapping of data collection sites until the end of April. All data were collected by the 18th of May 2016.

4.3.2 Main study – Participants

Accessing participants and ethics

My participants were approached by means of snowballing, through five main types of connections, using either emails, texts or Facebook messenger (Taipei), and a free of charge social media application, 'LINE' (Changhua). As Daighi teachers in Taipei and in Changhua were not in contact with each other, I accessed them separately. I will first describe how I found participants in Taipei, then how I found them in Changhua. I gained the Moray House Ethical Approval before my main study data collection began; thus, the consent forms they were given were approved.

The first type of connection was through my colleague from the University of Edinburgh. He had been a primary school teacher in Northern Taiwan, and kept in touch with his former colleagues. He introduced me through LINE to some of these who he knew would be suitable for my research. During my communication with them, I first introduced myself as a colleague of our mutual friend, then explained that my PhD looked at current Daighi teaching in Taipei, and asked whether they were interested in participating and at which school, and what grade(s) they were teaching.

Many of them were willing to help, but only one connection was suitable for my study. Another method was through the academic administrator whom I had worked with during my pilot study in June 2015 in Taipei. When I contacted him, he had left that school and was working for another one outside central Taipei. However, he introduced me to the school's current academic administrator. I met up with this school administrator on the second day of my return to Taiwan and explained the purpose of my research and my data collection procedure. He was supportive but wanted to make sure that I would not video record the classroom, and that I would send him and the teachers an abstract of my research to help improve and adjust their current Daighi teaching. He found the number of participants that I needed on the same day and I met up with all of them three days later to have the consent forms signed and arrange interviews and classroom observations.

The third type of connection consisted of asking neighbours. As my family were also helping me to find participants, my mother happened to bump into one of our neighbours who was a teacher in Taipei city centre primary school. My mother described my research and put us in touch. The teacher found two Daighi teachers for me, and they found another three participants from the same school. As I was still short of participants, I contacted the two teachers whom I had worked with for my pilot study in June 2015. This was my fourth type of connection. One of them replied, and put me in contact with two of his colleagues.

These methods did not work so easily in Changhua where I had limited connections. Fortunately, one of my cousins worked as a school administrator in one of the primary schools, and this was my fifth type of data collection method. Using her connections, she found eight teachers who were willing to participate.

Overview of participants

Participants' information matches the target participants discussed in relation to purposeful sampling (Chapter 4.1.4.1), with teachers in Taipei and Changhua city centre teaching P4 or P6 being recruited.

Table 3 Brief overview of my participants

	Taipei		Changhua	
	6 th grade	4 th grade	6 th grade	4 th grade
Number of participants	6 Ethan, Gloria, Henry, Richard, Sandra, Tracy	5 Anita, Beth, Claire, Doris, Frank	4 Jessica, Ivy, Nancy, Ofelia, Peter	4 (+1)* Jessica, Karen, Lucy, Mindy, Queenie
Gender	3 Female 3 Male	4 Female 1 Male	3 Female 1 Male	4 (+1) * Female
Age	48 51 54 62 62 71	28 39 31 36 37	56 53 57 64	55 30 59 50 58
Supplementary teacher (ST) or home teacher (HT)	6 ST	2 ST 3 HT	4 ST	4 (+1) ST
Mother tongues: Daighi (D) Taiwanese Mandarin (TM) Hakka (H)	6 D	3 D 1 TM 1 H	4 D	4 (+1) D
Language used in the interview with me, and the percentage of each language used ('+' indicates more, '-' indicates less)	3 90% + D 1 50% D 50% TM 2 30% - D 70% + TM	0 90% + D 0 50% D 50% TM 5 30% - D 70% + TM	2 90% + D 2 50% D 50% TM 0 30% - D 70% + TM	0 90% + D 0 50% D 50% TM 4 30% - D 70% + TM
Place interview conducted	Empty classroom	Empty classroom	Empty classroom	Empty classroom

*(+1) means only interview was conducted, without classroom observation

Interacting with participants

I had a welcoming experience when interacting with my participants. Perhaps their friendliness was motivated by the similar cultural background we shared; alternately they may have been encouraged by the interest shown in their work by academic researchers. For example, teachers were engaged and willing when sharing their thoughts and teaching experiences. In addition, many of them gave me gifts including textbooks for the years I was interested in, those from different companies, other teaching materials, their test papers, Changhua Daighi teachers' proposal to the local authority concerning current Daighi education, and Daighi self-learning material published by one of the teachers. Many teachers also invited me to join their Daighi teacher groups and seminars, and to attend their speech contexts. They were friendly and enthusiastic, most of them were highly supportive of my research, and some were willing to continue to work with me for the upcoming studies I plan to do.

4.3.3 Main study – Procedure and changes to it

The process of introducing my research to my participants and asking for their consent began with an explanation of who I was (a PhD student from the University of Edinburgh), my research interest – exploring the current Daighi teaching in the city they teach in, and my plan to interview Daighi teacher(s) and observe and audio record two of their classes. Thereafter, I asked them to sign the consent forms. Interviews were then arranged, to be conducted either during lunch break or class break or after school. The interviews lasted from 40 minutes to 2 and a half hours. Two classroom observations took place either consecutively or with a few weeks in between. A quick follow-up interview was scheduled right after the second classroom observation and lasted between 2 minutes and 40 minutes.

The data collection order changed four times. On the first occasion, I conducted the first 15 minutes of the interview and continued the rest after two classroom observations, with the follow-up interview taking place right afterwards. It was the tight data collection schedule and traffic that resulted in lack of time for conducting the first interview. The second occasion involved the same teacher, as a scheduled school event took place during my second classroom observation. As a result, I had to observe another class instead. This experience, however, enriched my data with knowledge of different classroom styles. The third occasion resulted from a

misunderstanding with one of the teachers. I then observed two classes before conducting both main and follow-up interviews. On the last occasion, I observed two additional classes in another primary school where one of the teachers worked. This also added richness to my data by exposing me to varied forms of the same teacher's teaching.

4.3.4 Main study – Challenges and limitations

Finding participants

It was not easy to find participants and I was lucky to have connections to help me. The reason was that, while most primary school websites provide email addresses, landline numbers and addresses as main contact points, it was uncertain whom I should contact and whether they would reply to me.

Snowballing, the sampling strategy I adopted, was risky because it does not guarantee an adequate number or variety of participants. Most of my participants were supplementary teachers, because these teachers were active in Daighi teaching communities, a connection which helped me to find a sufficient number of participants. On the other hand, home teachers did not seem to have such a community to join, so it was more difficult to access them.

Sample size

I had eleven participants from Taipei, six P6 teachers and five P4 teachers, and eight from Changhua, with four teachers from each grade. I found fewer participants from Chuanghua because it is a smaller city than Taipei (Changhua is 65.68km square, and Taipei is 271.7km square), and Daighi teachers were mostly supplementary teachers, most of whom participated in my study.

Transportation

Since my data were collected from two cities, travelling between them was expected. Transportation between two research sites was manageable, but at high cost. Public transport in Taipei city was convenient; thus, travelling between schools was not an issue. However, this was not the case in Changhua, where public transportation was

ill designed (i.e. no buses in the city centre). I was lucky that my grandfather was able to drive me to different research sites, even covering three schools in one day.

4.3.5 Main study – Changes to my research instruments during data collection

The following Tables 4 and 5 show the timeline of changes made. These changes are based on discussions with the teachers, or developed through my reflections.

Table 4 Timeline of changes made to interview questions – main study

	Interview
23 February 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Original design
14 March 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deleted one question about opinions of the changing government – repeated • Add – their own ranking of languages (Daighi / Taiwanese Mandarin / English / Others – if there are) and their perception of students' ranking of these languages
15 March 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Add in Hakka or other languages as reference to indigenous languages • Make it clear when I was referring to the mother tongue as the language of your ethnicity or the language that you use when I was referring to it • Separate the chart of teaching methods and attitudes on a different sheet of paper
18 March 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Put notes next to the question i.e. linking 4.c to 5.a.i.3 • Reorganize the order of questions in section 5 • Add two questions: 1) what attitudes do you think students have towards Daighi? 2) in your opinion, what is the influence of Daighi education on students' attitudes toward Daighi if there is any?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change 7.a. what influences are there... to if there are any influences... • Add a note (i.e. number of language classes) to the question: impact of simultaneous multilingual education on Daighi. • Add a note to question 4: link to teaching aim and teaching methods • Add a note to question 5: grading method
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Table 5 Timeline of changes made to classroom observation chart – main study

	Classroom observation
23 February 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom observation chart prepared for main data collection
24 March 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Add to the first page: class style • Add to the first page: classroom decorations • Add to the first page: classroom seat plan (including teacher's seat and mine), and teacher's interaction with children
4 April 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Add to the first page: Daighi usage • Add to the first page: Taiwanese Mandarin usage

4.4 Main Study – Data Analysis

4.4.1 Main Study – Transcription

All interview data were transcribed prior to the first cycle coding. For transcribing the interviews, I had a Taiwanese trilingual transcriber who is knowledgeable in Taiwanese Mandarin, Daighi and English. The principle of transcription was to be true to the data in order to convey natural utterances. For instance, the extracts reflect the ungrammatical and ill-structured quality of natural utterances. They also show the development of participants' thoughts and attitudes: a hesitation, for example, can

be interpreted as the person's awareness of the restrictions of the context when sharing his/her view.

4.4.2 Main Study – Translation

Translation, like transcription, is done on the principle of reflecting the nature of the language and its utterances. Only one complete interview was translated for discussion with my supervisors (see Appendix 9), and only the extracts used in this thesis were translated.

4.4.3 Main Study – Data analysis process

4.4.3.1 Data analysis process – First cycle coding

Although grounded theory is not the research framework of this study, I adopt the tool developed for grounded theory data analysis – the *constant comparative method* – proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), as an inductive approach with which to code my data. That is, I used sequential comparisons, which involved first developing a list of codes based on one interview, coding the next interview against the codes list, and adding those emerged codes to the existing list; and secondly, going through my data again and again to compare statements shared within the same interview, and with other interviews. The list consisted of (1) names of codes constructed, (2) summary of the extracts, (3) extracts and notes to indicate the individual teacher, and (4) page number of the transcripts that the extracts were taken from (see Appendix 9). After coding one third of the interviews, I started revisiting the codes and extracts, and grouped the codes into categories to develop themes. I also visited and revisited related theories and studies to redefine the analytic framework that best describes this research. This indicates that at this stage, I also engaged the deductive approach in addition to the inductive approach that I had used when coming up with the codes. As definitions of codes, categories and themes may differ from study to study, I discuss here the definition used for this research.

Coding

Saldana (2016) describes a code as 'a word or short phrases that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data' (p.4). Following the same concept, I used

short phrases such as summaries of the views of my participants or participants' words as codes. It is not that this process simply reduces, 'summarizes, distills, or condenses data' (Saldana, 2016:5); most importantly, 'this analytic process "value adds" to the research story rather than diminishes it' (Madden, 2010:10).

I also included the interview questions as part of the codes, in order to take account of the interview questions that the interviewees were responding to. It is essential to do so because all participants were asked the same semi-structured interview questions, so that using the interview questions as part of the data analysis enables further comparison of participants' views when discussing similar topics.

In the first cycle coding, I used the descriptive coding method (see Miles et al., 2014; Saldana, 2003; Wolcott, 1994), also known as 'topic coding' (see Richards, 2009). Tesch (1990) notes that 'these [codes developed] are identifications of the topic, not abbreviations of the content. The topic being what is talked or written about, and the content being the substance of the message' (p.119). Descriptive coding not only provides an 'essential groundwork for second cycle coding and further analysis and interpretation' (Wolcott, 1994:55). Its primary goal is also to 'assist the reader to see what you saw and to hear what you heard in general' (Wolcott, 1994:55, 412). As mentioned above, I either directly took the words of my participants, or used my own words to summarize what was shared. The codes then reflected my interpretation of what was being said, which provided an opportunity for readers to see my data through my analytic lens. Since that lens plays an important role in data analysis, my personal views, values, and biases that have an impact on my interpretation of the data are explained in the reflexivity section below.

Categories

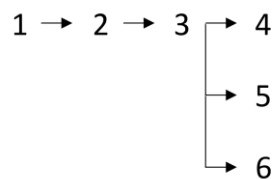
The categorizing process consists of grouping codes that share similar characteristics into 'families' or categories (Saldana, 2016:10). Lincoln and Guba (1985:347) also point out the importance of the researcher's analytic lens during this process, inasmuch as classification reasoning and personal tactics and intuition are involved when deciding which items are similar and are to be grouped together in the same category. Categorizing is then another process of condensing data, a step forward from the real raw data to an abstractive concept, and further development into themes.

Themes

'A theme can be an outcome of coding, categorization, or analytic reflection, but it is not something that is, in itself, coded' (Saldana, 2016:15). It is a phrase or sentence describing the generated codes or categories (words or phrases); a process with which to add the implicit meaning to the rather explicit codes or categories (Rossman and Rallies, 2003: 282; Saldana, 2016:16).

4.4.3.2 Data analysis process – Second to sixth cycle analysis

The interview transcription data have undergone six cycles of analysis. First cycle coding (1) – identifying themes that emerged from data (bottom-up) (see discussion in Chapter 4.4.3.1), and second cycle coding (2) – categorizing themes, linking themes to research questions, and assigning codes to themes (top-down). The third layer of analysis (3) – another thoroughly detailed analysis of all transcripts to match the bottom-up themes and top-down themes, and development of relevant sub-themes for organization of data.



A fourth layer of analysis (4) was conducted with a specific focus on attitudes toward Daighi and teaching practices for the findings chapters. This includes analysing interview data where teaching methods and goals were discussed, and matching them with classroom observation field-notes. The fifth layer (5) listed all the methods shared and observed by the teachers, and categorized them into: mentioned and achieved, employed but not mentioned, and mentioned but not employed. Analysis focusing on translanguaging was the sixth layer (6), as this was another important theme to emerge as the progressive data analysis took place. The focus of this analysis was on examples of official and natural translanguaging (see Chapter 3.4.1.3), and on understanding the functions of different languages used in class.

4.5 Reflexivity

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) emphasize how the researcher, as a data filter, makes sense of the data, and transforms the data into representations of different forms of the world he or she views. That is, the world we see in the research is itself a reflection of the researcher's lens. Not only can the role of the researcher not be underestimated; it is also important to *be* reflexive to unpack the researcher's lens (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). The researcher's lens is the one the researcher uses to see, analyse, and generate meanings from the data. The lens may consist of a philosophical stance, such as the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and theoretical beliefs, as well as beliefs at the personal level, such as 'personal, interpersonal, emotional, institutional, and pragmatic influences' (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003:415), or his or her own biases, values, and personal background including gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status (SES) (Creswell, 2014:187). My attempt to unpack the researcher's lens consists of explaining my role as the researcher in the field collecting data, my understanding of the situation, and my personal qualities such as background.

This study takes place in my country of origin, Taiwan. When investigating primary school Daighi education, I used the lens of my own understanding, according to which Daighi was often positioned within some discourses as a suppressed language, and was reported to be linked to lower social status (see Chen, 2010:97) and negative values (see Yeh, Chan and Chen, 2004:83). Building on such negative perceptions of Daighi, I was aware that to some Taiwanese, Daighi maintenance was a threat to the progress of globalization (upward mobility), and accordingly, it was argued, Daighi should not be listed as a mandatory subject (*China Times*, 22 October 2014). I kept in mind that the Daighi teachers I interviewed might hold different attitudes to Daighi. To minimize the potential impact the interview questions might have on them, when exploring their views in interviews I avoided statements that might show my own attitudes towards Daighi.

Moreover, as a member of the society I was investigating, I could draw on my personal background for resources to provide an in-group member perspective on the phenomena under investigation. I am also familiar with both cities of my research, as Taipei is the city where I received my education from nursery to bachelor's degree,

and Changhua is the city where I was born, where I visit often and where my close family members live. The experience of studying in Primary School A not only gave me easier access to this research site; it also equipped me with the knowledge to interpret from the insider's standpoint the data for this and other primary schools in Taiwan.

Being an insider can be an advantage, but it also places limitations on the data I collect, and here I list three: (1) My Daighi ability allows me to communicate with interviewees but not to conduct the entire interview. As a result, the interview code was Taiwanese Mandarin, although switching between Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi was possible if my interviewee preferred. The limitation is that using Taiwanese Mandarin may be perceived as support for the idea that Taiwanese Mandarin, rather than Daighi, is the language to use in formal domains such as that of academic research. (2) I refer to the language by its name in Taiwanese Mandarin – 'Taiyu', the word commonly used to refer to this language in public (Zhong, 2002:2; Hsiao, 1997), or 'Minnanyu', the name used in teaching materials, to be consistent with the interview code, and to avoid signalling this language by using 'Daighi'. However, using the name 'Taiyu', or not referring to it by other names (i.e. Holo, Hokkian, Taiwanese, and many others) may present a predominant view of Daighi as the 'language of Taiwan'. This view could be perceived as a bias towards nationalism, in turn potentially affecting which thoughts the participants share with me. (3) The fact that this research is carried out in English and based in Edinburgh, UK, is presented in the consent forms. This should be taken into consideration because, compared to Daighi, English is viewed as positively linked with 'globalization', hence providing access to power and economic advancement. My role may again impact on interviewees' responses.

4.6 Validity and reliability

To ensure the quality of this study, I measured it through the lenses of validity and reliability. Although Morse *et al.* (2002) argue that 'reliability and validity are terms pertaining to the quantitative paradigm and are not pertinent to qualitative inquiry' (p.14; see also Altheide and Johnson, 1998; Leininger, 1994), I explain how these measurements can also apply to qualitative research.

To evaluate validity in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose the term 'trustworthiness', which has four components: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. However, this has been criticized as confusing (Dornyei, 2007; Morrow, 2005), as these criteria are seen to correspond to quantitative measurements, as follows: '*Credibility*, or the "true value" of a study, which is the qualitative counterpart of "internal validity"; *Transferability*, or the "applicability" of the results to other contexts, which is the qualitative counterpart of "external validity"; *Dependability*, or the "consistency" of the findings, which is the qualitative counterpart of "reliability"; and *Confirmability*, or the neutrality of the findings, which is the qualitative counterpart of "objectivity"' (Dornyei, 2007:57). Even though the 'trustworthiness' test is criticized as providing 'parallel criteria' to those of quantitative research (Dornyei, 2007: 57), they pose an important core issue in analysing the validation of a qualitative study, namely: 'How can an inquirer persuade his or her audience (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 290).

Peer checking is the strategy proposed by Dornyei (2007). This procedure can 'involve asking a colleague to perform some aspects of the researcher's role – usually developing or testing some coding scheme, but they can also involve performing other activities such as carrying out an observation task – and then comparing the correspondence between the two sets of outcomes' (Dornyei, 2007:61). *Peer checking* interview codes was adopted to enhance the validity of this study. Before finishing the first cycle coding of my interviews, I consulted a Taiwanese colleague who also conducted his research in Moray House School of Education and Sports. I first explained my coding system, then asked him to code a randomly picked interview without giving him the codes I had generated. After coding 70% of the interview, we compared his codes with mine. The codes overlapped substantially, which is evidence that assures the validity of this qualitative research.

By another criterion, a study is considered reliable when 'the same results would be obtained if the study were replicated' (Morse and Richards, 2002:168). To be more specific, 'if the same instrument were given to the same people, under the same circumstances, but at a different time, to what extent would they get the same scores?' (Punch and Oancea, 2014:296 on *stability*). As this qualitative research is highly subjective, stressing the co-construction of knowledge and reality, perhaps it would

require the exact same researcher, holding the same personal background and worldview, to replicate the same result. Also, as this research considers attitudes to be constantly evolving, it is expected that perceptions may change over time. So this study would be considered unreliable according to a reliability measurement taken from the quantitative approach. However, reliability can still be achieved here by 'carefully documenting and reporting the details of the observation procedure, and by including a rich description of the participants, the situation, and the researcher's role in the observation process and his or her theoretical perspective' (Bachman, 2004:726), all of which is provided in the data collection, data analysis, researcher's reflective diary, and reflexivity sections of this chapter.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the research questions of this study, which led to the discussion and justification of the methodology, research instruments and approach used to answer the research questions. These include the research design – qualitative research, epistemology – interpretivist, and ontology – social constructivist, as well as the data collection tools – non-directed active interview and unobtrusive classroom observation. I also presented the pilot study and the rationale behind the changes to the research questions and research instruments following that study. A discussion of the main study followed, in which I explained how the main study was carried out, including recruitment of participants, the data collection procedure, and changes made over the course of data collection. The data analysis section helped to elucidate the generation of data for the next Findings chapter. Another important section in this chapter concerns reflexivity, in relation to which the researcher's stance was discussed. This was crucial in terms of understanding the worldview and perspective of the researcher. This chapter concluded with a discussion of validity and reliability, to explain how these measures were achieved to enhance the quality of this study.

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Chapter 5 Findings One – Current Daighi situation

As discussed in Chapter 4.4, this study employed Grounded Theory's open coding approach to analyse the data. The themes that emerged were organized into a storyline to help in understanding this study. They are divided into three chapters: to provide, firstly, a perceived understanding of the current situation of Daighi education (the present chapter – Chapter 5), then to focus on teachers' perceived approaches to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi (Chapter 6), and to examine teachers' perceived and actual classroom pedagogical practices (Chapter 7). The themes introduced in this first findings chapter are: shifting the stigmatization or neutral status of Daighi, the new negative attitudes to Daighi, and outcomes of the new negative attitudes to Daighi. To frame this section in the language policy framework, language policy is viewed as discourse (see Chapter 1.3).

5.1 Shifting stigmatization or neutral status of Daighi

As discussed in Chapter 2.2.2, Daighi is positioned at the lowest level in the post-1980 Taiwanese linguistic hierarchy (Hong, 2002), and is also stigmatized (see Van den Berg, 1988; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004). Interestingly, the findings suggest an alternative: to students, Daighi is less, or no longer, stigmatized; however, a new form of negative attitudes toward Daighi has developed, in which Daighi is perceived by stakeholders as a less important language. For example, many Daighi teachers within this study perceived Daighi and other non-mainstream languages as less important than Taiwanese Mandarin and English. In what follows, I draw on data to illustrate the findings.

5.1.1 Shifting attitudes to Daighi

When asked about teachers' perception of students' attitudes to Daighi, 6 out of 20 teachers (4 from Taipei and 2 from Changhua) reported that it has improved. The following extract from a supplementary Primary Teacher P4 (Taipei) reflects this pattern:

'Judging from students' reaction, it's not common for them to perceive Daighi speakers to be coming from lower social class or to be less educated. In my opinion it's much less of a case.' (Frank.TP4.6.b.8)¹⁵

Henry, a supplementary P6 teacher (Taipei) also illustrated this point, with emphasis on the influence of family:

'...a minority (of students) share such attitude, although there are still some, but less than 5 per class. They are the minority. This concept may partially come from their family, since everyone has a different family background.' (Henry.TP6.6.b.10)

In Changhua, the teachers shared a similar perception:

'At the beginning they thought that; they look down on this [language], on this course, but it is different now. Now they feel that they cannot be an insider [if they don't speak the language]. When others are laughing, s/he doesn't know what they are laughing at, s/he doesn't know what to do.' (Ivy.CP6.6.a.9)

One of the clear messages Teacher Ivy pointed out was the shifting position of Daighi, in that it had been devalued but this was no longer the case. Daighi as the target language of the class may promote the perceived status of Daighi, and the ability to speak and understand Daighi was valued by her students. Moreover, seven Daighi teachers believed that their students did not hold negative attitudes to Daighi at all, and one of them, who teaches in Changhua, stated that Daighi is never stigmatized:

Researcher: Do you think students have attitudes, perhaps as in earlier days, that associate Daighi speakers with negative characteristics?

Jessica: I don't think so.

Researcher: They don't nowadays; do you think it is a result of them having Daighi education?

Jessica: Not really; we don't think Daighi speakers are **low** (in terms of social class), not at all.

Researcher: It is never the case?

Jessica: It is never the case.

(Jessica.CP4.6.b.9/10)

¹⁵ The fonts of the extracts differ based on the language teachers use. *Daighi is in Italics and underlined*, Taiwanese Mandarin in normal font, **English in Bold**, Japanese with straight underline, and Italian or other languages with dotted underline.

Another teacher argued that her students not only reject negative attitudes to Daighi; they also perceive Daighi as a beautiful language:

'No no, take the P1 and P2 students for example ... they already know that Daighi is not like that (stigmatized), they know that Daighi is beautiful.'
(Ofelia.CP6.6.b.6/7)

Teacher Ofelia's positive perception of the improved attitudes to Daighi reflected, in her opinion, the positive impact of Daighi education. These two views are worth noting since they contradict not only the literature which maintains that Daighi is stigmatized (see Van den Berg, 1988; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004), but also the collective view of other teachers in this study that Daighi had formerly been stigmatized but that this was less the case today.

On the other hand, a contrasting voice on the use of Daighi for negative expressions was found. Four out of twenty Daighi teachers believed it to be a form of Daighi stigma. One supplementary teacher from Changhua reported:

'...it [Daighi] is a low language, those who are highly educated speak National Language and English, *and Daighi*, seems like in general, to tell the truth, *in the past* you see quite often that members of Democratic Progressive Party *swear in Daighi on TV, and subconsciously the general perception of Daighi became* like this (stigmatized).' (Queenie.CP4.6.b.12)

This use of languages was linked by the teachers to the diglossic feature of the Taiwanese-speaking community, with Daighi being a Low language to express mainly offensive expressions, and Taiwanese Mandarin being for daily communication, a view that reflected the findings of Lee (2009) cited in Chapter 2.3.2.6. However, Teacher Tracy suggested that this practice did not indicate students' negative attitudes to Daighi. She said 'students use Daighi swear words not because they hold negative attitudes to Daighi, but because of their family background: *that their parents swear in Daighi but they don't mean it*. They just use it as a pet phrase' (Tracy.TP6.6.b.19/20). Teacher Karen also said 'students do swear in Daighi sometimes ... but they don't really know what those words mean. They also find it interesting because teachers react strongly when they say it' (Karen.CP4.6.b.8). Swearing in Daighi, to these teachers, was then a 'positive' occurrence, given that

such linguistic behaviour is not linked with stigmatization of Daighi. These views suggest a generally improved attitude of students to Daighi.

5.1.2 Impact of Daighi education

Eleven out of twenty teachers reported the positive impact of Daighi education in terms of improving attitudes to Daighi. The beliefs ranged from high impact (4 teachers), to milder impact (3 teachers), to better than nothing impact (4 teachers). One aspect worth noting is that seven out of these eleven teachers were teaching in Taipei, and only three in Changhua. This can be a result of the fact, as observed by Jessica, above, that Daighi has never been stigmatized in Changhua. That is, if Daighi has been less stigmatized in Changhua from the outset, then arguably, the improvement of attitudes to Daighi would be significantly smaller. A high impact example was given by Teacher Henry:

'It definitely makes a difference! According to my understanding, the Taiwanese society, (the situation of) our mother tongue is the worst. It applies not only to Daighi, but also to Hakka and Austronesian languages. The worst situation is of those who were born between 1981 and 1990, because those who were born in 1991 and after receive Daighi education and are gradually improving ... But truly, those born between 1981 and 1990 are the weakest at Daighi, so formalizing Daighi education really makes a difference.'
(Henry.TP6.6.d.10)

Henry strongly suggested that formalizing Daighi education had a positive impact on the promotion of Daighi's status. Teacher Frank, on the other hand, expressed a conservative but still positive view regarding the impact of formalizing Daighi education:

'...even though there is only one class (per week), it still has its ... its effect. I believe there still is [an effect]. If there are no Daighi classes at all, then there is really no [positive] effect at all [in terms of promoting positive attitudes].'
(Frank.TP4.6.d.14)

In sum, the collective view supports the positive impact of formalizing Daighi education, in terms of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi, or overcoming the stigma that had been associated with Daighi. Teachers rationalized the impact as stemming from Daighi education, inasmuch as Daighi is promoted as a mandatory subject, and students learn to appreciate and to develop an interest in Daighi through finding out

more about it and improving their Daighi skills. However, as discussed in Chapter 2.3.2, the Local-Language-in-Education Policy that allocates four to five times more hours to Taiwanese Mandarin and English than to Daighi may contribute to the growth of new negative attitudes to Daighi.

5.2 The new negative attitudes to Daighi

The findings suggest an interesting shift regarding current attitudes to Daighi. Nineteen out of 20 teachers, with only one teacher declining to comment, reported that nowadays, the stakeholders – students, parents, and even some of the teachers themselves – regard Daighi as the least important language subject compared to Taiwanese Mandarin (the medium of education) and English. The status of Daighi as unimportant is considered one of the ‘new negative attitudes’ in this study.

This is evident from the responses to the interview question: how would you and your students rank the three languages based on their importance – Daighi or your ethnic mother tongue, National Language and English? All the teachers perceived their students as ranking Daighi the lowest, with either National Language or English being the most important language, or the latter two being equally important. To rationalize how students’ negative attitudes were formed, the perceived attitudes of parents are discussed, since teachers identified parents as an influential factor in this area.

5.2.1 Parents’ influence

As many as seventeen of the nineteen teachers stressed the point that parents’ attitudes have an impact on students’ views; of these, thirteen teachers reported that parents disregard the importance of Daighi. For instance, ‘If parents think: what is the point learning Minnanyu¹⁶? this will have an impact on students. So, in classes, students think: my mom says it’s useless to learn Minnanyu; why do I have to pay attention (in class)?’ (Anita.TP4.5.a.iii.17). Also, parents were perceived as having low expectations of Daighi learning outcomes:

‘They really don’t care about performing well in Daighi. This example is not from this class. I asked some parents before ... the parents were

¹⁶ The name Daighi is referred to in the National Curriculum.

straightforward; they said: teacher, we don't speak Daighi at home, and our child can only learn however much they can learn. It doesn't matter, and you don't have to have special requirements for them ... actually after that experience, I realize how much impact parents have on their children in terms of their learning motivation. If their parents' attitudes are like this, no wonder my students tell me: teacher, I have absolutely no time to learn this. Even though they know that they have Daighi exams the day after ...' (Doris.TP4.7.a/b+additional.8).

Moreover, according to Teacher Lucy, parents were also against their children being engaged in Daighi learning and spending extra hours working on Daighi assignments outside the classroom. Some teachers even reported that parents went on to ask: is it necessary to learn Daighi? As shown, parents act as an influential mediator on students' attitudes, which in turn shapes teachers' practices. In addition to these perceptions of parents' unsupportive attitudes to Daighi education, another influential mediator worth discussing is teachers' attitudes.

5.2.2 Teachers' attitudes to Daighi

On the teachers' side, almost half of the Daighi teachers shared the same view as their students, that Daighi is not as important as the mainstream languages. Contextually, this is an important point because teachers' attitudes to Daighi are mediators that further shape their teaching. For instance, less effort will be put into teaching Daighi if that language is regarded as less important.

Daighi is the most important language

As mentioned above, almost half of the teachers hold new negative attitudes to Daighi, in common with their students and the latter's parents. However, six of the teachers emphasized the importance of Daighi, either in the sense that it is an important language, or in the sense that it should be promoted as an important language. Teacher Sandra reflected on Daighi as an important language, and on the value of Daighi:

Researcher: So, the last one is, in your opinion, based on the importance of languages. How would you rank Daighi, National Language and English? What do you think?

Sandra: You mean me? Of course I think Daighi is more important, because after all Daighi is a language of Taiwan; it's an original language. Once you lose it, no one else can help you to save it! It's true! Other languages have other characteristics. For Daighi, you can say Daighi also exists in Mainland China ah.

But it is not the same Daighi ah. Because we here *mix it with* Japanese, Dutch, English, French, mixed with (languages of) many countries, and that makes our language. If you go to Mainland China, they don't have these. They might not understand what you say, and between us, only a certain proportion is shared, not the rest. Isn't it a pity if you throw away something [referring to Daighi] so valuable? (Sandra.TP6.7.c.18)

Teacher Sandra expressed a strong opinion on the value of Daighi, by using expressions such as 'of course' and 'it's true', and explaining her personal attachment to Daighi. The first reason she gave was that Daighi is the language of Taiwan. This status showed the link between Daighi and Taiwanese identity, which is valuable to her as she identifies herself as Taiwanese. She also stated that Daighi is valuable because of its uniqueness, being a mixture of many languages and cultures. She concluded by showing a sense of regret over the possibility of Daighi disappearing. She appeared as an enthusiastic Daighi maintenance supporter. Teacher Ofelia also had reasons for prioritizing Daighi: 'Of course I prioritize Daighi more than National Language. Because we have to save Daighi; of course we have to save it' (Ofelia.CP6.7.c.12). The threatened status of Daighi is once again emphasized.

All languages are equal

Albeit probing in a biased way by asking: how would you rank the languages, based on their importance, among Daighi, Taiwanese Mandarin and English? – the question implying that these languages are to be ranked and are not equal – nevertheless, five teachers emphasized language equality and ranked them all the same.

'Importance, of course what's the most important now is they should all be of the same importance ah. Because English is the world language, and this is mother tongue, and if you call National Language Peking Language, as Chinese call it Putong Hua, ah Putong Hua it's because there are many of them, so even (A-Do-Ah) Westerners are learning Mandarin, yeah.' (Ethan.TP6.7.c.9)

Teacher Ethan stated clearly that in his opinion, all these languages were equal. To support his statement, he gave one reason for each language, and Daighi was considered important because it is an ethnic mother tongue. The fact that Ethan gave no further explanation showed the high status of a mother tongue. Other teachers who also believed that 'all languages are equal' supported simultaneous language learning, but with similar subject hours allocated.

Daighi is not the most important language

Controversially, as many as four teachers ranked Daighi as the least important language among the three options. In line with parents' view discussed above (Chapter 5.2.1), Claire asked:

'Of course I hope Daighi can be maintained, but I am wondering is it necessary haha, I feel like it's not necessary...in Taipei there is no need to use Daighi, unless you need to communicate with your grandparents...I sincerely think what they learn in Daighi classes is not at all relevant to students' daily lives' (Claire.TP4.add.3/4.b.8/6.b.10)

Claire, who teaches in Taipei, questioned the necessity of learning Daighi, due to the lack of Daighi environment in Taipei she acknowledged. In Changhua, on the other hand, teachers also question the necessity of learning Daighi, but for a very different reason:

'I think, this is a language that we use on daily basis, I sometimes question: is there a need to spend a class per week to learn it?' (Nancy.CP6.6.b.8)

According to Nancy, Daighi is already a language in her and students' daily lives, and her students' Daighi proficiency is higher than the level of the textbooks, thus she perceives learning Daighi in classroom settings as unnecessary. It is interesting that Teacher Nancy does not question the necessity of learning students' actual mother tongue – Taiwanese Mandarin, which they are doubtlessly proficient in. The fact that she ranked Taiwanese Mandarin as the most important language among others indicates that learning Taiwanese Mandarin is a priority. Having shared this negative view towards Daighi, Nancy expressed a sense of guilt:

'Still, I think National Language [is the most important language], then English, Daighi, hahaha, what to do? Even I [as Daighi teacher] think this way.' (Nancy.CP6.7.c.10)

Teacher Nancy hesitated when sharing her rankings, and showed her ideological conflict over the fact that, as a Daighi teacher herself, she considered Daighi the least important. She may not be the only teacher holding such conflicting thoughts. The fact that no other teachers explained their ranking can be interpreted as suggesting that perhaps they themselves were not entirely comfortable about revealing their negative attitudes to Daighi. Also, in line with parents' negative views, Teacher Claire's

question as to whether or not Mother Tongue Education should be implemented, and the view that learning Daighi was unnecessary, may have revealed another aspect of negative attitudes to Daighi education.

On a more positive note, although Daighi is not ranked as the most important language, neither is it the least important. Five teachers ranked Daighi above English. In their understanding, Taiwanese Mandarin is the National Language; thus it was the most important language in Taiwan. English, on the other hand, is not one of the languages spoken in any Taiwanese speech community; thus it is less important:

'Importance oh, I think here we, in our environment, in our day-to-day life, it is **OK** to use National Language and Daighi. Because English, to us we don't have much chance to use it.' (Jessica.CP4.7.c.11)

Jessica reported that English was not needed on a daily basis. Teacher Ivy also elaborated on this point: 'In terms of day-to-day life, Daighi is the most advantageous mah. But adults nowadays don't create linguistic advantages for children ah. They can't be bothered to emphasize this language [Daighi]. Or why would you spend so much money to get extra education for English? It's because you think English is important, but in reality, there's no English-speaking environment' (Ivy.CP6.7.a/b.10). According to these teachers, English was ranked the lowest based on usefulness of the language in the society. Teacher Karen, however, has a different reason for her ranking:

'Ranking oh, I still think National Language is the most important, since after all it is, in terms of usage anyway, the main language. After that, I think one has to know Daighi, because that is their most fundamental language. If you don't know the language, then there's nothing more to say. Lastly, English, yeah. Even though we should emphasize internationality lah, but I think if you don't start with focusing on yourself, what's the point talking about internationalism?' (Karen.CP6.7.c.11)

Karen based her rankings on the perceived function of each language. National Language is the Taiwanese Mandarin; it is the language used in most domains. Daighi, the ethnic mother tongue, represents learners' identity and their roots. English, however, is perceived as the link to internationalism, which reflects Graddol's (2006) findings (see Chapter 2.3.2.2). She agreed with this perception and its significance, but argued that one should know oneself first before connecting to the outside world.

Contrary to the low ranking of English, one of the teachers ranked English higher than Daighi, and Taiwanese Mandarin as the lowest. She strongly believed that English should be prioritized for its future prospects: 'To be honest, it's a matter of reality. If I rank [the languages] based on their future prospects, of course I rank English the highest. It is realistic; if I base my stand on [the view] *if my child asks me*, of course when you need to *look for jobs* maybe I rank English as number one' (Queenie.CP4.7.c.13). Teacher Queenie displayed a strong belief that English was the most important language among them all. 'Take you for example, your current education, you may think *it's OK to not be able to speak Daighi*. On the other hand, once you went abroad, you have to speak English, it's obligatory. This is a matter of reality' (Queenie.CP4.48.6.b.12). Her belief in prioritizing English may contradict the beliefs of the other four teachers, for whom Taiwanese Mandarin is more important, but all perceive Daighi as not the most important language.

In sum, to most Daighi teachers within this study, Daighi is not an important language compared to Taiwanese Mandarin and English. This finding is crucial as it enables the researcher and readers to rationalize the motivation behind the teachers' teaching, which is the focus of the next two chapters.

5.3 Outcomes of the low-importance status of Daighi

As teaching is an action responding to problematic situations (Biesta and Tedder, 2006:11; Biesta *et al.*, 2015; see also Chapter 3.2), it is important to understand students' qualities in relation to Daighi, which is a major part of the 'situation'. The two main consequences for students of the new negative attitudes to Daighi are perceived lack of motivation to learn, and perceived weak Daighi proficiency. In this section, I first draw on Daighi teachers' understanding that students had no option but to choose Daighi as their mother tongue. I then identify four perceived reasons that contributed to the decision to learn Daighi, and conclude that even though Daighi was chosen, lack of learning motivation could be one of the major limitations on Daighi maintenance. Another consequence of the new negative attitudes to Daighi is students' weak Daighi proficiency. In this next section, I explain Daighi teachers' perceptions of their students' Daighi proficiency, and how this was regarded as an obstacle to their Daighi teaching. I conclude this section by explaining how these two key outcomes of new negative attitudes to Daighi – students' passive learning

attitudes and their weak Daighi competence – form the contextual background of the teachers' work.

5.3.1 Perceived passive learning attitudes

The third section of my interview asked for teachers' perceptions of students' motivations (see Appendix 7 for interview questions), and the collective view was that 'students are passive' (Queenie.CP4.3.4). Many of the participating Daighi teachers shared that they had got that impression by directly asking their students about it when they were filling out the Mother Tongue Selection Form (see Appendix 4). Only two teachers reported having any students who were keen, and then it was only 1 or 2, while the majority were ignorant, or had no say in choosing which language to learn.

Three main decision makers

The three main perceived decision makers are: parents, school, and peers, none of these being the students themselves. As many as five teachers (four from Taipei and one from Changhua) reported that parents were 'the decision maker': 'students *they all listen to their parents, that's the most common*' (R.TP6.3.16). In other words, students did not make the decision on what they were to learn.

Not only were parents' voices prominent in choosing which local or indigenous language to learn, schools also played an important role in decision making. For example, students were not given an option as to which language they wished to learn, because schools could only provide certain language classes due to lack of resources or other needs. As many as fifteen teachers made this point, among whom twelve were from Changhua. For example, Teacher Ofelia reported that her school only provided Daighi for the local language class. The fact that students were given no options made it challenging to identify their motivation for choosing Daighi as their mother tongue.

The third and last decision maker identified was 'peers'. While Teacher Frank was listing his students' motivations for choosing Daighi, he added peer pressure, saying: 'Perhaps their parents didn't encourage them, and they don't know what they want to learn; they choose what everyone else chooses, there are some like this' (Frank.TP4.6.a.7). To conclude, learning Daighi was not perceived as a self-

motivated decision, which reflected the passive learning attitudes widely observed by the Daighi teachers.

The four rationales for choosing Daighi

Whoever made the decision to learn Daighi, these students ended up learning it rather than Hakka or Austronesian languages. Four reasons for choosing Daighi were identified: (1) ethnic background, (2) its status as the second lingua franca in Taiwan, (3) ease of acquisition and better expected exam performance, and (4) the need to hide one's ethnicity.

Three of the four reasons identified reflected the same core feature of Daighi – the fact that it is the mother tongue of 73.3% of Taiwanese today (Chen, 2010:82; Scott and Tiun, 2007:54; Liu, 2012:109), and is still used in public among middle-aged and older generations (see Chapter 1.1). These features may result in students not necessarily being proficient in Daighi, but receiving more input in Daighi than in other local or indigenous languages. Therefore, seven Daighi teachers in the study reported that rationale (1), ethnic background, is the main driver of Daighi learning:

'Daighi is the mother tongue of the majority of the parents, so they want their children to learn Daighi. To those who are not from Daighi ethnic family, they [the parents] want, since Daighi is the majority language second to National Language, they want their children to know this language. Therefore, some of the Hakka families, or maybe Waishenren¹⁷ families, even though they have not been exposed to Daighi environment, they choose to learn Daighi ...'
(Doris.TP4.3.2)

As stressed by Teacher Doris, not only was Daighi the ethnic mother tongue of the majority; students from other ethnic backgrounds also selected Daighi because it was a dominant second language in Taiwan. This second reason leads to discussion of the second rationale for choosing Daighi – (2) its status as the second lingua franca in Taiwan. Teacher Henry further explained this rationale:

¹⁷ Referring to those mainlanders who retreated to Taiwan after the civil war in China between Communists (P.R.O.C) and Republicans (KMT).

'In Taiwan, the citizens for example, when I interact with others, if I don't use the National Language, the second common language is Minnanyu¹⁸. It is counted as the most common language second to National Language. In Taiwan, Taiyu¹⁹ is even more useful than English. Even though English is (the key to internationality), in Taiwan, its status cannot exceed Taiyu, despite the fact that school promotes it, and many cram schools teach it. In terms of practicality, *taking from the perspective of practicality*, many parents think that this (Daighi) is more practical, and they have impact on their children, and ask them to learn Taiyu.' (Henry.TP6.3.4)

To Henry, Daighi, as the second lingua franca, was more useful than English in the Taiwanese multilingual community. Thirdly, due to the greater amount of Daighi input in general, especially in Changhua, Daighi was perceived as easier to acquire, so that the expected academic performance in Daighi was perceived as better. The following accounts exemplify both rationales:

'Familiarity [of Daighi] perhaps, because like Hakka, they [the students] maybe have no clue [what it is like]. Take Changhua for example, it is like this. Even if they [the students] cannot speak well, 80 percent of the students have no problem understanding it through listening ... motivation-wise, their motivation is, to be honest, haha, in all honesty, it is for the grades, at least this is the case for now ... because Hakka for them is much more difficult ...' (Karen.CP4.3.2/6.a.8)

In Karen's understanding, students' Daighi proficiency was well above their proficiency in Hakka and Austronesian languages. Therefore, for them, (3) learning Daighi required less effort. Also, because they were better at Daighi, they could perhaps perform better in the Daighi exams. Another interesting rationale that was identified was related to discrimination. One of the reasons listed by Lucy for choosing Daighi was (4) hiding one's ethnicity:

'First, whatever parents decide; second, I understand some Minnanyu; and third, I don't want others to know that I am aboriginal. Yes, there really are children who don't want others to know that they are aboriginals ...' (Lucy.CP4.6.a.7)

¹⁸ Note that most teachers refer to Daighi as Minnanyu because that is what Daighi is called by the MOE; see Research Context chapter.

¹⁹ Referring to Daighi, the name as pronounced in Taiwanese Mandarin; see Research Context chapter.

Lucy was the only teacher who raised the issue of discrimination. She explained that the non-Minnan ethnic students were singled out to her by other students in her class, and she rationalized these non-Minnan ethnic students' choice of learning Daighi as a means of converging with the majority (see Gile's accommodation theory, Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977).

Whichever rationale students followed in choosing Daighi, they were not motivated, as reported by the Daighi teachers. Their passive learning attitudes to Daighi may also have had an impact on their proficiency in it.

5.3.2 Teachers' perceptions of students' Daighi proficiency

The collective perception of Daighi teachers within this study is that their students' Daighi proficiency is weak. We should bear in mind, however, that the teachers may apply different standards in making their judgments. For example, those teaching in Changhua may have higher expectations, as Daighi is more vibrant in the speaking environment there than in Taipei.

In terms of reporting perceptions of students' Daighi proficiency, geographical difference played a role. Teachers who taught in Taipei perceived their students as unable to communicate in Daighi; whereas in Changhua, the general perception was that, while students' Daighi proficiency was good, they were unable to follow in classes if taught only in Daighi. I illustrate this point below, by drawing on the view of one Taipei teacher, Teacher Anita, and one Changhua teacher, Teacher Karen:

Anita: Oral exam?

Researcher: Do you only ask them to recite textbooks?

Anita: Recite textbooks, memorize textbooks. Sometimes they [sic] like I always emphasize that when they answer questions, for those I taught before, they need to reply using Minnanyu. Every time they recite I emphasize this. Actually, in the North, [students'] ability in Minnanyu is worse [than South]. They can't speak [Minnanyu]. So, if you ask them to speak Minnanyu to me or something, they actually can't say more than three sentences. In that case, it's better to memorize the textbook well. If they know the vocabulary or phrases appearing in textbooks, at least they learn something, not nothing.

(Anita.TP4.post.1)

Two key points are worth noting. In Anita's understanding, firstly, students were not capable of conversing in Daighi. Because of this, her exam method was restricted to

reciting or memorizing textbook contents. Secondly, she perceived that students in the North were weaker in Daighi, which reflected the findings of Census 2010 on dominant languages in different cities.

Karen, also a fourth-grade teacher in Changhua, reported that, on the one hand, she perceived students to be very good at Daighi, as her students often chatted with her in Daighi with no difficulty during break time. Even so, she reported that they would not understand her if she used only Daighi to teach, and those competent students could not speak Daighi when she asked them to present on the stage. What we can conclude from Karen's reflection is that, although her students were capable of using Daighi comfortably for their own purposes, it might not be the same when they talked about textbook content.

The overall perception of students' Daighi proficiency was that it was weak, and the passive learning attitudes identified above were not beneficial in terms of improving their Daighi skills. These were found to be the contextual issues that Daighi teachers need to find solutions to, in order to promote students' positive attitudes to Daighi.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the current situation of Daighi and finding that it was no longer stigmatized by students. However, a new negative attitude to Daighi – that Daighi is not an important language – was observed. The impact of this new negative attitude contributed to students' passivity towards learning Daighi; in addition, their Daighi proficiency was weak. These findings form the contextual background of the next chapter's discussion, on teachers' perceived teaching practices in promoting positive attitudes to Daighi.

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Chapter 6 Findings Two – Teaching objectives and technique

As this study views the promotion of positive language attitudes as a co-construction process by two or more parties, to understand these attitudes from one party's side, this chapter focuses on exploring teachers' positive attitudes to Daighi. For example, to teachers, Daighi is a beautiful language that preserves our ancestors' wisdom. Thereafter, I discuss the three directions developed from approaches shared by the teachers to co-construct these positive attitudes with students. The three directions are – (1) improving knowledge of Daighi, mother tongue, and multilingualism, (2) improving students' ability in Daighi, and (3) increasing their interest in learning it. To understand how teaching along these three directions takes place in a multilingual classroom, the third focus of this chapter employs the approach of translanguaging as pedagogy when visualizing the teaching techniques.

6.1 Teachers' shared positive attitudes to Daighi

The emerged positive attitudes held by teachers are categorized into six themes: a. Daighi is a beautiful language; b. Daighi preserves ancestors' wisdom, Taiwanese tradition and culture; c. Daighi is 'your' identity; d. Daighi is the key to connecting with grandparents; e. Daighi is a useful communication tool; and f. Daighi is a hard language.

a. Daighi is a beautiful language

As many as five teachers emphasized that Daighi is a beautiful and elegant language, a belief exemplified well in this extract:

Researcher: Will they [students] use Daighi as a language for negative expressions?

Ofelia: No, never in front of me, no. I tell them: you have to pay attention; our Daighi is actually very pretty

Researcher: So, give them some, many positive inputs about Daighi, to expose them to other aspects of Daighi.

Ofelia: Yes, if they think this way [Daighi as a language for offensive expressions], that is because they are polluted by misunderstandings of Daighi. But Daighi does contain many beautiful aspects; just take these idioms for example. These idioms and others. Yeah, there are many positive sides; these [idioms] also have stories behind them, and I try to tell them [students] as many

as possible, since we are limited by time. I try really hard, *working hard at teaching them*²⁰.
(Ofelia.CP6.6.b.6)

Ofelia is a dedicated supplementary teacher, and Daighi is her mother tongue. Ofelia's enthusiasm is reflected in this extract, showing that she viewed Daighi as a beautiful language in many aspects, and wanted her students to share this view. Teacher Lucy also viewed Daighi as an elegant language. To share this perception with her students, Lucy 'started [the class] with some music, elegant music, such as orchestra, piano solo, doesn't need to have lyrics' (Lucy.CP4.6.c.8).

b. Daighi preserves ancestors' wisdom, Taiwanese traditions and culture

Teacher Ofelia stressed this perceived aspect of Daighi when discussing the promotion of attitudes to the language. She gave an example of how Taiwanese ancestors' accurate observations were reflected in descriptions of seasons in Daighi, and argued that this feature differed from those of Taiwanese Mandarin:

Ofelia: I want them to think that Daighi is beautiful, *Daighi is beautiful; Daighi is knowledgeable. It is a beautiful and knowledgeable language; it is deep, and preserves treasures from our ancestors. They say one sentence, but why do they say it this way? There are reasons behind it. In the past, with one sentence you can describe the whole season; it is completely different from the sayings in our National Language. In ancient times there were no technologies like we have today; how did they manage to put it so well and accurately? For each solar term, there exists an idiom ... I use these opportunities to tell them that Daighi is not for offensive expressions, absolutely not.*

Researcher: En, change their attitudes

Ofelia: Yes, that is very important. Children need to hold this attitude of respect, then they can enjoy learning Daighi. If they think Daighi is something low-class, *they won't want to learn it.*
(Ofelia.CP6.4.c.6/7)

Sharing knowledge of Daighi's intellectual resources with her students was Ofelia's approach to promoting students' positive attitudes to Daighi. In her understanding, students could improve their attitudes by learning this side of Daighi: they might even

²⁰ The fonts of the extract differ based on the language teachers use. *Daighi is in italics and underlined*, Taiwanese Mandarin in normal font, **English in Bold**, Japanese with straight underline, and Italian or other languages with dotted underline.

start to like learning it as they learn to respect it. In similar vein, Teacher Queenie shared the following:

Researcher: Then how do you change such attitudes of theirs?

Queenie: Of course, we use beautiful Daighi to tell them that Daighi is also beautiful. There are elegant and smart Daighi sayings, like the wisdom passed on by our ancestors. [These include] Taiwanese idioms. We can only educate them this way, [telling them that] our Daighi also has many wonderful sayings. Like now, Daighi has many nice sayings, nice Daighi expressions, right? Then they will say for example Mom's Hand²¹, they think that it is a nice song. Like this, we can then change their old attitudes to Daighi songs or to low-class expressions and so on.

(Queenie.CP4.2.b.4)

Increasing the awareness of Daighi as a beautiful, elegant language that preserves ancestors' wisdom was the approach used by Queenie, in order to improve students' knowledge of Daighi and teach the positive side of it that Teacher Queenie values.

c. Daighi is 'your' identity

This rationale is linked to the discussion of one of the rationales for choosing to learn Daighi – ethnic background (see Chapter 5.3.2). This association with Taiwanese identity is also clearly stated in Sandra's extract:

Researcher: What are the other changes that you want to make in your students?

Sandra: For now, we try our best to enable them [students] to [communicate] through that, through language to find something that they themselves can identify with. For example, we want them to use it a bit more when they go back to visit their grandparents. Then their grandparents find that ... you will find this bond of 'usness' with your grandparents, and they also think that you are together with them. This language of our grandparents cannot be thrown away, because you are Taiwanese! Right? And I just encourage them, saying that you were born in Taiwan, no matter you are Hakkinese, Minnanren, new immigrants or what, you are all Taiwanese. We Taiwanese have many languages, and Daighi that you are learning now is just one of them, right?

(Sandra.TP6.4.b.5/6)

Sandra perceived that she is responsible, as a Daighi teacher, for helping students to develop an identity through Daighi. Such a perception reflects the strong link between

²¹ 'Mom's Hand' is a name of a song.

Daighi and Taiwanese identity since the Japanese colonization era (see discussion in Chapter 2.2.2.1). Although not specified, this identity could consist of language use and identity (Miller, 2000; Schiffrin, 1996; Lippi-Green, 1997; Wexler, 1992; Gee, 1996; Giroux, 1992; Hall, 1996; Rampton, 1995; van Dijk, 1997), whereby speakers 'view their language as a symbol of their social identity' (Kramasch, 1998:3), as a result of developing Daighi into a part of the students' linguistic repertoire (see Norton, 1996 on language acquisition and social identity), or of their ethnic identity (Miller, 2000; Moerman, 1988; Hall, 1996). This theme is also closely linked to the next theme that emerged – Daighi as the key to the link with grandparents.

d. Daighi is the key to the link with grandparents

As discussed in the Research Context chapter (see 2.1.4, mother tongue and mother tongue education), students' grandparents are either bilingual in Daighi and Japanese or monolingual in Daighi, and have little or no Taiwanese Mandarin. As a strong family bond is highly valued in Taiwan (Olsen, 1974), the language barrier across generations became a serious issue. This was reflected in the interviews, in which teachers emphasized the function of Daighi as the key to bridging the existing language gap across generations and building a strong bond (see Tosi, 1999:325 on the sense of usness). For example, Sandra in her extract above reflected on how students using Daighi with their grandparents could strengthen the family bond (Sandra.TP6.4.b.5/6). Teacher Beth's view is also a case in point:

'Minnanyu is widely spoken among their grandpa and grandma generation. So, I hope that they can use Minnanyu to interact with them [grandparents], because Minnanyu is still a much friendlier language [to the grandparents]. It feels that, if you speak Minnanyu, and I speak Minnanyu, the feeling of using Minnanyu to communicate to each other gives a sense that is much more zero-distance compared to using National Language.' (Beth.TP4.4.b.3)

Daighi is Teacher Beth's mother tongue, and as she shared in an earlier part of the interview, speaking Daighi gives her a sense of being part of the family. Beth wanted to share this aspect of Daighi with her students, and hoped that the students would one day come to realize this and value Daighi themselves.

e. Daighi is a useful communication tool

Another feature brought out by the teachers was that Daighi was a useful communication tool in daily life, even when it came to making a living:

'Even if Daighi is not used during your study period of time, once you start working you will definitely use it, because we are all Taiwanese. This matters to your future, either you start your business or take on office jobs, right? If others use Daighi to talk to you, if you can't understand it, then you are like a duck listening to the sound of lightning [a Daighi idiom to express the situation when someone cannot understand what is being said]. (Sandra.TP6.4.b.5/6)

One of the Daighi values reflected in this observation of Sandra's is that, regardless of the students' ethnicity, Daighi is the second lingua franca in Taiwan (see Chapter 2.2.1, and Chen, 2010:82; Scott and Tiun, 2007:54; Liu, 2012:109). Therefore, in Sandra's understanding, Daighi is also essential when it comes to making a living.

f. Daighi is a hard language

Teacher Richard came from a linguistic background, with a special interest in phonology. He believed that Daighi was a hard language in terms of its phonetic system, and rationalized that learning other, phonetically similar, languages would become easier as a result of studying Daighi. In the following extract, Richard draws on a few examples of pronunciation across a few languages to illustrate his point:

'Yes yes, I use phonology to explain to them, and culture, and the benefits of multilingualism. These include, yeah, you know how to pronounce [in Daighi]. When you manage to pronounce correctly when you speak Daighi, you develop more skills in pronouncing words. So, when it comes to learning a new language, you won't struggle to pronounce... one should learn more pronunciation starting from a young age; you say Guo from the word GuoChia (Nation), we know KOK is entering tone, you have to cut off the sound. But when you read Italian, those are all open rhyme, all open Antonio or Maria these are all open rhyme, there is no m at the end. Like Japanese doesn't have closed rhyme, so Kok is changed into Koku and Da from DaRen (a talented person) is DaZu. It is all open rhymes in their languages, but our language we can close it ... so Koku is easy for us to pronounce, but for those who come from pronouncing Koku, pronouncing Kok²² is much more difficult. My point is, we have to let students know, through comparing, we have to compare to realize that [Daighi] is like this.'
(Richard.TP6.5.b.20/21)

²² This is an example of Japanese Kana in Daighi (see Lin, 2013:247).

For Richard, proper pronunciation was important in learning and mastering a new language. He highly values the complexity of Daighi from the aspect of phonology, because to him, it is the key to acquiring proper pronunciation when learning a new language, and so it helps one to become bi-/multilingual. This rationale links well with the 'benefits of bilingualism' discussed in Chapter 2.3.1.1.2, in terms of 'easier acquisition of additional languages' (O'Hanlon, 2015:251).

To help students construct the abovementioned positive attitudes to Daighi that teachers hold, three directions of teaching methods are discussed below, developed from the approach shared by the teachers.

6.2 Three directions for promoting positive attitudes to Daighi

Building on teachers' positive attitudes and students' negative Daighi learning characteristics, teachers developed approaches with which to foster positive attitudes. These approaches are categorized into three directions, as discussed below.

6.2.1 Direction one: Sharing knowledge about Daighi, mother tongue, and multilingualism

The teaching approach shared in the interviews related to increasing knowledge is divided into three foci: a. knowledge about Daighi, b. knowledge about the ethnic mother tongue, and c. promotion of the benefits of multilingualism.

a. Knowledge about Daighi

Some teachers perceived that the lack of knowledge of Daighi was one of the main factors contributing to students' new negative attitudes to the language (see discussion in Chapter 6.1). Therefore, these teachers emphasized sharing knowledge about Daighi in their classes, such as knowing features of Daighi that were rooted in Taiwanese culture:

'I think that actually the kids nowadays, when they swear, they use Daighi haha, only when they swear. Actually, Daighi is very pretty, it also gives a more accurate description of many things. But they (students) don't know about these. I think we can let them know more about this aspect of Daighi.'
(Nancy.CP6.4.b.4)

Not only is knowledge about Daighi important; knowledge of the status of Daighi was also emphasized. For instance, Teacher Tracy wanted to promote the concept that Daighi is equal to other languages:

'I want them (students) to know that actually all languages are equal ... because of our political climate, it was banned earlier, and you are very lucky that you can speak Daighi in public now. Moreover, when you earn a living, you may need it. You don't have to reject it, learn as much as you can ... All languages are equal; National Language has its idioms, and Daighi also has idioms. What is wrong with learning it? I want them to understand that Daighi culture is the same as others; it is not a secondary culture. All languages are equal. You say Daighi is rude, but you should consider that there are offensive expressions in every language. What are you trying to learn here? You are coming here to learn something good, right? I want to bring them the good.' (Tracy.TP6.5.b.10/11)

Interrogating linguistic inequality was the approach Tracy employed to promote students' positive attitudes to Daighi.

b. Appreciation of the ethnic mother tongue

For Teacher Frank, it was not enough to learn the positive side of Daighi. In his class, he often showed his students how mother tongues were valued elsewhere in the world, to encourage them to value their own ethnic mother tongue:

'I also often give examples in classes. For example, for fourth grade, those who are older, I will – like I enjoy watching world news, or those education related issues, I will share with them. For instance, Switzerland, in Switzerland there are many immigrants. But they [the government] encourage and welcome those who move to their country. Their government also encourages immigrants to use their home language [ethnic mother tongue] in day-to-day life, and consider it a reason for pride. I often share these sorts of stories with my students when there is an opportunity to. Also, take yourself for example. I also tell my students: don't look down on our own language and culture, for even those who study abroad still come back to Taiwan to study the learning of Daighi. So, you have to cherish it, and don't look down on our own culture. I often guide in this way in class.' (Frank.TP4.6.b/c.8)

Not only were multilingual countries an example used in Frank's class, but I as a researcher, dedicating my study to my ethnic mother tongue, was seen as another appropriate example for students of how their own ethnic mother tongue was valued.

c. Benefits of being multilingual

In addition to promoting the value of the mother tongue, a total of three Daighi supplementary teachers within the study wanted their students to be aware of the benefits of being multilingual. Diverging from the cognitive ‘benefits of bilingualism’ rationale proposed by O’Hanlon (2015) in choosing Celtic-medium education (see Chapter 2.3.1.1), Daighi teachers focus on the social aspect of it: ‘You get one more opportunity when you know one more language’ (Jessica.CP4.4.d.4). Teacher Jessica summed it up well when observing that the more languages one knows, the more doors are open to one. Language is not only a tool of friendship, it is also a key to another body of knowledge, and to the development of future prospects.

6.2.2 Direction two: Improve students’ proficiency in Daighi

In addition to the knowledge about Daighi that teachers promoted and emphasized, improving students’ proficiency was another main approach developed – the second direction. It was a general concern of teachers that students’ Daighi proficiency was low, which perception corresponded with the intergenerational language shift pointed out in the literature (see Huang, 1988; Chan, 1994; Hong, 2002; Yeh, Chan and Cheng, 2004; Chen, 2010). In the teachers’ understanding, low Daighi proficiency was one of the main reasons why students devalued Daighi, as that problem became a barrier to learning or appreciating it. Students’ low Daighi proficiency also restricted teachers’ classroom teaching. For instance, Daighi teachers could not adopt a variety of practices in class, because if they used examples of Daighi that were difficult for students, they would lose the students’ interest. On the other hand, students might find the class plan boring if not enough challenges were introduced. Once students lost their interest in Daighi, they stopped focusing and learning. Therefore, improving students’ Daighi proficiency was strongly emphasized, to break down the barriers to learning the language, and to enable the use of a variety of teaching techniques that engage students.

6.2.3 Direction three: Increase interest in Daighi

As identified, engaging students is crucial for improving their Daighi proficiency; hence this feature is the third main direction of teachers’ practice. As proposed by Teacher Queenie, ‘the prerequisite is to let them (students) like to learn Daighi’

(Queenie.CP4.4.b.4). Anita pointed out that the teaching style matters: 'If they think it [Daighi] is very boring, they will start to do their own things. But if they find it interesting, they will pay attention to you. So, it's down to teaching' (Anita.TP4.5.a.i.2/3.14). In what follows I discuss the various types of teaching methods that were mentioned.

Teacher Queenie is a supplementary teacher working in Changhua. She discussed the play-based learning (Dewy, 1966; Beatty, 2017) pedagogical approach she adopted:

'After learning a few sentences, I let them play games, such as "shouting out these Daighi idioms". Students love to play; basically they all love to play. So, I use this characteristic of theirs to teach Daighi. I emphasize such methods more, so you can see how my classroom is decorated to let them like to come to this classroom, to learn Daighi, yeah. I will provide special incentives. So, every time when students come in, they often ask me teacher, what are we playing today? I say, we have to learn proper materials first, and if you all behave, I will let you play games. But what I play is related to Daighi; it won't be no Daighi and just playing, I won't do that. It is all relevant to Daighi.' (Queenie.CP4.4.b.4)

One of the clear messages we can draw from this extract is that Queenie found play-based learning one of the effective teaching approaches that she adopted in her classes. This approach to increasing students' interest was shared by many other teachers within the study, as it enabled them to engage students in the classes and increase motivation to learn Daighi.

As discussed, all the three foci – gaining knowledge about Daighi, improving students' proficiency in Daighi, and increasing students' interest in it – are crucial contributors, each in its own way, to the promotion of positive attitudes to Daighi. As Taiwanese classrooms are multilingual (Chapter 3.4), before discussing specific teaching methods adopted for the three directions, the next section demonstrates how multilingual language teaching takes place through the approach of translanguaging as pedagogy.

6.3 Translanguaging as pedagogy in Taiwanese multilingual classrooms

The next section presents the data drawn mainly from classroom observation field-notes. The discussion consists of two main sections: conscious translanguaging or

official translanguaging, and subconscious translanguaging or natural translanguaging.

6.3.1 Conscious translanguaging / official translanguaging in the Daighi classroom

As explained in Chapter 3 (3.4.1.3, a.) ‘conscious or official translanguaging’ (Li Wei and García, 2014), or *teacher-directed translanguaging* (Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012) consists of translanguaging pedagogical practices focused on structured activities planned by the teachers (see Lewis, Johns and Baker, 2012b; Li Wei and García, 2014). This study, however, expanded the directors of the pedagogical practices from teachers-only to teacher and student interaction, as well as student-directed. The division is based on whether an action is imposed and initiated by a teacher, with students following teachers’ instructions or listening to the teacher (a. teacher-directed); or involves communication and negotiation between the teacher and students (b. teacher and student interaction); or is a response to students’ behaviour (c. student-directed). Languages used in each category are organized under four headings: Taipei P4, Taipei P6, Changhua P4, and Changhua P6.

a. Teacher-directed translanguaging pedagogy practice

The pedagogical practices observed and discussed in teacher-oriented translanguaging pedagogy are: giving orders or instructions, introducing vocabulary or textbook content, translation, and grammar. These pedagogical practices reflect mainly two of the four educational advantages of translanguaging listed by Baker (2011) – promotion of deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, and help with weaker language development (p. 289-290; see also Chapter 3.4.1.3).

Giving orders or instructions

As translanguaging pedagogy practices draw on students’ shared linguistic repertoires to deepen understanding of the subject matter, enhance learning and make sense of the multilingual classroom (see Chapter 3.4.1.3), for the purpose of effectively giving orders or instructions both Daighi and Taiwanese Mandarin were used. One point to note here is the interesting finding that teachers in Changhua, regardless of the grade level, mainly used Daighi to give orders or instructions. This

may reflect Changhua students' higher Daighi proficiency compared to that of Taipei students. On the other hand, Taiwanese Mandarin being Changhua students' first and most fluent language was also reflected through teachers' use of Taiwanese Mandarin. For example, in the first of Teacher Ofelia's classes that I observed, she began by asking her students in Daighi to put away non-Daighi textbooks and take out their pencil cases. Right after that, she translated what she had said into Taiwanese Mandarin, adding 'I am already using Taiwanese Mandarin now' (Ofelia.CP6.CO.A). This utterance could be interpreted to mean that when Taiwanese Mandarin was used, students had no excuse not to obey her, since they would certainly understand her orders. Similarly, to make sense of Daighi classroom, Gloria's in Taipei used 'be quiet', 'raise your hand', and explanation of instructions 'why' in Taiwanese Mandarin (Gloria.TP6.CO.A). This again suggested that the students' mother tongue was Taiwanese Mandarin regardless of the cities they reside in (see Chapter 2.1.4), and that teachers were drawing on students' shared linguistic repertoire to convey information. The advantage of translanguaging pedagogy then matches with 'promoting a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter' (Baker, 2011:289) and making sense of the Daighi classroom (see Chapter 3.4.1.3).

Vocabulary and textbook content

Given that in Daighi classes Daighi was the target language, it was predictable that it would be the main language used for reading vocabulary or textbook content. For the introduction of vocabulary and discussion of textbook content, however, Taiwanese Mandarin was still the main language used. These findings again reflect students' higher proficiency in Taiwanese Mandarin (see Chapter 2.1.4), and such translanguaging pedagogy also enhance understanding of the subject matter, and help develop the weaker language (see Chapter 3.4.1.3). For instance, in the following extract, Karen used Taiwanese Mandarin in her Daighi sentence, as a hint when introducing vocabulary:

Karen: Ok now I am going to sum up. Flip to the last page of the textbook; I have something to say ... *Next week*, Carnation *starts to appear* ...

Student A: Teacher is going to ask about Carnation!
(Karen.CP4.CO.B)

Karen's planned use of Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi indicated her purpose of introducing or enquiring about the Daighi word for Carnation, the flower of Mother's

Day in Taiwan. This was an effective pedagogy practice in her class, as her students understood the purpose right away. In Taipei, apart from the key vocabulary – kite, Anita draw on Taiwanese Mandarin to explain and discuss the meaning of the term.

Anita: Next, I am going to ask number 31, number 31. I am going to ask, this kite what does it mean?

Student A: Kite

Anita: Kite, very good. What is kite used to be called?

Student B: (Not audible)

Anita: Huh? I can't hear you. Kite is kite right, but was it called kite in the past? It doesn't seem so. Do you remember it?

Student C: No

Anita: I said it flies in the sky and looks like a....

Student D: (Not audible)

Anita: (She heard students' answers) Let's tell them together

Students: Paper Milvus!

(Anita.TP4.CO.A)

In Anita's class, she first asked her students what the Taiwanese Mandarin word for kite is, to make sure that her students understand the meaning. By drawing on students' shared linguistic repertoires to further explain and discuss the term, deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter – Daighi, can be enhanced; through repetition of kite in Daighi, the target and weaker language (i.e. Daighi) can be potentially improved (see also Chapter 3.4.1.3 on translanguaging as pedagogy).

Translation

As Taiwanese was the first language of almost all students regardless of geographical area (Census, 2010; see also Chapter 2.1.4), it was used as the main language for translating vocabulary, textbook content, or other utterances in Daighi. This demonstrates how translanguaging as pedagogy can be used to enhance effective learning and make sense of the multilingual classroom (see Chapter 3.4.1.3 on the definition of 'translanguaging as pedagogy' for this study). The kite case in Anita's class mentioned above is a case in point.

On a different note, it is important to grasp the difference between translation and direct translation. Jessica taught her students that Daighi cannot be directly translated from Taiwanese Mandarin.

Jessica: We just said scared me to death; what is it in National Language?

Student A: Scared death me.

Jessica: But in Daighi we cannot say it this way; we have to say we are scared to death.

Students: Scared to death.

Jessica: Yes, we have to say it this way in Daighi; you cannot translate it directly.

(Jessica1.CP4.CO.A)

Direct translation from Taiwanese Mandarin to Daighi was common among students, and Jessica used this opportunity to teach her students to differentiate the grammar of the two languages.

Grammar

In teaching Daighi grammar, English was used. Two of the teachers within the study used English grammar to enhance Daighi grammar learning, since according to these teachers, their students had better knowledge of English grammar than of Daighi grammar. This teaching practice matches with the advantage of translanguage as pedagogy on helping to develop weaker language (see discussion in Chapter 3.4.1.3). For example, in Ethan's class, he wrote down the grammar 'not only ... but also ...' in English to explain the corresponding expression in Daighi (Ethan.TP6.CO.A). Teacher Ofelia also used the present progressive tense 'ing' to explain Daighi grammar:

Ofelia: What does this mean? In English we say it is present progressive. What to add? Add **ING**. Because English is not our mother tongue ... present progressive.' (Ofelia.CP6.CO.B)

The teacher-directed category is the largest category among the three discussed here. This indicates that Daighi education is observed and perceived to be mainly teacher-led. In terms of geographical differences, except for Ofelia's case in translation section where Daighi is the medium, teachers in both Taipei and Changhua draw heavily on Taiwanese Mandarin to enable students' understanding of the subject matter, and to help develop the weaker language – Daighi (see discussion in Chapter 3.4.1.3 on advantages of translanguaging as pedagogy). Although no much difference in language use were found in the examples discussed here, factors to consider include teachers' habitual language use, teachers' perceived students' Daighi competence, and teachers' own Daighi competence, to name a few.

b. Teacher and student interactive translanguaging pedagogy practice

In the second category, teacher and student interaction, I discuss the languages used for conversation between two parties. Here the focus is on question and answer, and medium request (Gafaranga, 2010). These pedagogical practices reflect two of the four educational advantages of translanguaging listed by Baker (2011) - 'help develop the weaker language', and specifically 'help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners' (p. 289-290; see also Chapter 3.4.1.3).

Communication

Even though both parties can initiate communication, as recorded in my field-note, teachers were the usual conversation initiators. As part of the subject content for example, Lucy (a P4 supplementary teacher in Changhua) employed Daighi as the main medium for communicating with her students, until her students replied in Taiwanese Mandarin.

Lucy: Next the fourth question, the fourth question - the second Sunday of May, I will say I love you to my mom.

Students: Silent

Lucy: Do you not say it?

Students: No!

Lucy: Ah is that right? Why don't you say it? Shy to say it?

Student A: It's my mom who will force me to say it

Lucy: Mom? You need your mom to force you to say it? Is that true? You need others to force you to say it?

(Lucy.CH4.CO.A)

It was also noted that, in addition to Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi, some English was used in both P4 and P6 classes in Taipei. For instance, in Claire's (a P4 home teacher) class, she asked her students the name of a city in Taiwan in Taiwanese Mandarin, by pointing on the map. Her students answered in Daighi, but with some mispronouncing it. She replied in English, '**No no no**', and in Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi said 'This is Hua-Liān Kuān'. It appeared to be a norm for Claire to translanguaging between the three languages – English, Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi. English, in this case, was used as a reaction to students' responses, and Taiwanese Mandarin was used to introduce the vocabulary – 'this is', while Daighi was used to pronounce the vocabulary 'Hua-Liān Kuān'. Similarly, in a class

conducted by one of the P6 Daighi supplementary teachers in Taipei, English was used by him on several occasions to interact with his students:

Ethan: Can anyone recite from memory? (Daighi)

(Two students did it)

Ethan: Hey you! Try.

(The student refused to try, and Ethan asked another student.)

(Ethan.TP6.CO.B)

Perhaps it was to attract the students' attention that Ethan used the English words 'Hey you' to ask his students to recite the content. Ethan's use of English in class may imply that English was also considered one of the *legitimate* and *appropriate* languages in the context (see *language legitimacy* proposed by Bourdieu, 1977; 1991; see also Bonacina-Pugh, 2017). His students also used English when speaking to him:

Student A: Teacher, I don't know why my pencil case is moved to there

(the other student then returned the pencil case).

Student A: Thank you very much!

(Ethan.TP6.CO.B)

In this extract, the student initiated the communication using English, and ended their turn also in English. One can interpret this as meaning that, in Ethan's Daighi class, English was also a medium of communication. Using various languages in class was a conscious choice, as he himself emphasized, for the purpose of interrogating linguistic inequality:

Researcher: So, in your class you use, like some English or ...

Ethan: That's right, I mixed it up.

Researcher: Is there a special reason for this? Or ...

Ethan: Special reason? It is to break with this concept that English is the one and only. Because in the past, about seven or eight years ago, that was when in XX primary school, a student raised their hand and said, teacher, my mom asked why should we learn Daighi lah? I said, what's bad about learning Daighi? Like, we now use different version, but if we use the sixth-grade Jen Pin version (a publishing company), the first lesson of the second P6 semester, Ah-Diong Ah-Diong, often travel abroad, I then take up on this opportunity to expand, and [introduce] thank you in many languages in the world ... The kids may forget after hearing it. But it is OK to forget; the main point is to break with that concept, showing that English is not the one and only.

(Ethan.TP6.post.1)

One of the clear messages that came across in this extract was the purposeful decision to expand *legitimate languages* (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991; Bonacina-Pugh, 2017), with the aim of critically dismantling the perceived linguistic hierarchy (Klötter, 2009). Such an approach is in line with the definition this study adopts of translanguaging as pedagogy for the Taiwanese multilingual classroom.

Medium request

Medium request (Gafaranga, 2010), a specific form of *language negotiation* (Auer 1984, 1995) or *medium negotiation* (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001), refers to the process taking place between interlocutors who have their own accepted and adopted *medium(s)*, to come to an agreement on the *medium* with which to communicate (Gafaranga, 2010:251). Medium request, as defined by Gafaranga (2010), has three specific characteristics that differentiates it from medium negotiation, namely (1) request being initiated by a particular party; (2) the unidirectional called-for switch (i.e. from Kinyarwanda to French, or from Taiwanese Mandarin to Daighi); (3) the request to medium-switch may or may not align at the level of language choice (Gafaranga, 2010:264). As a dynamic process of negotiating the functions and uses of different languages, it is an interesting translanguaging pedagogical practice. In the case of Daighi classroom in this study, Daighi was the medium accepted and adopted by the teachers, and teachers were the party initiating a medium request from Taiwanese to Mandarin; whereas for some students, Taiwanese Mandarin was the medium. The advantages of such translanguaging process match with 'helping develop the weaker language', as well as 'help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners' (Baker, 2011:289-290; see also Chapter 3.4.1.3). For example, Teacher Jessica requested that Daighi be the medium:

Jessica: Where did they go to buy things? Those of you who know the answer raise your hands.

Student A: Canteen!

Jessica: No, speak Daighi. We said it earlier, how is it again? Canteen.

Students: Canteen.

(Jessica.CP4.CO.A)

Perhaps Jessica's students accepted Taiwanese Mandarin as the medium, since they confidently replied in this language. Jessica, on the other hand, did not accept Taiwanese Mandarin as the language with which to reply to her, and thus initiated the process of medium request. This example demonstrates a type of medium request

for conscious translanguaging, since Jessica structured the different uses of Daighi and Taiwanese Mandarin to facilitate language learning. Another type of medium request occurs when one interlocutor refuses to understand the other party due to the different medium adopted:

Student A: Teacher, someone took off their shoes!

Mindy: Huh? Say it in Daighi.

Student A: Someone took off their shoes (pointing).

Mindy: Why (do you) take off your shoes? OK, nothing happened.
(Mindy.CP4.CO.B)

As in the previous example, Mindy initiated the medium request for Daighi, and it was then accepted by her students. One of the clear messages from these examples is that in Daighi classes, teachers were the main party to initiate the process of medium request, with a unidirectional called-for switch from Taiwanese Mandarin to Daighi. On the other hand, in Richard's (a Taipei primary 6 supplementary Daighi teacher's) class, his students requested him to speak in Taiwanese Mandarin when he taught mathematical calculations in Daighi. The student said 'Teacher, use Taiwanese Mandarin; I don't understand' (Richard.TP6.CO.A). This exception of student initiating a request from Daighi to Taiwanese Mandarin in Daighi class reflects that students Daighi competence was perhaps lower than the level Richard perceived it to be. In another example, when both the teacher and the students accepted that Daighi was the medium of instruction, students who were struggling to comply would ask for the teacher's help:

Gloria: What is slippery? I will give extra points to those who speak Daighi.

Student A: How to say banana?

Gloria: Banana.

Student A: Banana on the floor.

Gloria: That is banana skin.

(Gloria.TP6.CO.B)

When the accepted medium for the teacher was Daighi, and the teacher asked for the opposite, it became interesting:

Claire: Teacher will read in Taiwanese Mandarin and you read in Daighi.

(Students reading in Daighi)

Claire: You thought the tape was broken? No.

(Students laughing)

(Claire.TP4.CO.A)

Students found it funny when Claire joked about it, since the teacher, who has the authority, was expected to speak Daighi, but was asking for the opposite. These examples demonstrate how medium requests can be used in conscious translanguaging, and which types can be found in Taiwanese multilingual classrooms.

c. Student-directed translanguaging pedagogy practice

The student-directed translanguaging pedagogy practice focuses on the languages teachers used to give comments. It is student-directed in the sense that teachers are reacting to students' performance or behaviour. This translanguaging pedagogy practice can also reflect perceived students' language proficiency, since, as with teacher-directed practices, teachers gave comments in the language that they believed their students could understand. Perhaps also illustrating teachers' habitual language use, when teachers gave comments, from P4 to P6 in Taipei, and P4 to P6 in Changhua, there was a decrease in the use of Taiwanese Mandarin and an increase in the use of Daighi. Comparing the language use in both cities, comments in Daighi were more common in Changhua, where in Taipei, Taiwanese Mandarin comments were often observed. For example, in a Changhua primary 4 Daighi class, Jessica used Daighi to make comments - 'good, very good' (Jessica.CH4.CO.A); where in Taipei, comments in Taiwanese Mandarin are common - 'nice' (Frank.TP4.CO.B) or 'good' (Anita.TP4.CO.B).

These three divisions of translanguaging as pedagogy practice are the main official translanguaging methods identified in the Daighi classroom, embodying the structured use of languages with their specific functions. As demonstrated, different languages have their own accepted but negotiable functions, to enhance language learning and meaning making in the multilingual classroom.

6.3.2 Subconscious translanguaging / natural translanguaging in the Daighi class

As explained in Chapter 3.4.1.3, c., natural translanguaging in this study refers to the use of multiple languages without specific functions, 'to ensure full understanding of the subject material' (Williams, 2012:39). This was commonly observed in both interviews and the classroom.

Teacher Lucy for instance, told her students what she expected of them – ‘You see teachers’ expectations for you are low; just study well!’ (Lucy.CP4.CO.A). Or when she was grouping her students for an activity, she said: ‘OK, our class is female and male equal; males are first group, and females second group. No cheating! Or you will have to write words with your bum later!’ (Lucy.CP4.CO.B). In both cases, Daighi and Taiwanese Mandarin were used interchangeably, and the utterances could be expressed in either language. Teacher Sandra from Taipei also naturally translanguaged with her students: ‘The stickers are at the back (of the textbook); don’t stick them on just yet. Have you found them?’ (Sandra.TP6.CO.B). Teacher Mindy’s extract is another case in point. ‘Harming other kids is illegal. In many cases we say it was not on purpose, but what can we do when we are injured? What happens if we sit down (and someone else pulled the chair away)? You will be paralyzed. You see how serious it is?’ (Mindy.CP4.CO.B).

Although natural translanguaging was common in Daighi classes, it is important to note that this particular practice was mostly observed in classes in Changhua. Only two P6 teachers in Taipei were observed to adopt this natural translanguaging as pedagogy. It can be inferred that the differences lay in students’ Daighi proficiency. That is, for natural translanguaging as pedagogy to be possible, teachers must be fluent in both languages, and so must their students.

Translanguaging as pedagogy provides an approach through which to see how this pedagogy can be employed as a teaching method for language learning in multilingual classrooms. As discussed in Chapter 3, the purposes of adopting the translanguaging as pedagogy approach are to deepen language learning, to make sense of the multilingual world students live in, and to interrogate linguistic inequality. Multiple examples were discussed above to demonstrate how achieving these objectives was possible through the use of translanguaging as pedagogy. It was enabled by the use of different languages for different functions, either through conscious use of these mediums or through the natural occurrence of translanguaging.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter started by explaining teachers’ positive attitudes to Daighi: that it is beautiful; it preserves ancestors’ wisdom, Taiwanese tradition and culture; it

represents students' ethnic identity; and it is an important key to family bonding; as well as being a useful communication tool and a hard language. Three directions were developed based on the teaching methods shared, as approaches to the goal of constructing such positive attitudes among students. To build a more complete picture of how teaching takes place, the next section demonstrated how translanguaging as pedagogy was adopted in this linguistically resource-rich multilingual classroom, to enable fuller understanding of subject matter, enhance effective communication, make sense of the multilingual world, and interrogate linguistic inequality. Building on this information, the next chapter discusses the specific teaching methods teachers adopted along the three different directions.

Chapter 7 Findings Three – Teaching approaches

The previous sections discussed teachers' goals in forming their students' perceptions of Daighi, namely the six positive attitudes to Daighi that teachers hold, and developed three directions: a. knowledge about Daighi, b. knowledge about their ethnic mother tongue, and c. promoting the benefits of multilingualism. To understand teachers' approach to co-constructing such positive attitudes to Daighi with the students, this section then looks firstly, at the specific methods teachers claimed they adopted in classes; secondly, at the methods observed in their classes; and lastly, at the extent of similarity between their perceptions and actual classroom practice.

This section is divided into four sub-sections. The first sub-section explains the research context that was discovered – consisting of different practices both between Primary 4 and Primary 6, and between Taipei City and Changhua City. This background information is important as a means of helping my readers to understand my experience in carrying out this research. The second to the fourth sub-sections discuss specific teaching methods within the three directions developed. Because such identification is highly interpretive and subjective, in each of the sub-sections I explain the rationale behind my categorization.

7.1 Emerged research context

The major difference between Taipei and Changhua was the school's policy on Daighi classes. In both cities, students are given an Ethnic Mother Tongue Selection Form²³ to fill out (see Appendix 4) before school commences. However, those students who selected Daighi remain in their classroom (around 16 per class), and those, about one third, who select Hakka or one of the Austronesian languages have to leave and go to their designated rooms. The popular non-Daighi choice was Hakka, those who choose Austronesian languages being often advised to select either Daighi or Hakka, due to the lack of Austronesian language teachers.

²³ The form consists of questions on the languages their mother and father speak, the language the students wish to learn, and their ability in those languages. The options are Daighi, five Hakka varieties, and 43 Austronesian languages.

In Changhua, on the other hand, no matter what language the students selected, they are required to stay and learn Daighi (around 30 students per class). Those who select other languages learn them outside classroom hours – during lunchtime break or after school. Moreover, according to the teachers I interviewed, Hakka and Austronesian languages were not popular among students, as Changhua is a Daighi-speaking city (Census, 2010). If students wanted to learn the other languages, again, they were advised to select Daighi, because teachers are hard to find. This aspect is also discussed in Chapter 5.3.1 on rationales behind choosing Daighi. However, one of the important points to notice here is the potential impact on teachers' teaching in classrooms, i.e. students' indifferent attitude when Daighi is positioned as an optional course (Taipei), and imbalance in Daighi proficiency of those who are not ethnic Min (Changhua).

Another difference across the cities is the researcher's perception of teachers' use of languages. Teachers in Taipei P4 appeared to use Taiwanese Mandarin most of the time, whereas in Changhua, the teachers predominantly use Daighi. P6 teachers in both cities were perceived to use Daighi more than P4 teachers, but Taipei P6 teachers used Daighi just over half the time, while Changhua P6 teachers used mainly Daighi. This result reflects not only teachers' language proficiency, but also that of the students.

Another research context finding is that, in this study, two teachers – Anita in Taipei and Karen in Changhua, both P4 teachers – were identified as acting teachers, the third type of Daighi teacher in this study. This teaching contract is part of the long-term career plan introduced by government to replace the current practice of using supplementary teachers, a position that exists only to fill a gap during the transitional stage in the development of Daighi education. The acting teachers shared similar experiences to those of supplementary teachers, such as having the status of 'outsiders' with no offices allocated, and provision of limited resources. These aspects of the emerged research context provide a better background to the understanding of how translanguaging pedagogy practices take place in multilingual classrooms.

7.2 Teaching approaches to knowing more about Daighi – Direction One

In the interviews, a substantial number of teachers (14 out of 21) placed emphasis on sharing their positive perception and knowledge of Daighi with their students, as a means of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi. As identified above in Chapter 6.2.1, Direction One includes: knowledge about Daighi, knowledge about their ethnic mother tongue, and the benefits of being multilingual.

7.2.1 Knowledge about Daighi – Idioms

'Idiomatic expressions are one of the important and pervasive language uses reflecting culture in real life. Like other types of figurative language, idioms appear to be the natural decoders of customs, cultural beliefs, social conventions, and norms. Idiom, as a major component of native-like communication, enables a language learner to understand the thoughts, emotions and views of the speakers of the target language.' (Yagiz and Izadpanah, 2013:953)

The introduction and explanation of idioms can be seen as providing a key to knowing a language, since it involves introducing background stories, which are culturally based, while through translation, students are exposed to the way thoughts are framed by this language. Explaining idioms, either from the textbook or as additional materials provided by the teachers, is one of the most popular practices identified for sharing knowledge about Daighi, with as many as 12 teachers employing this practice. An example of an idiom can be '食瓜子拜樹頭, 食米飯拜田頭' (thank the tree while eating its fruit; thank the field while eating rice), or '無日毋知晝, 無鬚不知老' (don't know it's day until we see the sun; don't know we are old until we grow beard). Teachers asked their students to copy the idioms down and explain their meanings. The first example of an idiom reminds students to be grateful for what we have, and the second idiom reminds us that we can easily waste our time and our life. Eight teachers emphasized this practice in their interviews, and while four others did not mention specifically that they employ idioms in their teaching, such practices were observed in their classes. Teacher Jessica was one of those who emphasized introducing Daighi idioms, and according to what she shared with me and what I later observed, it was how she started each class:

'I start each class with an idiom. I give them and let them write down idioms, one (per class). This is how I structure my class. For each week I prepare one idiom suitable for each grade, and start the class with the stories about it. Yeah, because I think starting with the story is the method kids accept the most²⁴...' (Jessica.CP4.4.b.3)

To Jessica, idioms were core material in her classes. Not only did they form a tool for learning the different expressions in Daighi and the wisdom behind them, they also served as a warm-up activity that the students accepted. In addition, Teacher Ivy prioritized idioms as one of her main teaching methods in class. Her students were required to keep a notebook in which to record the idioms she introduced in each class, and this notebook was later collected by Ivy to be graded. As I observed in the classroom, the procedure of copying idioms to notebooks enables her to share knowledge about Daighi and its culture, and allows students to engage with and discuss what they have to share. Other ways of teaching idioms include dedicating a quarter of the class to discussing them. In Teacher Richard's class, he prepared three pages of Daighi idioms for his students and selected a few of them to discuss, using translanguaging as pedagogy to help students understand the idioms' meanings.

As indicated, this common pedagogical practice of introducing and explaining idioms was used as a means of learning the richness of Daighi. It was either prioritized as a main weekly classroom activity, or as a theme to be introduced once in each semester, or was given less emphasis as one of the tasks from the textbook, which was the practice of the rest of the teachers.

7.2.2 Knowledge about Daighi – Culture

Kramsch (1998) framed the concept in the statements 'language expresses cultural reality', 'language embodies cultural reality', and 'language symbolizes cultural reality' (p.3); that is, culture is made visible through language. Also, as in the discussion of the implicit mediator of thinking and speaking (see Chapter 3.1.2), language expressions are in turn shaped by culture. Thus, 'language and culture are inextricably intermingled' (Yagiz and Izadpanah, 2013:953). The fact that the understanding of

²⁴ The fonts of the extract differ based on the language teachers use. *Daighi is in italics and underlined*, Taiwanese Mandarin in normal font, **English in Bold**, Japanese with straight underline, and Italian or other languages with dotted underline.

language carries culture, and culture shapes language, is one of the reasons that Daighi teachers consider culture an important element in helping students to understand Daighi. However, when I asked Teacher Doris if one of the goals of teaching Daighi was for students to learn to respect the culture of Daighi, she asked me: what is Daighi culture?

Doris: Daighi culture ... yeah, it is hard to (define), because when you think of the culture of the Austronesians, you think of Harvest Festivals and those sorts, then Hakka culture you may think of ...

Researcher: Tung Blossom Festival

Doris: Yes, but Minnan culture, I find it hard to ...

Researcher: Hard to define.

Doris: Yes, it's hard to find a clear definition for it. Sometimes in classes when we talk about festivals, I make a link to Daighi, but those festivals are not necessarily Daighi culture, these are Taiwanese culture ...

(Doris.TP4.4.d.2)

To Doris, culture related to Daighi is exclusive to those of Min ethnicity (see Chapter 2.2 on Daighi history), and she found it challenging to distinguish it from Taiwanese culture. This ethnically exclusive view of Taiwanese culture perhaps came from her Hakka background, as symbols of Hakka culture are rather marked within Taiwanese culture – the Tung Blossom Festival, Lei Cha (pounded tea) etc. Since I find the subjective view of Daighi culture interesting, I then added a new interview question: what do you think the culture of Daighi is? The themes that emerged as elements of Daighi culture to be discussed here are lifestyle and religion.

'Stand up, stand straight, bow (one student) – hello teacher (all students) – sit down (one student)': this is a student's utterance in Daighi, giving an example of Taiwanese classroom culture with which to begin Daighi classes.

Lifestyle

Teachers consider lifestyle another element of Daighi culture. This lifestyle aspect of the link between Daighi and Daighi culture reflects Kramsch's (1998) definition whereby *language expresses cultural reality*, indicating that language is used to communicate shared experiences (p.3). The examples discussed here are eating habits, solutions to problems, and the naming of flowers in Daighi. Teacher Ivy asked her students: '*What does soya milk go with?*', and her students reply '*Sausages!*'. Since this is not the shared experience that Ivy was aware of, in which soya milk is

known to go with clay oven rolls and fried bread sticks as breakfast in Taiwan, Ivy then said: '*How would soya milk go with sausages?*' (field-note, Ivy, B). Having a specific combination of foods can be regarded as a part of lifestyle and symbol of culture.

In Teacher Sandra's class, they discussed the problem of children's night-time bed-wetting. She said that dried Longan was what was needed. According to Sandra, those children who wet the bed have relatively cold bodies, and Longan has hot properties; thus taking Longan can help to solve the problem (Sandra.TP6.CO.A). Such dialectical thinking, invoking contrast and balance (see Fany, 2012; Peng and Nisbett, 1999), and showing the interrelatedness of the cosmos and human nature (Wang, 2005), is perhaps influenced by the Yin-Yang theory, which has significant influence on Taiwanese culture. In this case, the hot characteristic of food is used to solve the problem by treating the cold characteristic of a body. This shows not only the prominence of Yin-Yang theory in Taiwanese culture, but also the Taiwanese traditional health strategy in which to 'incorporate plants as medicine, food, or both, plays an important role in individual well-being' (Jian and Quave, 2013:1).

Lastly, in Teacher Richard's class, he explained the name of the flower *Catharanthus roseus* or Periwinkle in Daighi, as daily spring. According to Richard, the name was given because of the way Daighi speakers see the flower, in that no matter what the weather is like, it blossoms (Richard.TP6.CO.B). This example once again reflects the fact that *language expresses cultural reality* (Kramsch, 1998).

Religion

Religion was a topic mentioned by Teacher Anita, a fourth-grade teacher in Taipei, when discussing Daighi culture. For instance, my data collection period overlapped with the renowned '*Matsu craze March*', celebrating the birthday of Matsu – the sea goddess. Every year at this time, the Matsu statue in Dajia temple starts a nine-day journey to visit other temples. The route is largely decided by the will of Matsu, as the leading followers of Matsu continuously ask her, through Jiao-Bei (fortune-telling cups), where she wants to go. Matsu believers walk behind the sedan chair throughout the whole journey, and many others queue on the path where Matsu passes, waiting for the sedan chair to pass above their bodies as they crouch on the ground. This practice is believed to bring them blessings. This annual religious journey

is called the Dajia Matsu Holy Pilgrimage, and is based on one of the famous Taiwanese cultural folk beliefs. According to one of my field-notes on Anita's class, she explained to her students what this folk belief is, what it means to Taiwanese people, and the specific practices exclusive to this religion (Anita.TP4.CO.B). Anita also made it clear to the students that sharing her own life-changing experience of the Matsu Holy Pilgrimage was not meant to force the students to change their religion, but to help them to understand more about this aspect of Taiwanese culture. Daighi is again the language that *expresses cultural reality* (Kramersch, 1998).

Hence, we have '*Stand up, stand straight, bow (one student) – thank you teacher (all students), end of class (teacher)*' as a classroom procedure to end a class, and as an end to the discussion on culture.

7.2.3 Knowledge about Daighi – The language

The discussion of knowledge about the Daighi language includes two aspects: identifying other languages in Daighi, and the Daighi grammar – for example, the AABB, ABB, and AAA format, or tall tall short short, meaning a variety of combinations of tall and short, or black dark dark to describe the colour black. These are specific expressions that are unique to Daighi. Teachers regard this aspect as significant as it showcases the richness of Daighi as a language, and is also considered an important aspect for students to be aware of.

Other languages within Daighi

In one of Beth's P4 Daighi classes, she first introduced in Daighi the city names included in the textbook and what they are famous for, then explained what they are in both Daighi and Taiwanese Mandarin. When talking about Taroko in Hualian, she asked: 'What is Taroko? Isn't it a special name? It is actually a translated name from Austronesian languages' (field-note, Beth, class A). Beth singled out 'Taroko²⁵', as it came from another language. Beth valued the richness of Daighi additionally for its preservation of traces of other languages (see examples in Lin, 2013:130, and the

²⁵According to the official website of the Taroko National Park (<http://www.taroko.gov.tw/zh-tw/History/Truku>, accessed on 21 July 2017), the word 'Taroko' was in fact a derived name given by the Japanese during their colonization, the original name being 'Truku', after the tribe who once lived here.

discussion in Chapter 2.2.1), and she regarded it as important for her students to also be aware of this aspect of Daighi. Since it was not explained in the textbook, Beth shared her personal knowledge by telling her students where this word originated.

AABB, ABB and AAA

In her class, Gloria was teaching one of the specific expressions unique to Daighi – ABB (A – a word, B – another word), as part of the textbook content. ABB format is used as an expression exclusive to description. She first explained this format, then asked her students to give examples in Daighi of this format. Her students were familiar with this unique aspect of Daighi, and gave examples to describe cold, laughter, sticky, soft, smelly, fat and so on. She went on to talk about another form of Daighi – AABB (A – a word, B – another word). Again, her students only managed to come up with a few examples. It is important to note that Gloria was aware of these unique Daighi expressions in the students' environment; hence they had no problem coming up with specific examples. This enabled Gloria to draw on her students' shared linguistic repertoire to deepen the learning of Daighi. 'AAA, this only exists in Daighi, three words together, meaning the ultimate level of description' (Richard.TP6.CO.B), as explained by Richard. In his class, he introduced the AAA Daighi descriptive expressions, such as red red red, and asked his students to repeat them after him. He explained that each word is pronounced with different tones, depending on the order of the word, and the original tone of the word.

7.2.4 Knowledge about Daighi – Benefits of multilingualism

In addition to uncovering the richness of Daighi for students, teachers suggested sharing knowledge about the benefits of multilingualism, since being monolingual is regarded as disadvantageous: 'If you don't speak this language and you don't know that (language), you won't be able to make friends in the future!' (Richard.TP6.CO.B). This example of Richard's reflects the one given by Jessica, in the sense that languages serve as communication tools and open opportunities for building friendships.

As mentioned, the approaches within Direction One discussed here are conceptual, and are understandably less specific and more difficult to concretize than those identified within the other two directions (Direction Two - 27 and Direction Three - 17).

Still, four came across as prominent conceptual teaching approaches, and acted as positive approaches to fulfilling the overarching objective: promoting positive attitudes to Daighi.

7.3 Teaching approaches to improving students' proficiency in Daighi – Direction Two

As discussed in Chapter 6.2.2, Daighi teachers regard low Daighi proficiency as a barrier to students' appreciation of Daighi. To promote positive attitudes to Daighi, they also focus on improving students' proficiency in the language. However, since improving students' proficiency in Daighi is a broad aim, this section focuses on the development of the most popular four language skills in language teaching literature – listening, speaking, reading and writing (see Hedge, 2000; Harmer, 2001; Scrivener, 2005), with special emphasis on listening (oracy receptive skill) and speaking (oracy productive skill) (see Davies, 1976; Baker, 2017 for the definition of oracy and literacy receptive and productive skills). Speaking and listening skills are strongly emphasized because, as rationalized by the teachers, the limited class hours for Daighi could not allow a more extended teaching focus, so they prioritize the goal of students being able to converse in Daighi. Nonetheless, not all pedagogical practices fit into these four approaches. Vocabulary appeared to be a main focus of the Daighi class, and was added and discussed as the first theme.

Kumaravadivelu (2006) pointed out that 'we are in a "post-method" era in language teaching' (cited in Ur, 2013:468), which view shifts the focus from methods-based teaching – following top-down prescriptions by theorists, to focus on teachers – how and what teachers teach (Ur, 2013:469). This view is in line with the stance adopted in this research – focusing on teachers as agents of teaching and promoting positive attitudes to Daighi (Chapter 3.2, the agent as component). Each of the teachers' pedagogical practices is discussed in terms of these three aspects: language skill approach, procedure, and technique. These terms are modified based on Anthony's (1963) terms, to include the aspect of procedure defined by Richards and Rodgers (2001) and Harmer (2001). Anthony (1963) defined an approach as 'a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language and the nature of language teaching and learning. An approach is axiomatic. It describes the nature of the subject to be taught' (p.63). In other words, an approach is an integration of the

understanding of a language and how the language should be taught and learnt. Within each approach, I discuss the procedures of the pedagogical practices employed through examples, to demonstrate how they were carried out in classrooms. *Procedure* is defined as 'an ordered sequence of techniques' (Harmer, 2001, p.78; Richards and Rodgers, 2001), thus explaining techniques is essential for understanding the procedure. The identification of each pedagogical practice came from what teachers shared with me in the interviews, and from the field-notes. I then gave each practice a name to capture the activity, and categorized each under the language skill that the activity aims to develop. On occasions when more than one skill might be developed alongside the one focused on, it will be included as well in the relevant categories. For instance, reading textbook content involves reading and speaking, and it became problematic to categorize this pedagogical practice into only one of the categories identified above, so it is categorized under 'speaking', but is also discussed in the 'reading' section.

7.3.1 Textbook layout

Because Daighi teachers within the study based their teaching heavily on textbooks, here I explain the design of relevant textbooks. Take Primary 4 Daighi textbooks Lesson 3 of the second semester, for instance. The lesson that was taught in most P4 classes I observed began with a topic, in this case, recycling. Vocabulary is the main part of the textbook, and the related vocabulary was written into a sing-able folktale on the first page, with different pronunciation from different regions introduced in the following three pages. All vocabulary was explained through small paintings, and those that were difficult to explain through images were translated into Taiwanese Mandarin. After the vocabulary section, the third activity is called 'try and speak'. Two conversation sequences were written, with TaiLo pinyin above the Han characters, and BoPoMoFo (Mandarin Phonetic Symbols, MPS) spelling below it. The fourth activity is 'listen and try to understand', a multimedia activity that incorporates the use of a CD, the audio recordings being provided by the publishing company. For example, the CD plays a short story, then asks the students to circle the character who most represents the recycling concept in the pictures spread across the two pages, and to try to retell what the person did. The fifth activity, called 'practice', asks the students which of the following items can be recycled, then asks them to put a tick next to it and to say it in Daighi. Most of the activities cover two pages. Another focus

was on spelling and pronunciation: in the next activity, the student practises the pronunciation required to distinguish between *iam* and *ian*, with three examples using each suffix. The seventh activity is writing: students are given four words and asked to fill in a missing word in the given sentences. The review section comes next, containing four pictures, each of which presents a character with an empty comic conversation box, and an item that can be recycled next to the character. The students needed to listen to short recordings and decide whether what was said matched the pictures. The last activity was ‘tell stories from the pictures’. A sample story is provided in the CD, with seven matching pictures given in the textbook.

For Primary 6 students, the given text in Daighi is significantly longer, filling 3 to 4 pages as opposed to a single page. Take lesson three of the second semester for example; again, this was the lesson that was taught in most of the P6 classes that I observed. The second section was similar, focused on the adjectives as vocabulary, but with some added to those used in the main text. Regional differences in pronunciation are not included in the lesson. Instead of the activity ‘try and speak’, activity three introduces idioms that follow the same format as the adjectives introduced. The next section is pronunciation, and involves looking at the same word but pronouncing it differently depending on whether it is used in an ancient or contemporary context. The listening practice section contains five questions, each of which asks students to circle one out of three things mentioned in the CD. The main difference between the P4 and P6 textbooks is that the written Daighi did not have any spelling above or below it, as students were expected to have reached a certain level of reading ability by this stage. In the ‘practice’ section, five questions are asked, with key words for students to use when describing the pictures given. The seventh section focuses on sentence making. Students are given an example of what they could make by combining the characters, verbs, stacked words, and nouns. In the ‘review’ section, six adjectives are provided with which to fill in the incomplete sentences. The last section is the same: telling stories from pictures. These explanations of textbook design provide a background to understanding the materials that the pedagogical practices are based on, and which inform the approaches employed.

7.3.2 Vocabulary

'The subject of vocabulary to me always seems the key to any language. I am quite happy to pronounce badly and make grammatical mistakes but there is no escape from learning words' (Pickett, 1978:71). Vocabulary is the key to a language, and this is the approach the teachers took.

The description of the textbook above demonstrated how much emphasis was put on vocabulary. Also, more than half of the teachers extended the material, giving the students additional vocabulary. As shown in the sample textbook lessons for both P4 and P6, the first activity after the main text was pronunciation, and was therefore the first procedure discussed here. As pronunciation of the words is considered essential in vocabulary learning, six of the teachers pronounced the vocabulary for the students, and also actively corrected students' pronunciation. The procedure was straightforward: teachers read the vocabulary, and students repeated it after them.

Another essential aspect of vocabulary is learning the meaning of the words, and translation was the main procedure adopted for this purpose. Fourteen teachers were observed to translate Daighi into Taiwanese Mandarin – students' first language, with only five teachers using Daighi to explain the meaning. The technique used for both these two procedures was passive, with teachers explaining and students listening. The last procedure related to vocabulary is 'review vocabulary'. Teachers were observed to review vocabulary by going back to the words and either reading them and asking students to repeat after the teacher, or asking students to read them on their own.

Vocabulary teaching is largely static, involving less variety in the practices. It is also passive, as repeating and reviewing is the most common method used to enlarge vocabulary. However, as it was one of the essential elements in the Daighi class, it provided the main theme throughout the Daighi course.

7.3.3 Speaking

As discussed, speaking is the skill that teachers within the study emphasized. Nine pedagogical practices are categorized under speaking skill focused development, and are discussed from three aspects – passive, intermediate, and active, based on the

perceived spontaneity of students' speech. For instance, the act of reading and repeating is regarded as comparatively less spontaneous; that is, passive. This particular practice is also by far the one most commonly observed among the teachers within this study, with 18 teachers adopting it in their classes.

The perceived intermediate approach requires teachers to follow the procedure of asking individuals or a group to read the text, or to read or sing on stage, and to memorize a short speech to recite in class. These approaches are categorized as intermediate because students were not passively repeating after the teachers, but were required to draw on other skills such as reading or memorizing in order to speak Daighi. Seven teachers were observed to employ this practice, six of whom asked students to do so on stage. Such activities were considered more challenging than simply repeating material after the teachers, so forms of encouragement such as extra points were given by teachers to provide extra motivation (see Teacher Frank, TP4.5.b.14). Teacher Ethan, for his part, asked his students to memorize a short script featuring 'good sayings' and to recite it at the start of each Daighi class. This is an approach he employed in all of his classes regardless of grade, to expand students' knowledge of Daighi expressions and to create Daighi speaking spaces.

Six approaches were categorized as 'active': (1) tell stories based on the pictures, (2) write poems together, (3) make sentences, (4) give a speech on stage, (5) translate Taiwanese Mandarin to Daighi, (6) conduct a conversation. These are considered 'active' because they require students to speak spontaneously without a given script.

Tell stories from pictures (1) is among the activities provided in textbooks (see Chapter 7.3.1). It includes retelling the story given in the textbook, completing the story using pictures in the textbook as prompts, or building a storyline together, based on the pictures in the textbook. In the limited classroom practice that I observed, six teachers implemented this task in their classrooms. In a similar practice, Teacher Gloria asked students to (2) write a poem together on a whiteboard, following the format of the poem in lesson 3. In these practices, students needed to speak, drawing on the vocabulary and grammar that they know, and to respond in the limited time given. Making sentences (3) is another popular practice, used by five teachers. The procedure begins with the teacher selecting vocabulary from the given lesson, then asking students to come up with a sentence, either as a group or individually, on stage

or standing up in their seats. Giving a speech on stage (4) was another challenging task, employed in both P4 and P6 classes, mainly in Changhua city. Teacher Jessica, for instance, asked each of her students to give a one-minute speech on stage. She did not limit her students to set topics for the speech, but most of them reflected on the Daighi learning they had experienced in the course of their six years of primary school. For this activity, students were allowed to bring a script and read it on stage. Understanding the vocabulary and contextualizing it were required.

Another two approaches required students to (5) translate either vocabulary or phrases from Taiwanese Mandarin to Daighi. This approach was only observed in P4 Daighi classes, 2 in Changhua city, and 1 in Taipei. Students not only had to understand the meaning of the vocabulary used, but also to know the equivalent Daighi words. Last but not least was (6) conversation. ‘Conversation is one of the most prevalent uses of human language ... [it] is the way in which people socialize and develop and sustain their relationships with each other’ (Liddicoat, 2007:1). It is another popular approach both perceived and employed by the teachers in classrooms, because as Doris put it: ‘I want them to speak Daighi’ (D.TP4.5.b.6/7).

Even though a range of practices are categorized within the conversation approach, the most commonly observed among them was questioning and answering, which consisted of a prompt proposed by the teacher and responses from the students. The procedure of Question and Answer conversation begins with the teacher posing questions, taking a textbook-based activity such as: ‘Where is Sam Gi?’, and students replying in Daighi ‘Bíâu-lék’ (Anita, field-note, P4, Taipei, A). In other instances, students may not have the vocabulary needed to form a reply in Daighi to questions like: ‘What are we doing today?’ (Lucy.CP4.CO.A). Even so, teachers believed that with more practice and Daighi prompts, students’ speaking skill can be improved. It is interesting to note that challenging tasks such as telling stories from pictures, giving a speech on stage, and conversation, draw more heavily on students’ Daighi proficiency, and were observed mostly in Changhua. This potentially indicates that students in Changhua city are more advanced in Daighi than those in Taipei (see Chapter 6.3.1, a.).

7.3.4 Listening

Listening skill is another targeted language skill, and is mostly developed alongside other skills. Take, for example, selecting an individual or a group to read a text. When the teacher explains the activity in Daighi, he/she also exercises students' listening ability. In other cases, teachers give commands in Daighi, such as 'be quiet', 'turn to page 41', 'speak more loudly' and so on. Listening skill is then developed through this 'instructional function of Daighi' (see Chapter 6.3). The following listening section discusses those approaches that involve listening skill development either as a by-product of listening ability, or oriented towards its development.

The three approaches to discuss are (1) conversation, (2) teachers telling stories and (3) jokes. Conversation (1) as an approach that also improves listening skill is discussed in the previous section (Chapter 7.3.3), since to form a conversation, students have to understand their interlocutor (see Harmer, 2001:230). The other common approach employed by the teachers was telling stories (2), as fifteen teachers were observed adopting it. Listening skill is developed as the students listen to and understand the stories teachers tell in class. Teacher Sandra shared how this approach was used in her classes:

'Story ah you use Daighi to tell stories; let them practice more, more listening. I use Daighi to tell them stories, they like it the most when I tell stories. The sixth-graders love listening to stories – even if they can't understand it they still want to hear! Then they ask, teacher what did you just say? Can you translate it into National Language? I said if you don't understand then I won't tell it anymore. It's OK, carry on carry on! Because sometimes it's not that they don't understand anything; in these cases, they don't understand some of the words or phrases, but ultimately you want them to understand. Once they engage with what was said before and after they then know what it was. Children's proficiency in Daighi is already really good. So as long as they understand, and hear the part before and after, they can make sense themselves. But for those critical points, they keep asking about it: what is teacher saying? They focus on the critical part, especially those that are more, when they listen to ghost stories, those frightening parts they don't understand, and they will keep asking. They want to feel the atmosphere you know yeah. Some of them say they don't understand; they think, I just don't understand what this story is about, why does everyone else ... and s/he keeps interrupting wanting to know that meaning. Yes, six graders do this. I tell stories to sixth and fifth graders, first to fourth (graders) sometimes, but not stories difficult to understand, to suit their proficiency. But for fifth or sixth graders, especially sixth graders, about 60% to 70%, only 20% to 30% still don't understand a story. So, I tell stories to higher graders, for fifth graders I tell them towards the end of the semester, so they can understand better.' (Sandra.TP6.post.16)

One of the clear messages from this extract is that to Sandra's students, storytelling is an efficient way to engage students, and through provision of extra input, students can improve their listening skill. Telling jokes (3), like telling stories, shares the similar functions of engaging students, providing Daighi input, and enabling evaluation of the students' Daighi level. Three teachers were observed to adopt this practice in their classes.

7.3.5 Reading

In this study, reading skill is defined as the ability to 'recognize the characters and understand their meanings', and the tasks simply required students to recognize the written characters and read them out loud in Daighi. The skill needed for these tasks is less demanding than for traditional reading tasks, in which students are required to make sense of a text (Hedge, 2000) and summarize or answer questions related to a given piece of text. Teacher Ivy gave students' limited vocabulary as the reason for setting tasks requiring lower skill (Ivy.CP6.4.c.5/6). Two approaches are discussed: read and repeat (see also 'speaking' in Chapter 7.3.3 in this chapter, on passive speaking activities), and selecting individuals or groups to read.

The 'read and repeat' approach requires a leader to read vocabulary, a phrase, or a short text, with the (other) students repeating it after the leader. In most cases observed, the teacher is the facilitator, but in Frank's class, a student may also be the facilitator. By repeating after the leader, students can learn the pronunciation of the words, phrases, or texts, and link it with the corresponding characters. This practice often takes place in the introductory phase of a lesson.

Another approach, 'selecting an individual or group to read' was observed with the reading done either seated, standing up, or on stage. Again, a teacher was usually the facilitator who selected the person or group to perform the activity, and where: that is, in place or on stage. In order to perform this task, students needed to recognize the characters and know how to pronounce them within the context, as pronunciation changes in different contexts.

Although both approaches were commonly used by the teachers, as discussed, speaking on stage was mostly observed in Changhua classrooms. Also, not only were

reading skills improved by doing the activities; students' vocabulary recognition and speaking skills were exercised as well.

7.3.6 Writing

Due to time limitations, writing as a skill is often left out in Daighi classes. To develop writing skills, Teacher Peter, for example, asked those who were interested to spend an extra hour practising with him in the mornings before the first class. Although twenty or more students joined him at the beginning, after a few months only three students remained. Nonetheless, Peter guaranteed that, as long as there was one student interested, he would continue with the extra hour of writing practice (Peter.CP6.5.b.5).

Three types of writing approach were observed. The first is copying idioms in notebooks, for writing practice (see Chapter 7.2.1 Knowledge about Daighi – idioms, in this chapter). The second is sentence completion. In the class taught by Doris, the Hakkanese teacher from Taipei, students were required to write down the vocabulary of the lesson, such as names of locations and festivals, into corresponding sentences. The other writing practice, shared in the interview but not observed, consisted of Queenie's winter or summer vacation assignments. For these, the students wrote either folklore, an article, or both, to compete in the Daighi literature competition run by Changhua County. Although her students often found this task challenging, she encouraged them to follow the textbook format to compose their work, and helped them to attend competitions and get their work published (Queenie.CP4.4.c.4/5). This approach, however, required more effort from the teachers and support from other parties – school, parents, and students themselves. Queenie found it a challenging task, and shared that not many of her colleagues could employ it in their classrooms. As discussed above, and as perceived by teachers and observed by me, writing skill was sacrificed in Daighi education. However, Daighi teachers still invested time and effort in developing students' writing skill as they valued its importance.

In this Direction Two, I reviewed the pedagogical practices according to the different language skills they focused on – vocabulary, speaking, listening (three emphasized skills), reading, and writing (two 'additional' skills). Vocabulary is the main focus, other language skills being viewed as an extension of vocabulary, i.e. knowing the meaning

when hearing words, combining the words to form sentences and express thoughts, recognizing the words and reading them out loud, and writing the words. Speaking skill was challenging, as it was through it that one's language skills were performed. The finding that Changhua students' Daighi skills were more advanced than those of Taipei students was supported by the more challenging nature of the speaking activities in Changhua, such as giving a one-minute speech on stage. Listening skill was developed alongside other skills, including vocabulary, speaking, and reading. By contrast, reading skill was not the traditional kind, consisting of the ability to read an article and summarize its message, but rather consisted of recognizing the Han characters and knowing how to pronounce them. Writing skill was the least developed of all, mostly involving copying rather than composing.

Improving students' Daighi proficiency was one of the teaching aims pursued to promote positive attitudes, as this eases the language barrier. However, many Daighi teachers stressed that attracting students' attention was also crucial, and they found that increasing students' interest in Daighi was the most effective way to do it. In the next section, I discuss the activities employed in the classroom that were oriented towards to making the Daighi class 'fun'.

7.4 Increasing students' interest in Daighi – Direction Three

Play-based learning (Dewy, 1966; Beatty, 2017), as discussed in Chapter 6.2.3, was identified by teachers as an effective approach. The discussion below is divided into three categories, drawing on the perceived involvement of each role: equally important roles for teacher and students, teacher-centred, and student-centred.

7.4.1 Equally important roles for teacher and students

Playing games is one of the pedagogical practices discussed here, and the most obvious one, when it comes to having fun. The games observed in this study varied strikingly from teacher to teacher, but one aspect is held in common – the equally important roles of teachers and students. For example, Teacher Claire, a P4 Taipei teacher, played a vocabulary recognizing game. Claire made vocabulary cards (or

language cards as referred to by Harmer, 2001), herself²⁶. In the first game, she placed all the word cards to the side of the blackboard, and randomly picked an individual student to come on stage. The students needed to pick the right words and in the right order, to fill in the incomplete sentences spoken by Claire. In the 'pat it' game that Claire introduced, she picked two students at random to come on stage to compete. She spoke a word, and the students needed to pat the same word on the board as quickly as possible, with whoever patted the right word first being the winner. In both games, the P4 students were highly engaged.

Another game observed in a P4 class – 'support the front line' – was played in Jessica's class. Because it was a busy class (see Chapter 7.1 for classroom numbers), Jessica divided her students into groups according to the column they were seated in. This activity aimed to review the vocabulary learned in that day's class, the theme of which was 'recycling', so the words learned were categories like paper, plastic, metal and so on. Jessica asked each group to work collaboratively to provide three paper objects to recycle to the front, with the fastest group winning. During the game, the classroom was full of laughter: intense, as is the nature of competition, but fun, and most importantly, engaging the students in what they had learned that day. Jessica shared another play-based learning assignment with me, as one of her winter and summer vacation assignments: playing an online game. This was an online language learning platform developed by a primary school in Yunlin County, focused mainly on the spelling of vocabulary. She played the quiz herself and encouraged her students to surpass her score. If they did, she would treat them to a steak meal. According to the record, none of her students surpassed her score, but she did reward those who made the effort with some sweets.

The games observed in P6 classrooms were more challenging. For example, Teacher Gloria asked her students to name objects. She said 'What is the city tree of Taipei?' then silently said the name of the tree, 'Banyan tree' which her students had to guess by reading her lips. No one guessed it, but the majority of the students attempted it. 'Writing poems together', as discussed in Chapter 7.3.3, was another approach

²⁶ According to Claire, the publishing companies used to provide these vocabulary card materials. However, two years earlier they had stopped providing them, so teachers needed to make their own extra materials if they wanted to use them.

adopted to engage speaking skill through a game-like process. Gloria asked her students to collaborate by writing a poem together, following the format of a poem in the textbook: matching the number of words and keeping the grammar and syntax as close to those of the poem as possible. She changed the original focus of the poem, flower, to appreciation of mothers, as Mother's Day was around the corner. This is the poem they wrote:

'Even though Mom often nag
She is still very nice to me
No matter what naughty affairs I did
She always forgives me
Mom you are the brightest sun
For you I have no fear of bumpy roads (challenges)
For you I am not afraid of obstacles'
(Gloria.TP6.CO.A)

The game-like feeling came from the freedom students were given to be creative in their composition, and they drew on interesting words they used daily such as 'nagging', besides creating a perceived "cheesy" ending to the poem. Both the teacher and the students were highly engaged, with Gloria as the scribe, and the students as the creators who spoke the words they thought should be written. This game activity required suitable Daighi proficiency, but provided space for students to apply their knowledge in an engaging manner.

Another game observed was in Richard's class – working out the Daighi riddle. The questions were, for example, 'What is the most delicious flower?' and in this case a student replied 'tāu-hue' (tofu curd). Hue was pronounced the same as flower; therefore 'tāu-hue' was the right answer. These games matched the play-based learning concept (Dewy, 1966; Beatty, 2017) of engaging students to help them to review or gain knowledge through having fun.

7.4.2 Teacher-centred

The other two categories are teacher-centred and student-centred. Teacher-centred instructions apply to those activities that are predominantly facilitated by teachers, such as storytelling, whereas student-centred instructions are those, as defined by Adams and Pierce (2004), 'involving planning learning activities that will actively engage students, and effective teachers use these instructional strategies to develop

students' personal investment and interest in learning' (Adams and Pierce, 2004:103). The ones I observed in this study included dancing or acting.

To begin the discussion of teacher-centred approaches, we first recognize what is perhaps the first and foremost element of an interesting classroom, namely the quality of the teachers. Although this is subjective, I described the teachers within the study as 'energetic', as they 'show or have great vitality' (Merriam-Webster.com, Web, 9 Aug, 2017). Energetic is also listed as one of the nine essential qualities needed to motivate students, in turn increasing their interest in learning (Adams and Pierce, 2004:103). In this study, the teachers showed their energy in a number of ways. For example, Teacher Ethan sang poems in front of his students, Teacher Peter performed various kinds of laughter in his class, and Teacher Karen played the roles of characters in the textbook for her students. Each teacher had his/her own personality and teaching style, but one characteristic was held in common, in that most of the teachers (17 out of 19) were energetic and showed their enthusiasm through the activities they facilitated. The teacher-centred approaches discussed here are storytelling, joke telling, use of various materials, and multimedia.

Storytelling and joke telling were ways of attracting students' attention. As discussed in Chapter 7.3.4, Teacher Sandra found storytelling an effective approach with which to engage students, as did others who employed this method – Claire, Doris, Ivy, Nancy, Jessica, and Peter, to name a few. One of the story topics that attract students' attention is the surrounding daily issues, or linkage of textbook content to their daily lives. According to Ivy, students became most interested when the theme was related to them. Conversations on day-to-day topics not only gave the opportunity to put what they had learned into practice, but could potentially provide a place for Daighi in their daily lives. In similar vein, telling jokes was identified as another effective way to increase students' interest:

'I prefer to increase their (students') interest in Daighi, starting with this. I don't start by requiring them to memorize spelling, that they have to know how to spell. I start with interest. So, I may be telling jokes, tell jokes and idioms...'
(Jessica.CP4.4.b.3)

Telling jokes is not a simple task, as it requires a humorous personality, which has been named one of the twelve characteristics of an effective teacher (Walker, 2008).

Only three teachers were observed to tell jokes in their classes. Teacher Ivy for example, mimicked different accents in Taiwan, and told jokes based on miscommunication due to the accents. As this was a Daighi-heavy and context-heavy performance, students needed advanced Daighi proficiency to be able to enjoy it: which is why Ivy also took the opportunity provided by these joke-telling activities to assess her students' Daighi proficiency.

The last type of material to discuss, but equally effective as a means of increasing students' interest, is the use of multimedia. Publishing companies have designed songs and animations, activities and games for their textbooks. The DVD provided along with the teacher's instruction textbook could turn the textbook into an audiobook. This was used to assist with teaching; however, some Daighi teachers just played the audio in their class as their teaching method, and were perceived by others as 'less competent' or 'lazy'. Teacher Jessica said:

'Taking tell stories from pictures for example; some of the teachers maybe, like the home teachers who don't allow you to observe their classes, because they just play the video, and mark this activity as completed. I don't do that, I ask students to tell stories from pictures first. They tell first, then I play the video for them. After the video, I ask them questions about what they heard. This activity takes up a whole class.' (Jessica.CP4.4.b.3)

In Jessica's opinion, multimedia plays the role of enhancing teaching, but not the role of a teacher. If the teacher overuses multimedia, the students may not learn Daighi effectively. Among the teachers I observed, audio CD and DVD animation were mainly used to assist their teaching in a rather balanced way.

The other use of multimedia that I observed consisted of not using a CD to assist with reading texts. Karen and Lucy, although teaching in different primary schools, both found that not using a CD was more appropriate and affective for their teaching. When I asked Karen of her CD-free approach in the post-observation interview, she said:

Karen: Because the CD reads it all, yes, and I think, because I tried to let them tell stories before, I realized that they don't accept that method, because they felt that they were not able to say it. Then I discovered that if [I] said something, then asked them to complete the sentences, at least they could manage. Because if I asked them to come up with something from nothing, they won't know what to say, but if I gave them something to start with, then asked them to complete it, they were more willing to say it ... they were afraid to speak, because they were

afraid that what they said was weird, and would be laughed at, so they usually didn't speak.

Researcher: So, you speak to them. Is it because if you play CD, there seemed to be an invisible distance, but if the teacher reads for them, they could feel the closeness of people around them speaking Daighi?

Karen: Yes, I think they are more willing to speak.
(Karen.CP4.post.2)

Karen's teaching objective prioritized speaking skill. In her experience, playing an audio CD became an obstacle that prevented students from speaking up, and students became less engaged. Lucy, on the other hand, had a different reason for not playing audio CDs:

Researcher: In the class, you use it less, like you were reading, not using the CD or DVD provided by the publishing company.

Lucy: Oh! The CD provided by the publishing company. First of all, some I listened to them first, yeah, listened to them first, then I learnt from it, and played it to the students. If I play it line by line in class, I don't think it is necessary; you don't show much humanity, it is less human.

Researcher: So, you read it yourself, and let them see your pronunciation.

Lucy: Yes yes, and if you can see the shape of my mouth, my pronunciation is quite standard. Yeah, see my mouth, then I see my students' performance, like who didn't open their mouth, right? But if I play CD, I cannot do this; *you forget it if you missed something when listening*. So, if students have some issues during this practice, or if they have questions, I can find out earlier. I almost never use CD in class, unless for playing music, for music.
(Lucy.CP4.post.2)

In addition to showing the shape of her mouth and paying attention to students' pronunciation, in a later interview, she also mentioned:

Lucy: Yes, so if I read the teacher's instruction book, if I don't know something, I will listen [to the CD]. If I think there's a problem with the sound of the word, I will listen [to the CD]. Because the publishing company is from the South, but the accents are prone to the North, and we all know how varied the accents are, so I try to be neutral, I do my best to be neutral.

Researcher: Yes, and here you can use Changhua accent.

Lucy: Yes yes yes. If you listen to CD, they [the words] have many changes of tones and sounds, and you can't hear the difference from the CD, *changing sound and tones*. You have to have changing sounds and tones, but you can't hear it from the CD, yes.
(Lucy.CP4.post.9)

Both teachers still use multimedia to play games or sing songs, but according to them, learning is more effective when they read the texts themselves, either to help them speak up, to evaluate students' understanding, to tell subtle differences among

accents, or to create a sense of ‘humanity’. All in all, the findings suggest that the proper use of audio CDs can increase students’ interest in learning.

Another commonly observed use of multimedia to engage students was video clips, either provided by the publishing companies, or selected by themselves. For example, in Anita’s class, she showed them the textbook-provided video clips of TV shows that introduced the theme: festivals of different cities. This attracted students’ attention, but only limited Daighi was used. The other textbook-provided video material was a series of cartoons created by one of the publishing companies – ‘The Kid ZhengPing’. Beth used this as a treat for the class if they behaved well that day and also had some time left after covering the material. In both classes I observed, towards the end of the class, the students were keen and asked to watch it. In the case of teacher-selected materials, Teacher Lucy, for instance, has her principles when it comes to selecting them:

‘For listening and speaking skills, OK, for example, I Google some popular [song]; the lyrics are beautiful, refined, and can give an elegant sensation. But Daighi can also be **Rocking**, right? I will find those that are more inspirational, inspirational songs and combine them with video clips to show students ...’
(Lucy.CP4.5.b.4)

She also deliberately avoids those that she considers rude:

‘I find those that are inspirational, and the lyrics are pertinent, but not so rude. You know, like movies by Ti-Ko-Liāng, I skip them, I only, from the start, I only play those Tin Thâu yea Tin Thâu [parade formations from folk religion], or the improved version of Ming Hwa Yuan Taiwanese Opera. But it is a pity, that some of the students are no longer interested in the Taiwanese Opera by Ming Hwa Yuan. It can probably only be used by undergraduates as practice in their societies, or as their project material, but to the primary school students, they don’t watch Taiwanese Opera, but they like those bizarre kinds such as Golden light hand-puppet show, Pili hand-puppet show, yes ... Some of their parents watch puppet shows, that Golden light hand-puppet show and Pili hand-puppet show. But Pili hand-puppet show is too long; they also use some words that reflect the society that are inappropriate, and I don’t think those are appropriate for class, yeah.’ (Lucy.CP4.post.2/3)

Even though playing videos was not observed in the two classes of Lucy’s that I observed, she showed me her collection of songs and videos that matched her principles of selection. Teacher Karen also prepared her own videos, playing ‘potato dog’ in the second class I observed. This cartoon was entirely in Daighi, with

Taiwanese Mandarin subtitles. She told me in the post-observation interview that she had got these videos from her lecturers at University, and these were provided by the Ministry of Education.

No matter what type of additional materials were used, as long as these serve the purpose of learning Daighi, attracting students' attention and increasing their interest, they could be considered useful teaching materials. It is also important that all Daighi teachers are aware of and have the same access to these resources, so the materials can be utilized for maximum impact.

7.4.3 Student-centred

Student-centred activities are those of which students are the main facilitators. The four methods discussed here are textbook-based activities, involving some variation or physical action. The first approach to discuss here is a case of variation: instead of only asking students to read the texts out loud like most other Daighi teachers, Teacher Frank asked his students to read them word by word in reverse. That is, instead of reading 'Our Taiwan has many festivals; there are lantern festivals all over North and South', they need to read 'South and North over all festivals lantern are there; festivals many has Taiwan'. The aim of this practice, according to Frank, was to exercise the pronunciation of each word, especially since Daighi is logographic syllable-based (see Chapter 2.3.1.3). However, this activity was only observed in Frank's class. The second approach to be discussed here was much more widely used: a textbook activity that asks students to put the provided sticker onto the right description, number the photos in the right order, make paper dice and characters with which to play the modified Monopoly game in the textbook, and so on. Based on my observation, students regardless of grade showed the most enthusiasm during these activities.

The other two approaches involved more physical activity. Because of the folklore format of the textbook content design, the texts were sing-able and were made into songs to play with the CD provided. Singing the texts was very common among the P4 and P6 classes that I observed. Some P4 teachers also asked their students to dance along with the singing. The other physically involved pedagogical practice was acting out the content. For example, Teacher Henry from Taipei divided his students

into groups and asked them to both sing and perform the song based on their meaning. He also introduced an interesting approach to help them pronounce Daighi – that is, using Taiwanese Mandarin. He wrote the similarly pronounced Taiwanese Mandarin elements underneath the Daighi characters, as a type of translanguaging pedagogical approach (see Chapter 3.4.1.3), to assist with students' pronunciation. Karen, a P4 teacher in Changhua, also asked a few students to act the roles in the textbook on stage. Such performing activities create Daighi-speaking opportunities, encouraging the students to understand the meaning of the lines and express emotions through their actions.

In Direction Three, I reviewed the pedagogical practices identified as means of increasing students' interest in learning Daighi. These include both student and teacher centred instructions – games and poem writing; teacher-centred instructions – teacher's quality, telling stories and jokes, and the use of extra materials; and lastly student-centred instructions – varied types of reading, activities from the textbook, and singing, dancing or acting out textbook content. These were categorized under the heading of 'increase students' interest' because of the perceived outcome of the practices: according to the field-notes, students were engaged and enjoyed the classes more during these practices. The variety of practices reflects how teachers weight the importance of increasing students' interest in learning Daighi.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter presents the core findings that pin down the shared goal of the Daighi teachers within the study – namely, promoting positive attitudes to Daighi, discussed with reference to the three directions developed. It began with the emerged research context, which built a clearer picture of the classroom background, with Daighi, in Changhua, treated as a mandatory subject that all students had to learn, but in Taipei, treated more as an optional course, which only two thirds of the students stayed in the classroom to study. Thereafter, in Direction One – knowledge about Daighi, we reviewed how teachers use idioms to expand Daighi expressions and to convey the wisdom behind them. Culture was another aspect discussed, showcasing how Daighi is closely linked with certain lifestyles and religion. Knowing more about Daighi itself was considered to help students to appreciate the value and richness of the language. The benefits of multilingualism were introduced as another reason to learn Daighi. In

Direction Two – improving students' Daighi proficiency, we learned that the textbook was the core of the Daighi class, and expanding vocabulary, speaking and listening were the skills focused on for development, compared to reading and writing. Also, the focus of reading and writing skill was to recognize the vocabulary, in terms of pronunciation or character script. We also demonstrated how increasing students' interest is one of the main pedagogical approaches teachers recognized as effective in their Daighi teaching. So, in Direction Three – increasing students' interest in Daighi, we discussed the game-like approaches teachers used, such as poem writing (both teacher and student centred), storytelling (teacher-centred instruction), and dancing or acting (student-centred). These approaches were effective for individual teachers in a given context, helping them to reach particular goals set for their class. This chapter responded to the two research sub-questions: 'What are the methods Daighi teachers perceive as best to adopt in classes in order to promote positive attitudes?' and 'To what extent do classroom practices match teachers' perceptions?'

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Chapter 8 Discussion

For ‘maintenance’ to be possible (see definition on maintenance in Chapter 1.2.3), learners need to speak fluently in the language, use both language on daily basis (see Chapter 1), or become ‘functional bilinguals’, i.e. ‘someone who is bilingual in two languages with or without full fluency for the task in hand’ (Li Wei, 2007:6). Although the study found enthusiastic endeavours being made by teachers to meet the ‘maintenance’ goal set for this research, the perceived students’ low Daighi competence (see Chapter 5.3) suggests that the maintenance goal is not yet achieved, these efforts still appeared to be insufficient for Daighi to be maintained. This finding reflects what teachers in Yang’s (2008) and Lee’s (2009) studies suggest: that the responsibility for maintaining Daighi should not lie solely with them, but also on families, or on other authorities. This chapter unpacks Daighi teaching and maintenance through the lens of sociocultural theory (see definition in Chapter 3.1), to identify the influential mediators at different levels: (1) Top level – Global, National and Local Authority, (2) Middle level – School, Colleagues and Family, and (2) Bottom level – Classroom and Students. Subsequently, through the lens of Biesta *et al.*’s (2015) agency analytic framework, we can understand how these identified categories mediate teachers’ actions. This section showcased an example of language policy as practice (see Chapter 1.3). These discussions will help us to understand why the Daighi maintenance goal defined in this study has not been reached, and provide a ground for further suggestions in the Conclusion chapter.

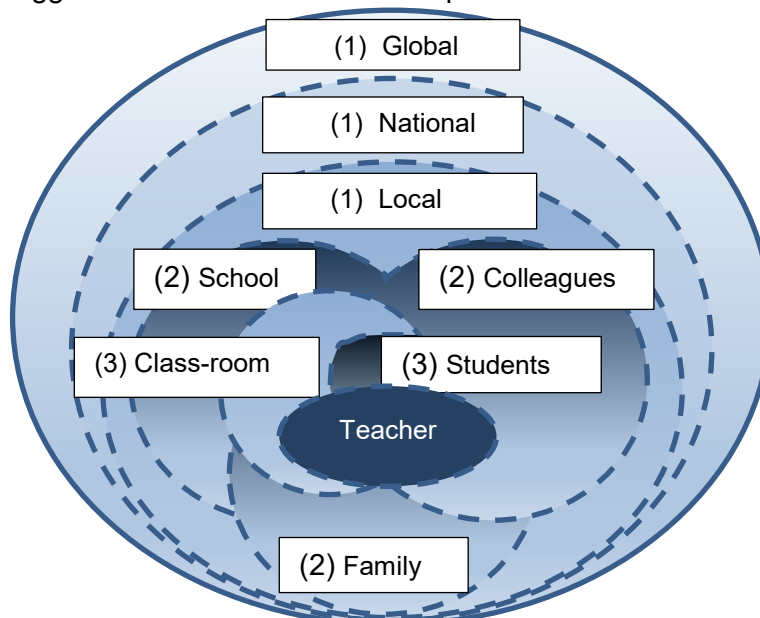


Figure 4 Sociocultural theoretical framework lens: layers / levels

8.1 Daighi teaching context through the sociocultural theory lens

8.1.1 Top level – Global, National and Local Authority

The discussion of the Top level begins by asking why teachers perceive the implementation of the Local-Language-in-Education (LLE) policy as unsupportive, to provide an overview of the Daighi teaching context. Although ‘formalizing Daighi education’ was perceived by the teachers as a positive milestone in preserving the language and cultural assets, it also contributed to Daighi’s ranking as a low-importance language. Based on the data, the visible difference in subject hours allocated to Daighi and other local or indigenous languages (40 minutes per week) compared to mainstream language subjects (3.5 hours) mirrors the linguistic hierarchy in the society. In an exam-oriented education system such as Taiwan’s (Yang, 2008:41; Lee, 2009:27), positioning Daighi as a non-examined subject also positions it as a non-mainstream one. Therefore, some teachers perceived the LLE policy implementation as a political strategy.

Political strategy

Five of the teachers, colleagues in the same primary school, shared the perception that such language policy creation and implementation were perfunctory, and only represented a political strategy. This negative perception of the intentions behind the language policy may indicate mistrust in the government, though it may be that these front-line teachers understood the attitudes of Top level authorities on the basis of the way the LLE policy was implemented. One specific political strategy pointed out by the teachers was linked to the UNESCO objective of raising awareness of language endangerment and preserving the world’s rich linguistic resources by means of ‘policy-makers, speaker communicates and the general public’ (UNESCO *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* official website, accessed 12 May 2018). This was seen as demonstrating that Taiwan is meeting the international standard, without necessarily preserving the language itself.

One updated development to note is that the National Curriculum version implemented at the time of my data collection was the 2009 version, in which UNESCO’s objectives were not mentioned. They were only added later, in February 2016, in the new draft of the 12-year integrated National Curriculum, officially published in March 2018. The teachers who proposed the above-described view

proved to be up-to-date with the National Curriculum changes; however, a mismatch with teachers' understandings of the UNESCO policy was found. Firstly, Taiwan is not listed as a country according to the United Nations, but is considered a province of China; and secondly, Daighi is not listed as one of the world's endangered languages. As a result, the rationale behind the Taiwanese government's implementation of Daighi education based on UNESCO's objectives may be a misinterpretation whereby the Taiwanese government responds to UNESCO's overall aim, but UNESCO is ignorant of the linguistic situation in Taiwan. Nonetheless, implementing Daighi education has had its effect by raising awareness of the threatened or endangered situation of Taiwanese local and indigenous languages (see discussion in Chapter 5.1.2).

The unsupportive motivation that teachers perceive as underlying the implementation of the LLE policy reflects the difficult Daighi teaching context. To unpack the challenges faced in teaching Daighi, I discuss the perceived status and importance of the three languages: Taiwanese Mandarin, English and Daighi. From the Taiwanese Mandarin aspect, we discuss its *national language status* and its position as *students' mother tongue*. From the English aspect, factors identified by the teachers are: the *perceived position of English*, and *indigenization as the key to internationalization*. The two foci that emerged from the Daighi aspect are: *status planning* and *acquisition planning*.

8.1.1.1 Taiwanese Mandarin – National language and mother tongue

The importance of Taiwanese Mandarin goes without saying, since it is the National Language of Taiwan, and is widely used in most domains. Although limited comments on this were found within the data, two main themes emerged to explain the sense in which Taiwanese Mandarin is more important than Daighi. First of all, as mentioned in the literature, Taiwanese Mandarin is the national language (Huang, 2005; Tin, 2005; Scott and Tiun, 2007; Liu, 2012). It is the default medium in most domains such as institutions, and is also the high language (H) in the Taiwanese diglossic speech community (Cheng, 1979; Kaplan and Tse, 1982; Tse, 1982). It can be understood that for students, being good in Taiwanese Mandarin is essential. Since the majority of the teachers believed that 'it is enough to speak Taiwanese Mandarin', Claire

rationalized that 'There is no need for Daighi in life'. Compared to the dominant status of Taiwanese Mandarin, Daighi is then positioned as less important and less required.

Secondly, as discussed in the Research Context chapter, Taiwanese Mandarin is the students' mother tongue (Chou, 2013), and is the language they use to communicate with family and friends. The high status of Taiwanese Mandarin, along with its dominant use, is perceived by teachers to impede Daighi learning by removing the Daighi speaking environment and opportunities for its use.

8.1.1.2 English – The position of English

The position of English, identified by teachers as a mediator at the Top Level, reflects the contextual reality that English is perceived to be important at a high level. For instance, English is important at global level through serving as an international communication tool (Graddol, 2006, foreword, p.3), and internationalism is highly valued in Taiwan. The view that English is highly valued is reflected both in Graddol's (2006) report and in the Taiwanese National Curriculum. According to Graddol's (2006) public opinion survey conducted in Taiwan, '80% of the respondents said they hope that the government will designate English the second official language' (p.89). As a reaction to Taiwanese public opinion, in an interview in *The Economist* in 2018, the then Taiwanese Legislative Yuan Premier in power, William Lai, proposed promoting English as the other national language of Taiwan in 2019, along with Taiwanese Mandarin (accessed in December 2018, <https://money.udn.com/money/story/5649/3331944>). In addition, in the Taiwanese National Curriculum, English received significant attention from the Taiwanese MOE (Ministry of Education), with 3.5 hours per week on average allocated to English, whereas only 40 minutes per week are allocated to Daighi (Hubbs, 2013) (see also discussion in Chapter 8.1.1). 'It became evident that internationalization is preferred over Taiwanization (台灣化)²⁷' (ibid., p.85). The simultaneous implementation of the Local-Language-in-Education Policy (LLE) and the English-in-Education Policy (EE) in 2002 (see also Chapter 2.3.2.2), draws on resources available for Daighi. Whether

²⁷ Taiwanization here refers to the 'ideological shift' represented by the changing of language policies, whereby 'it attempts to replace wrongs of the past with basic linguistic and human rights through the validation of Taiwanese, Hakka, and indigenous languages in public spheres and education' (Hubbs, 2013:85; Scott and Tiun, 2007).

the LLE policy is intended to support Daighi maintenance or to suppress it remains questionable (see Ball, 2006 on policy intentions; see also Johnson, 2013:54 for the impact of educational language policy).

8.1.1.3 English to promote Daighi – Indigenization as the key to internationalization

As internationalization is highly valued, one of the means of achieving it that teachers mentioned was through indigenization. Two of the Daighi teachers, Karen (Changhua) and Richard (Taipei), shared the idea of promoting indigenization by building on the international status of English: ‘teaching English does not enable internationalization, “bentuhua” (本土化, translated as ‘Taiwanization’, and ‘localization’, or ‘indigenisation’ (Wu, 2009:106; Chen, 2006; Jacobs, 2005; Scott and Tiun, 2007), is the key to internationalization’ (Richard.TP6.24.7.c.24) (see also discussion in Chapter 5.2.2). The rationale is that people should pursue internationalization by digging into their own ethnic cultural assets, since internationalization emphasizes diverse culture and indigeneity (Horsthemke, 2017), which will not be attainable once those assets are lost. The fact that the teachers proposed such means reflects the argument that Daighi maintenance is perceived by the majority to be going against the trend to internationalization, so that Daighi maintenance is less preferred; the need to maintain Daighi is neglected, and with the lack of wider support, Daighi education becomes challenging for Daighi teachers.

8.1.1.4 Daighi – Status planning

Based on their interpretation of the LLE policy, teachers suggested improvements to language planning and policy, specifically on status planning and acquisition planning aspects (see Chapter 3.3). Status planning – deliberate change in a language’s status, including allocation of functions and uses for a particular language (Rubin, 1977; Johnson, 2013) – was a common topic that the Daighi teachers discussed with me. At the time of the study, Daighi was not listed as one of the official languages of Taiwan, nor is it a medium of instruction at any level of education (Chapter 2.3.1.1). Without such a status or function for Daighi, as suggested by these teachers, the need for speaking and learning it became limited (see Teacher Claire, C.TP4.68.2), and motivating students became challenging. To create the need to use Daighi and

opportunities to do so, the teachers' three main suggestions were: firstly, increase the importance of Daighi in the education system; secondly, use Daighi in wider domains; and lastly, raise the official status of Daighi. These suggestions reflect Cooper (1989)'s enquiry into conceptualizing language planning, in terms of which language should be official and should be used in schools (see Chapter 3.3).

Increase the importance of Daighi in the education system

Three of the Daighi teachers pointed out that Taiwan is an exam-oriented country, an observation which reflected the findings of Yang (2008) and Lee (2009) (see also discussion in Chapter 2.3.2.6). Therefore, the solution they proposed to create a need for Daighi was that the government should make the language a mainstream examination subject (see Ethan.TP6.44.6.b.7), or provide a complete system which would include educational opportunities for mastering Daighi, along with a career path which would make use of the Daighi skill (see Frank.TH4.75.1.2). Such measures could also create incentives for language acquisition (discussed in Chapter 3.3). In this respect, a step acknowledged by Ivy and Jessica that promoted the 'exam status' of Daighi was taken in 2014 when the MOE included a systematic record of achievements in Daighi in the Examinations-Free Entrance Competition for high school enrolment (for students aged between 15 and 18). Although implemented in only a few Taiwanese cities, this can be regarded as having a potential impact on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi.

Use Daighi in wider domains

'The most important function of a language is to communicate, it is the most common way, but (Daighi) has to be incorporated in day-to-day life' (Jessica.CH4.68.3). As pointed out by Claire earlier, Taiwanese Mandarin, students' mother tongue, is the language used in their daily lives (Claire.TP4.68.2). To enable the communicative function of Daighi for students, Doris, Jessica and Lucy proposed that Daighi should be developed as one of the languages used in wider domains, such as at home, in shops or at food places visited by students. As these are domains outside school, the use of Daighi cannot be developed there solely through teachers' efforts. However, without such a function being developed, engaging and motivating students to learn Daighi can become difficult.

Improve the official status of Daighi

Broader measures to improve the status of Daighi were also proposed, such as long-term acquisition planning for Daighi, as well as listing it as an official language in Taiwan to further linguistic equality between Daighi and Taiwanese Mandarin (see Richard.TP6.68.2). On the 25th December 2018, Legislative Yuan passed the 'National Language Development Law' (drafted in 2007, see Council for Cultural Affairs, 2007), which was published on the 9th January 2019 and approved by the current President Tsai Ing-Wen. This law promotes all languages used in Taiwan, that is, the languages of all Taiwanese ethnic groups, as National Languages, with the aim of revitalizing, maintaining or developing these through providing learning resources (accessed March 2019: <https://www.ey.gov.tw/Page/5A8A0CB5B41DA11E/acb034c7-e184-4a39-be3f-381db50a6abe>). This policy reflects a positive governmental endeavor to support Daighi maintenance, and can be seen as an initial step towards improving the status of Daighi. In addition, acquisition planning can have a direct impact on the maintenance of the language.

8.1.1.5 Daighi – Acquisition planning

As defined by Cooper (1989), acquisition planning consists of 'organized efforts to promote the learning of a language', by such means as increasing both incentives and opportunities to learn it (p.157) (see Chapter 3.3). In the case of Daighi, lack of resources is identified by the teachers as an impediment to acquisition planning. Compared to Daighi, other local and indigenous languages received higher amounts of funding to support language maintenance. For instance, the Council of Indigenous Peoples was established in December 1996 and the 42 Austronesian languages were positioned as National Languages in June 2017, while the Hakka Affairs Council of June 2001 positioned Hakka as a National Language in January 2018. In contrast to Hakka and Austronesian languages, the Min ethnic group does not have its own council, and it was not until January 2019 that Daighi was listed as a National Language. Also, language learning-oriented radio and TV programmes were identified by the teachers as useful for language learning, but these were widely used only for Hakka and Indigenous language learning, not for Daighi. Teachers reported that lack of learning resources outside the classroom was depriving students of Daighi

input and learning opportunities. On this note, it is important to point out an alternative effort to maintain Daighi at the Local Authority level.

Efforts by Local organizations

As discussed, the top-down policy implementation approach was not perceived as effective, and the case of Daighi is not the first example of this shortcoming (Alexander, 1989). Local organizations initiated a bottom-up approach to Daighi maintenance, such as the Changhua local organization called the Taiwan Care Centre (TCC). It was established by a former Member of Parliament and former County Chief Chou Ching-Yu in 1997, whose ambition was to promote and support research and education oriented towards Daighi culture and language preservation. For instance, the TCC has been organizing events including speech contests and conditional outdoor activities in which Daighi was the only medium of communication, as well as supporting teachers' professional development (see the [Taiwan Care Centre Organization webpage](#)). Teachers regarded these events as providing additional Daighi speaking opportunities, and positively supported them by promoting them to their students.

We understand that, although the local organization is not as powerful as the government, it can still make influential changes in support of Daighi teachers, thus helping to make a visible impact on the outlook for Daighi education. The next section discusses mediators at the Middle level (school, colleagues, family), specifically in regard to attitudes – positive, negative and neutral, and their direct and indirect impact, in order to unpack the elements that shape Daighi teachers' teaching.

8.1.2 Middle level – School, Colleagues and Family

8.1.2.1 School level

At the school level, endeavours are mainly perceived as being in response to and in line with National and Local Authority policies. However, in contrast to the higher levels, schools may have a more direct impact on teachers' practices, as they provide the Daighi teaching environment. 'School's (attitude) plays an important role', Teacher Gloria explained; 'if the school emphasizes [Daighi], relatively, children will also emphasize it' (Gloria.5.a.iii.6/7). However, based on the findings, supportive schools are in the minority.

Positive

Only three teachers, all in Changhua, reported that the school they worked for was supportive. The supportiveness was shown by the resources provided, including teaching materials and Daighi classrooms, use of Daighi by Principals in public events, or support from school administrators for students taking part in speech contests. However, regardless of these positive voices, the majority of teachers perceived otherwise, in the sense of schools either taking a neutral stance, or holding negative attitudes.

Neutral

Neutral attitudes were reported by the teachers when they perceived schools as neither supporting nor limiting Daighi learning, or as simply not interfering with their teaching. These views can be interpreted positively, in that schools were seen as giving their Daighi teachers autonomy; on the other hand, this response can be seen as ignorant, since even if the schools are not limiting what teachers do, they are also not helping them or providing them with sufficient resources. Four out of the five teachers were from the three Taipei schools, which can potentially be seen as indicating that Taipei schools emphasize Daighi education less. Such an attitude was not perceived as helpful to teachers of Daighi.

Negative

In terms of negative views, three P6 teachers from two schools in Taipei directly reported their negative experiences. For example, Ethan shared his experience of his Daighi classes being borrowed for outdoor activities or used for exams the previous year. To him, this indicated that schools cared less about Daighi. The same attitude to Daighi was mentioned by Richard. He maintained that the school he worked for neglected Daighi, as it put more emphasis on preparing speech contests in Taiwanese Mandarin and English, providing these with resources for preparation and carefully set up venues, as opposed to 'random' setups for Daighi competitions. The negative side became more apparent when compared to the way English was treated. For instance, to enhance English education in Taiwan, some schools were allocated a sufficient amount of funds to build an 'English village' for *situated learning* (Brown *et al.*, 1989; Lave and Wenger, 1991). These are special English classrooms decorated according to themes such as airplane interior design, shops in department stores,

kitchens, and Taiwan High Speed Rail. The rooms were air-conditioned, some having marble floors, which were not in common use for classrooms. Providing such facilities reflected a difference in attitude towards different languages.

Another measure of schools' negative attitude was the inadequate provision of incentives and opportunities for Daighi outside Daighi classrooms. The two examples discussed are language signs put up in schools' public spaces, and Mother Tongue Day. When posters were put up, either idioms or vocabulary for describing items such as stairs were predominantly in English, as reported by Jessica. Also, it was uncertain whether or not putting up Daighi signs in public areas in schools was effective, since teachers noticed that few of their students read the signs. As for Mother Tongue Day, all students and staff were required to communicate in their mother tongue, or ethnic mother tongue, on that day. Such positive activity in support of ethnic mother tongue usage was regarded as negative, because none of the teachers could provide an example to further the successful implementation of Mother Tongue Day. In fact, such successful implementation would be challenging, given the multi-ethnicity and multilingualism of Taiwanese society. Firstly, asking all members of students and staff to speak their own ethnic mother tongue would cause communication issues; on the other hand, forcing them to all speak Daighi would overlook students' mother tongue being Taiwanese Mandarin and suppress other minority languages. This finding mirrored the claim that Mother Tongue Day is tokenistic (Yang, 2008; Lee's, 2009; see also discussion in Chapter 2.3.2.6).

Schools provide learning and interacting platforms for teachers and students. This section uncovered limited support and resources provided by schools, and found that the majority of the schools held relatively negative attitudes to Daighi education, as shown in actions such as taking Daighi classes to use for other purposes. These were perceived by the teachers within the study as making Daighi teaching challenging.

8.1.2.2 Colleagues level

The perceived impact of colleagues is discussed within two categories – indirect and direct. The indirect impact category focuses on how other, unskilled Daighi teachers affected the Daighi teachers in my study, while the direct impact category looks at attitudes and interactions between Daighi teachers and others.

Perceived indirect impact

According to the teachers, it was difficult to take over the instruction of students who had been taught by 'lazy teachers'. These were teachers who made less effort and relied heavily on audio or visual material provided by the publishing company, offering limited or no additional knowledge of Daighi. Students' Daighi proficiency was low, and they were less motivated to learn the language. A few teachers within this study reported such issues and said that they found them challenging.

Perceived direct impact

On the other hand, colleagues can have a direct impact on Daighi teachers, whether of a positive, neutral, or negative kind. Positive impact consists of support from other Daighi teachers within the same Daighi teacher community. These communities provide space for teachers to share their experiences, as reported by Queenie, Gloria, Ofelia and Sandra, as well as to continue their professional development. In terms of neutral or negative impact experienced by Daighi teachers, this came mostly from non-Daighi teachers. For example, Ivy reported that non-Daighi teachers had no influence on her. Unfortunately, most Daighi teachers experienced negative impact from non-Daighi colleagues. Three examples will support this point. Henry, the first example, was hesitant to share his experience of English teachers protesting against Daighi education. The tension was relieved following a singing activity that he organized, asking students of different ethnic backgrounds to sing the same song, but in the opposite language. That is, students of Minnan background sang songs in English, whereas those whose mother tongue was English sang the songs in Daighi. The second example was the restriction caused by home teachers' presence in the classroom (see discussion in Chapter 1.1). The majority of the supplementary teachers experienced loss of freedom of speech when home teachers were present. For example, history and politics were topics to avoid, since home teachers sometimes reported such cases to schools, resulting in supplementary teachers losing their jobs. Although some supplementary teachers found home teachers helpful in managing classroom discipline, these were exceptions. The third example was provided by Ethan, Frank and Tracy, who reported that non-Daighi teachers looked down on them or on the subject itself. They either regarded Daighi as an easy and unimportant subject, as perceived by Frank and Tracy, or they associated Daighi teachers with low socio-economic and educational background, as experienced by

Ethan. However, according to Ethan and Tracy, these non-Daighi colleagues changed their attitudes towards Daighi teachers as they learnt more about the language and its teachers.

Colleagues can be influential; they can be a supportive factor in Daighi teachers' professional development, but can also be an obstacle to teaching and learning Daighi. Unfortunately, all the Daighi teachers within this study had negative experiences one way or the other, and these mediators accumulated to shape and restrict their teaching.

8.1.2.3 Family level

Family attitudes are perceived by most teachers to have the strongest impact on students' attitudes to Daighi and in determining their Daighi proficiency (see discussion in Chapter 5.2.1). As family attitudes shape students' attitudes to Daighi, and students form the core of teachers' practice, the family thus has an indirect impact on teachers' classroom practice. The perceived impact is also discussed within two categories – indirect and direct.

Perceived indirect impact

Here also, the perceived indirect impact includes positive, neutral and negative aspects. Positive indirect impacts were reported when students' Daighi proficiency was enhanced by families' supportive attitudes. These supportive attitudes could consist, for example, of parents insisting in using Daighi at home, as reported by Beth, or students having close relationships with their grandparents, as reported by Sandra. Perceived neutral impact was reported by Nancy, in that the parents of her students neither supported nor limited teachers' classroom practices, and thus did not interfere with her teaching. The negative indirect impact, again perceived by the majority, stemmed from cases of unsupportive family attitudes contributing to students' lack of interest or motivation and low Daighi proficiency. The observed instances are of parents being against learning Daighi, regarding it as 'a waste of time', as reported by Karen, or being unable to speak Daighi themselves, and hence being unaware of its threatened status, as observed by Queenie. These negative parental attitudes had a strong impact on the formation of students' negative attitudes to learning Daighi.

Perceived direct impact

Parents' positive attitudes to Daighi also have a perceived direct impact on Daighi teaching. For example, some parents have a strong desire for their children to win Daighi speech contests. They put Daighi teachers under increased pressure to meet their expectations. As the desire is largely related to external benefits in terms of academic progression, it is debatable whether this positive encouragement to learn Daighi is an outcome of parents' high valuation of Daighi maintenance, or reflects the exam orientation of the Taiwanese educational system. By contrast, the perceived direct impact of parents' negative attitudes was seen in their objection to examining Daighi, as reported by Anita, or, in Lucy's case, in parents objecting to their children spending time on Daighi outside the classroom (see Lucy.CH4.5.c.6).

Parents, as stakeholders, have a significant impact on teachers' practices, and in most cases they restricted and created difficulties for teachers. This is a finding that was shared among teachers across different cities and schools in this study.

8.1.3 Bottom level – Classroom and Students

This section looks at the classroom – the venue where interactions take place, and students – the actors that teachers interact with. The venue space may define the types of teaching practices taking place, while the way teachers perceive their students' attitudes to Daighi and Daighi proficiency may have a strong impact on their teaching.

8.1.3.1 Classroom level

According to the Daighi supplementary teachers, having their own classroom made a difference. As discussed in Chapter 6.2.3, Queenie described how she decorated her classroom to make it a friendly space which her students could enjoy visiting and where they could enjoy learning Daighi. She not only prepared popular cartoon character dolls, but also put posters on Daighi idioms or stories on the walls. On one of the bookshelves she had a collection of students' published written work. She rated having her own classroom positively (Queenie.CP4.4.b.4). Jessica, another Changhua teacher whom I observed teaching two additional classes in a different school, also reported that having her own classroom made a positive difference. For

example, rather than Jessica going to the students' classrooms, her students came to her classroom to learn Daighi. Having her own classroom gave her the freedom to change the layout or decoration to suit her needs. She was able to be more creative in her teaching because of being free to use the space at will, and she also felt supported by the school. Queenie and Jessica, however, were the only teachers within this study who had their own classrooms.

The majority of the supplementary and acting teachers within the study did not have this advantage. They shared a classroom that was used for many other subjects, and because of the unimportant status of Daighi, limited or no space was given to it, which made creating a Daighi learning environment difficult. The lack of freedom to use the classroom space to meet the requirements of dynamic and creative teaching left the teacher with limited options for teaching.

8.1.3.2 Student level

Students' attitudes to Daighi and their Daighi proficiency were the two major themes identified at Student level. The new negative attitudes to Daighi discussed in Chapter 5.2 explain students' perception of Daighi as a non-important subject. As a reflection of this attitude, the two home teachers from Taipei observed that their students were more enthusiastic in class due to the lower level of academic performance stress attached to it; other teachers, however, perceived that students were even confused as to how an unimportant subject like Daighi had entered the curriculum. On the other hand, in view of the finding that Changhua students' Daighi proficiency was higher than that of Taipei students (see Census 2010, Chapter 6.3.1, and Chapter 7.3.3), the students from Changhua found the materials less of a challenge and were not interested in learning Daighi.

In terms of students' Daighi proficiency, most of the Daighi teachers perceived their students as not proficient in Daighi (see Chapter 5.3.2), apart from a few exceptional cases where Daighi was spoken in the student's home, or the student competed in Daighi speech contests. Low Daighi proficiency also restricted teachers' choice of Daighi resources that they could draw on to teach. These characteristics of students – passive learning attitude and low Daighi proficiency, also have a strong impact on Daighi teaching.

8.2 Agency as a sociocultural component – Daighi context

This discussion is the core of understanding the mediators shaping teachers' teaching, using the agency lens proposed by Biesta *et al.* (2015) (see Chapter 3.2). The factorial themes identified are categorized according to the characteristics of each dimension identified in the Biesta *et al.* (2015) model – iterational (past), projective (future), and practical-evaluative (present).

8.2.1 Iterational dimension (past)

As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the iterational dimension has to do with the past of the actor, which is critical for stabilizing and informing present and future actions (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Biesta *et al.* 2015:626; Johnson and Golombek: 2016). Two aspects are discussed here: (1) life histories – personal attachment to Daighi and teachers' identity, and (2) professional development histories – teachers' professional development that prepared them to become certified Daighi teachers, together with trainings undertaken for professional development (see Chapter 2.3.2.5). These trainings include those that aim to meet teachers' short and long term goals, and the ongoing training that teachers had received prior to the data collection point.

The personal attachment to Daighi (1) aspect helps us to understand teachers' motivation to continue in their profession despite the challenges they face. To many Daighi teachers, Daighi was their mother tongue; thus the sense of identity and responsibility emerged as the main reason for the attachment. Take Beth for example: she positioned Daighi as a language that was linked to her family of origin, and this association became more apparent when she left the Daighi-speaking environment to live in Taipei. Richard also stated that Daighi was his mother tongue – his language, and that he had a sense of responsibility and motivation to pass it on to his children and grandchildren. This attitude was also identified in Chapter 6.1 as one of the positive attitudes Daighi teachers hold towards the language.

As these enthusiastic individuals trained to become Daighi teachers, they found the national standardized 36-72 hours Daighi teacher professional training helpful but insufficient (see Chapter 2.3.2.5). The additional and ongoing trainings teachers can access are those offered by the self-organized Daighi teacher community, or for Changhua teachers, further courses organized by the Taiwan Care Centre (TCC). On

the professional history side (2), standardizing teachers' Daighi proficiency and teaching skill became problematic as individuals did not have access to the same resources. For instance, reflecting the findings of Scott and Tiun (2007), despite the natural proficiency of the native Daighi teachers, some of their teaching practices, such as reciting poems in Daighi, were criticized by home teachers as inefficient. On the other hand, those whose mother tongue is not Daighi generally lack confidence in their teaching, and spend extra time on course preparation. However, as reported by the non-native Daighi teachers, even with strict course preparation they were still concerned as to what they could offer their students, and how 'correct' their Daighi pronunciation was, concerns reflecting those noted in Lee's (2009) study. Lack of access to sufficient trainings, or suitable trainings to match these enthusiastic Daighi teachers' needs, is a problem that developed into another challenge faced by teachers.

8.2.2 Projective dimension (future)

Chapter 3.2 defined the projective dimension (both short-term and long-term) as informed by actors' expectations of the future, or their vision of the future constructed on the basis of their own beliefs (Embirbayer and Mische, 1998; Biesta *et al.*, 2015). The emerged expectations matched the objectives of pedagogy in terms of promoting positive attitudes. These are: (1) the establishment of positive attitudes to Daighi (half of the teachers) and recognition of it as a language as important as English (Anita and Tracy), which matches the overarching objective; (2) students acquiring knowledge about Daighi (half of the teachers within the study), being able speak their ethnic mother tongue (two out of 20 teachers), and linking their identity with Daighi (Richard and Sandra), which matches the objective of Direction One – sharing knowledge about Daighi, mother tongue, and multilingualism; (3) to improve students' Daighi skill in listening, speaking, reading, and writing (shared among all Daighi teachers), enabling them to communicate with parents and grandparents in Daighi (six out of 20 teachers) and to use Daighi in their daily lives (seven out of 20 teachers), which matches the objective of Direction Two – improve students' proficiency in Daighi; and lastly, (4) for students to like and respect Daighi (half of the teachers within the study), which is also the goal of Direction Three – increase interest in Daighi (see Chapter 6.2 and Chapter 7). These expectations and visions, together with the sense of

identity and responsibility discussed in the iterational dimension (see Chapter 8.2.1), inspired teachers to continue in their profession despite its difficulties.

8.2.3 Practical-evaluative dimension (present)

As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the focus of this dimension is on current actions, specifically on what restrictions or support exist, and how teachers make use of the situation and draw on the resources to meet their teaching goals (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Biesta *et al.*, 2015). According to Biesta *et al.*'s (2015) model, the practical-evaluative dimension consists of three aspects – cultural (ideals, values, beliefs, discourses, language), structural (social structures: relationships, roles, power, trust), and material (resources and physical environment). Almost half of the teachers expressed the opinion that teachers' beliefs and aspirations shape their teaching; these include the positive attitudes teachers hold towards Daighi (see Chapter 6.1), personal attachments to Daighi as discussed in the iterational dimension (see Chapter 8.2.1), and their expectations and visions for the future of Daighi, as discussed in the projective dimension (see Chapter 8.2.2).

On the structural side, Daighi teachers encountered more restrictions than support. For example, the contract with the Ministry of Education that supplementary Daighi teachers signed was a one-year contract that required annual renewal by the principal, resulting in job insecurity. Moreover, their salary was low – around 8 pounds sterling per class (NTD 40: GBP 1 as of 12 June 2018), and they were restricted to 20 hours of teaching per week. Other relationships to consider are those with schools and colleagues. As discussed in Chapter 8.1.2.1, schools were either neutral or unsupportive of Daighi teachers, given that most supplementary and acting Daighi teachers were not provided with a space to rest between classes, and school administrators allowed Daighi classes to be borrowed for other purposes. Colleagues, as discussed in Chapter 8.1.2.2, were also perceived to restrict teaching rather than provide support.

On the material side, as described above, resources for Daighi were limited. From the Top level perspective, Daighi's status has been neglected compared to that of Hakka or Austronesian languages (see Chapter 8.1.1.5). It did not receive enough support from the government, as Hakka or Austronesian languages did, to enable the

establishment of a TV or radio channel to foster language maintenance. Moreover, being positioned as a non-mainstream subject (see Chapter 8.1.1), Daighi teaching was restricted by the time allocated. The teaching is further restricted by lack of physical resources, as not many Daighi teachers had access to a classroom that they could decorate to enhance their teaching. Also, as reported by the teachers, teaching and learning materials were limited and might not be suitable for all students. Daighi teachers often invested additional time and money in creating materials that were fit for purpose. Limited resources and an unsupportive environment are the factors that make teaching Daighi challenging.

This discussion enables us to explain why the efforts of such enthusiastic and diligent individuals dedicating themselves to Daighi maintenance are still not sufficient to achieve that outcome. We found how teaching practices were influenced and restricted by external contextual factors; thus, if Daighi is to be maintained, tackling these contextual factors must be the first step.

8.3 Conclusion

This chapter pointed out the study's finding that the goal – Daighi maintenance – is not yet achieved (see Chapter 8.1), regardless of teachers' enthusiastic endeavours to promote positive attitudes to Daighi. It began by applying the lens of Wertsch's (1991) sociocultural theory, to analyse the factors and elements that mediated teachers' pedagogy. The levels were divided into three: Top, Middle and Bottom. At the Top level (Global, National and Local Authority), we first discussed the fact that implementation of the LLE policy was perfunctory and contributed to the view of Daighi as an unimportant subject. We then reviewed the position of Taiwanese Mandarin, the national language and students' mother tongue, and English as a key to internationalization, as well as the status and acquisition planning of Daighi, and how Daighi is undervalued and unsupported at this Top level. At the Middle level (School, Family and Colleagues), the focus was on the attitudes held at the various sites, and how they had either a direct or an indirect impact on teachers' teaching. Unfortunately, the findings suggest negative support, developing into restrictions on Daighi teaching. At the Bottom level (Classroom and Student), we looked at the venue setting where teacher and students' interactions take place, and the characteristics of students with whom teachers directly interacted. Lack of freedom to decorate or make changes to

the teaching space, and interaction with students who were not motivated to learn Daighi, increased the difficulties for Daighi teachers. One thing common to all levels was the presence of challenges and difficulties. The last section adopted the agency model proposed by Biesta *et al.* (2015) to evaluate teachers' teaching practices and obstacles from the perspectives of past – personal attachments to Daighi and professional development, future – expectations, and present – teachers' beliefs that motivate them to dedicate themselves to Daighi maintenance, despite facing challenging structural relationships and limited resources. These discussions help to explain the perceived challenges and difficulties encountered in developing students into functional bilinguals in Taiwanese Mandarin and Daighi, factors which set the ground for the Conclusion chapter's discussion of potential future directions for Daighi.

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Chapter 9 Conclusion

After finding that the teachers' passion and effort to promote positive attitudes through primary school Daighi education in Taiwan were not sufficient to meet the goal of Daighi maintenance (see Chapter 8.1), this last chapter in its concluding remarks goes back to the beginning of the study to review the means by which it arrived at such findings. It starts by revisiting the core and foundation of this research – the research questions, the focus of which is on the promotion of positive attitudes; and the research tools designed to collect relevant data for answering these questions – interviews and classroom observation. It reports the discovery of shifting attitudes to Daighi, the value of Daighi to teachers, and their approaches to co-constructing positive attitudes with their students through using translanguaging as pedagogy to enable language learning in this multilingual classroom. It further discusses the way teachers' endeavours have been insufficient to maintain Daighi, and outlines the mediators shaping their teaching.

After revisiting the essence of this study, this Conclusion chapter discusses the study's implications, its significance and contribution to knowledge, and the challenges and limitations faced while carrying out the research, and finishes with my reflection on the journey experienced while conducting this study.

9.1 Answering the research questions

To approach the issue of Daighi maintenance, this study adopted the perspective of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi. To be more specific, it asked how Daighi teachers promote positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom practices. This guided the design of the **overarching research question** of this study:

- How is the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi interpreted and implemented on the ground? Analyse through investigating teachers' perception of their contributions to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom practices.

In order to answer the key question, three **sub-questions** were designed:

- To what extent do Daighi teachers perceive that they are promoting positive attitudes to Daighi?
- What are the methods Daighi teachers perceive as best to adopt in classes in order to promote positive attitudes?
- To what extent do classroom practices match teachers' perceptions?

To answer the first sub-question – ‘To what extent do Daighi teachers perceive that they are promoting positive attitudes to Daighi?’, we first explored current attitudes to Daighi, then asked whether teachers thought it was important to promote positive attitudes to the language, and whether they perceived themselves as promoting it. Findings in Chapters 5 and 6 helped to answer this question. Firstly, Chapter 5 discovered ‘new negative attitudes’ to Daighi: namely, the view of Daighi as a non-important language compared to the mainstream language subjects – Taiwanese Mandarin and English. Holding such negative attitudes resulted in students’ lack of motivation to learn Daighi, while teachers also perceived that their students’ Daighi proficiency was low. Building on this background, in the interests of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi among students, Chapter 6 first discussed the six positive attitudes teachers hold towards Daighi: (1) Daighi is a beautiful language, (2) Daighi preserves ancestors’ wisdom, Taiwanese tradition and culture, (3) Daighi is a useful communication tool, (4) Daighi is ‘your’ identity, (5) Daighi is the key to linking with grandparents, and (6) Daighi is a hard language (see Chapter 6.1). To co-construct such positive attitudes to Daighi with students, three directions were developed: (1) sharing knowledge about Daighi, mother tongue, and multilingualism; (2) improving students’ proficiency in Daighi; and (3) increasing interest in Daighi. Chapter 6 also illustrated how teachers drew on students’ multilingual resources to interrogate the existing linguistic hierarchy and to enhance the learning of Daighi. These Daighi teachers devoted all their efforts in every aspect of teaching to the goal of promoting positive attitudes to Daighi, as was evident from the rich approaches they shared. They believed that their pedagogical approaches in the classroom were central to the pursuit of this goal.

To answer the second sub-question – ‘What are the methods Daighi teachers perceive as best to adopt in classes in order to promote positive attitudes?’, in Chapter 7 I analysed the interview data to explore the teaching approaches teachers adopted, and categorized them within the three directions developed. Within the first direction,

knowledge about Daighi and teaching practices that focus on sharing knowledge about the unique features of the language are discussed. These features include Daighi idioms, culture, the language itself, other languages in Daighi, and unique Daighi expressions (AABB, ABB, and AAA), as well as the benefits of multilingualism and speaking Daighi in Taiwan (see Chapter 7.2).

In terms of developing Daighi proficiency, the teaching approaches are classified into five categories: vocabulary, speaking, listening, reading, and writing (see Chapter 7.3). Through this discussion we understood that vocabulary, along with speaking and listening skills, were the main foci, not only because Daighi was positioned as more of an oral than a written communication tool, but also because time limitation was an issue that further restricted the development of additional skills. Thus, reading skill remained at a beginner's level of recognizing the vocabulary, and writing skill mainly remained at the level of copying what was already written, rather than composing.

Another direction emphasized by the teachers was increasing students' interest in Daighi. This was regarded as a crucial teaching approach, given the students' generally passive learning attitudes. Specific teaching practices discussed here were games such as 'pat it', and 'support the front line' (which gave teacher and students equally important roles), storytelling or telling jokes (teacher-centred), and acting, singing or dancing (student-centred) (see Chapter 7.4). The rich variety of teaching practices discovered demonstrated teachers' dedication to and enthusiasm for teaching Daighi.

Sub-research question 3 – 'To what extent do classroom practices match teachers' perceptions?' was also addressed when discussing the teaching practices in Chapter 7. According to the observation data, most teachers' classroom practices matched their perceptions. This indicates that the Daighi teaching was carefully planned, with teachers well aware of what approaches they employed, what form the approaches took, what their purposes were, and when to use them. Even more evident were the dynamic and creative teaching practices observed in class. These reflected teachers' flexibility and creativity in their teaching practices, tailored to respond to the students' learning style. The teachers' dedication to teaching was once again demonstrated.

In response to the overarching research question: '*How is the Local-Language-in-Education Policy on promoting positive attitudes to Daighi interpreted and implemented on the ground? Analyse through investigating teachers' perception of their contributions to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi through classroom practices.*', Daighi teachers were aware of the new negative attitudes to Daighi and the challenges in the current Daighi learning situation. In the interviews, they explained the pedagogical practices they believed they were following, and in observations they were seen to be employing most of the methods mentioned in the interviews. The collective approach to promoting positive attitudes to Daighi was based on increasing knowledge of Daighi, improving ability in Daighi, and increasing students' interest in it. Through devoting themselves to teaching, the Daighi teachers within this study perceived that they were contributing to the promotion of positive attitudes to Daighi. However, as this research also reveals, even with such enthusiastic teachers devoting themselves to teaching Daighi, according to the definition of maintenance in this study, students were not becoming functional bilinguals, and thus Daighi is not yet being maintained. The analysis of teachers' endeavours represented a superficial interpretation of what was occurring in this richly layered sociocultural context. Teachers may be devoted and dedicated to teaching their subject, but this does not guarantee outcomes. To further unpack the issue of Daighi teaching, this study adopted the sociocultural lens for analysis of the context.

Through the sociocultural theory lens, mediators were identified and were seen mainly as restrictions on Daighi education and teachers' practice. At Top level (Global, National and Local Authority), we looked at how Taiwanese Mandarin and English were preferred over Daighi, and how undervalued Daighi was; examination of the Middle level (School, Family and Colleagues) explored negative support from school, family and colleagues, and how this restricted Daighi teaching; while at the Bottom level (Classroom and Student) we looked at the passive learners teachers were working with, and the teachers' lack of freedom to make use of classroom space to enhance their teaching. Biesta *et al.*'s (2015) agency framework helped to further unpack the challenges teachers face from insufficient professional training, development support and financial support. Through the discussion we understood that it was mainly the enthusiasm for Daighi and the aspiration to maintain it that continued to motivate teachers to dedicate themselves to this profession in the face

of its constant challenges – although, as discussed previously, in maintaining Daighi, tackling the contextual challenges must be the first step (see Chapter 8).

9.2 Implications of the study

Building on the discussion in Chapter 8, three potential paths to work on are: status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning (see Johnson, 2013). As part of the revitalization of Welsh, recognition of its official status was a crucial step (Ferguson, 2006). From the discussion in Chapter 8.1.1.5, we know that Daighi finally achieved official status in January 2019, and although this happened much later for Daighi than for other threatened languages in Taiwan, it could be a good starting point for the maintenance of Daighi. To further mitigate the threatened status of Daighi, it is important to also raise its importance in the educational system (see discussion in Chapters 5.2 and 8.1.1.4), particularly in Taiwan's exam-oriented system (Yang, 2008:41; Lee, 2009:27). In terms of acquisition planning measures, such as increasing incentives and opportunities to learn a language (Cooper, 1989), if Daighi is allocated similar financial resources and space by the government, it can follow other Taiwanese threatened languages such as Hakka and Austronesian languages by establishing its own council or developing TV or radio channels for language maintenance purposes. However, such efforts may still not be enough to maintain these languages, given the current threatened status of Hakka and Austronesian languages despite the resources and space developed for them.

Moreover, as part of acquisition planning, discussed also in Chapter 3.3, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic are examples of systems effectively developed to help maintain endangered languages (O'Hanlon, 2015; Ferguson, 2006). These examples adopted content and language integrated learning (CLIL) (Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010) as a form of bilingual education to improve both incentives and opportunities for target language learning. It is 'a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language' (Coyle et al., 2010:1). That is, these endangered languages are set among the mediums of instruction for certain subjects in bilingual schools. Another bilingual education approach is 'immersion bilingual education' (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Rebuffot, 1993; May, 2008), that is, gradual dominant language input (from 100% non-dominant language, to 80%, to 50%) in a bilingual context, to enable children to become

bilingual and bicultural without sacrificing the linguistic and cultural assets of either language (Baker and Wright, 2017:230). Successful examples include French in Quebec (Genesee, 2015), Spanish in the US (Baker and Wright, 2017), Finnish in Finland (de Majía, 2002; C. Laurén, 1997), Basque in the Basque country (Cenoz, 2009); and Catalan in Catalonia (Artigal, 1993) (see Johnstone, 2002 for more successful examples internationally). Another successful example was the establishment of the first Māori -medium education in 1992 – Kōhanga Reo (language nest, Māori kindergarten) (May and Hill, 2005; Smith, 2000; Maia, Nascimento, Whan, 2018) in New Zealand. This was a monolingual education programme introduced for the purpose of language maintenance (May and Hill, 2005). However, as discussed in Chapter 2.3.2.3, lack of corpus is an obstacle to incorporating Daighi as a medium of instruction (Scott and Tiun, 2007). To enable the bilingual or multilingual education pathway, Daighi corpus planning is one of the first tasks to work on.

Before developing a plan for maintaining Daighi, we should ask perhaps the most critical question at this point: in what form should Daighi exist? For example, should Daighi be treated equally and be used in all the domains where Taiwanese Mandarin is used? If so, what function should Daighi serve? Fishman (1972d:75) described such a bilingual situation as 'bilingualism without diglossia', whereby either of the languages can serve almost any communicative function. However, such communities are unstable or transitional (Fishman, 1972, 1980; Fasold, 1987). Alternately, should Daighi continue to be the Low language (L), used predominantly only in the political domain but not in others where Taiwanese Mandarin is currently used (see domain analysis from Fishman, 1964, 1965, 1968; see also discussion in Chapter 2.2.4)? Or, should both well-developed fully functional languages sacrifice certain linguistic functions in order to complement each other and develop into a richer linguistic repertoire? Once the future form of Daighi is decided on, those in charge can better direct the planning of Daighi status, acquisition and corpus.

9.3 Significance and contribution of study

This section considers five main contributions of this research. These are: the naming of Daighi, effective Daighi teaching practices, mediators restricting the maintenance of Daighi through Daighi education, and methodology. As an outcome of this research, the benefits of participation were recognized as the fifth contribution of the study, a

feature which also matched the ethical principles of the University of Edinburgh Moray House School of Education and Sport.

The section on the naming of Daighi (see Chapter 2.1.1) presented the rationale and method for using the name 'Daighi' to refer to the target language, as follows: (1) Daighi is the name used among the Taiwanese (Hsiau, 2012), (2) Daighi is the name in the language itself, spelt in Daighi tongiong pingim (Taiwanese phonetic transcription system, DT) to reflect its pronunciation, and (3) it is Anglicized, to potentially increase the visibility of Daighi studies in an international context, through use of the same term in the literature.

Secondly, in addressing one of the original research targets – exploring Daighi teachers' practices, a wide range of dynamic effective practices were found and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, to set examples of effective teaching of Daighi, and can potentially apply to other languages of similar status and in similar contexts. These examples include the use of translanguaging as pedagogy for language learning in a multilingual classroom (Chapter 6.3); and following three directions as approaches to promoting positive attitudes. These are: knowing more about the language (Direction 1), improving students' Daighi proficiency (Direction 2), and increasing students' interest (Direction 3) (see Chapter 6.2). Examples were given of specific teaching practices within each direction, such as teaching idioms and specific Daighi expressions within Direction 1, focusing on vocabulary, speaking and listening to achieve the communication goals within Direction 2, and increasing interest (Direction 3) through use of a variety of language learning oriented games and activities.

Thirdly, following examination of Daighi maintenance in Daighi education by interviewing Daighi teachers in practice, observing their methods, and applying a sociocultural theory lens to unpack the multi-layered context, the findings identified the challenges that hinder these Daighi teachers' contribution to Daighi maintenance. Issues discussed include discovery of how the Taiwanese threatened and endangered linguistic situation is neglected by UNESCO for political reasons, and the powerful position of English and Taiwanese Mandarin as an impediment to the teaching of local and indigenous languages at all levels from the global level, to the local authority level, to the classroom (see Chapter 8). The study also identified further

issues to be addressed to help in maintaining Daighi, including status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning (see Chapter 9.3).

Two aspects of the study's contribution to methodology are discussed. First, it adopted a qualitative approach to investigate language attitudes. Quantitative methods, specifically questionnaires, constitute the dominant research tool, specifically in the field of language attitudes (see Pauwels, 2016; Baker, 1992 and Chapter 4.1.1), with only a few exceptions (see Nguyen and Hamid, 2018). As discussed in Chapter 4.1.4.2.1, the nature of questionnaires or structured interviews restricts both participants' responses and potential development of the direction of exploration. Such an approach is against the rationale of this research, in which exploration of teachers' attitudes to Daighi and Daighi education is defined as an investigation without predetermined answers to the questions. Secondly, this study presented an example of a non-directive interview approach (Barbour, 2006; Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000; Holt, 2018) for investigating language attitudes to Daighi. Interviews are known as a direct research tool for obtaining the information needed to answer the questions being investigated (Baker, 1992; Fasold, 1987). However, as justified in Chapter 4.1.4.2.1, because by nature Daighi is politically and culturally sensitive, to investigate the actual attitudes to the language it was more appropriate to take a non-directive approach. To do so, I first explored participants' opinions on other related issues, such as motivation behind the implementation of Daighi education, and only investigated their opinions on Daighi itself towards the end of the semi-structured interview. Avoiding biased questions and inferring teachers' attitudes to Daighi were among the skills that I employed to help in using the interview as an indirect method.

One of the benefits to participants is the initiation, through engaging with the research dialogue, of their reflective thinking regarding their own practices. In the post-observation interviews, a certain number of teachers shared their reflections with me, noting that the topics discussed in the interviews were often questions that they had not come across before. These questions triggered their thoughts and reflections on their teaching, causing them to become more critical and aware of their practices. Some also spoke of how their confidence and passion developed due to being interviewed and observed by a researcher conducting research in a prestigious university in the UK. The sense of their efforts being recognized encouraged and

motivated them to continue to devote themselves to the field of Daighi maintenance. A few Daighi teachers within this study were also enthusiastic about engaging in my future research, with the aim of helping to maintain Daighi in multiple ways.

These are the four main contributions of the research: the naming of Daighi; increasing awareness of Daighi maintenance; methodology; and reflective thinking about Daighi teaching. These contributions comply with the original motivation, which was the wish to find ways to help maintain Daighi. Moreover, these terms, concepts and methods can be applied further to future studies in this field, which may advance the maintenance not only of Daighi, but also of other endangered languages.

9.4 Challenges and limitations of the research

Although the overall research went smoothly, challenges and limitations were faced while conducting my research, as was to be expected. Since the context of this research is based in Taiwan and not in Edinburgh, additional uncertainty was involved in recruitment of participants and collection of data. Travelling and time consumption formed another issue. The pilot study I conducted assisted this research by directing me towards a better interview question design, as well as providing a positive experience of developing interview and classroom observation skills. However, it was also time consuming, and the additional cost exceeded the funding that I was provided with.

Other challenges included the complex situation that Daighi was in. The difficulties lay in the wide range of essential information needed to understand the key issues surrounding Daighi maintenance: politics, history, education, culture, linguistics, and sociology, encompassing topics of national identity, ideology, and attitudes. I regarded these elements as enriching this study, but finding a way to structure and present them in a language that is not my native language was challenging.

The limitation I faced lay in the information that the teachers asked me not to share. These included cases of teachers of other mainstream subjects, who exercised power over Daighi supplementary teachers, either directly challenging Daighi teachers' authority, or changing records of students' performance. Not only these incidents themselves, but also the fact of being asked not to share this information in my thesis,

reflected the tensions and difficulties Daighi teachers may be facing. Perhaps more events of this kind, equally critical through reflecting the sensitive and complex situation Daighi is in, are yet to be explored.

The creation of this study has been a journey. The difficulties I encountered were opportunities to develop my skills and to conduct research more efficiently, while the restrictions became evidence of the complexity of this research.

9.5 Reflection

I experienced contrasting feelings while conducting this research. I began with the hope that the implementation of Daighi education was an act of awareness at the National level, and I was expecting to see effective maintenance of Daighi. However, at the end of my fieldwork, I was deeply disappointed with the current situation, and lost the sense of hope regarding Daighi maintenance by the educational sector (see discussion in Chapter 8).

On the other hand, I was also touched by the teachers' enthusiasm in devoting themselves to the preservation of Daighi, despite the difficult situation they were in. I was also impressed by those students who were skilled and fluent in Daighi. Their dedication showed a sense of hope that the future outlook for Daighi maintenance may be positive.

The research has been a positive learning journey for me, and I continue to be passionate about the field of Daighi maintenance. The fieldwork, data analysis and findings are positive inputs to my enthusiasm for language maintenance. Although the challenges faced throughout the research seemed difficult to overcome, meeting others who also devote themselves to the maintenance of Daighi was encouraging. This research is a stepping stone to the potential next steps of future research, including aspects of language planning, language policy, and education.

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Appendix 1 National Curriculum (2009)
國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要語文學習領域（閩南語）

(一) 基本理念 (Section 1. Basic concepts)

1. 培養學生探索、熱愛閩南語的興趣與態度，並養成主動學習的習慣。
 (Develop students' positive attitudes to Daighi such as interest, affection, and actively use of it)
2. 培養學生閩南語聆聽、說話、標音、閱讀、寫作的基本能力，並能在日常生活中靈活運用、表情達意。
 (Improve listening, speaking, spelling, reading and writing abilities, for them to express their thoughts)
3. 培養學生應用閩南語從事思考、溝通、討論、欣賞和解決問題的能力。
 (Develop the ability to think, communicate, discuss, appreciate and solve problems in Daighi)
4. 培養學生應用閩南語學習知識、擴充生活經驗、認識多元文化，以因應現代化社會的需求。
 (Enhance the ability in learning through Daighi, and broaden living experiences by using the language, and familiarizing themselves with the multicultural society)

(二) 課程目標 (Section 2. Learning objectives)

課程目標 基本能力	閩南語課程
1. 瞭解自我與發展潛能	透過閩南語的學習，建立自信，以為自我發展的基礎。
2. 欣賞、表現與創新	培養以閩南語創作的興趣，並提升欣賞能力。
3. 生涯規劃與終身學習	從瞭解本土文化與語言，擴展生涯規劃的空間，奠定終身學習的基礎。
4. 表達、溝通與分享	應用閩南語以表達情意和溝通意見。
5. 尊重、關懷與團隊合作	透過閩南語與人互動，關懷別人、尊重各族群語言和文化，以建立彼此互信、合作的精神。
6. 文化學習與國際瞭解	透過閩南語學習本土文化，並認識世界不同族群的文化。

7. 規劃、組織與實踐	應用閩南語與人協調聯絡，從事規劃、組織，並落實於各項活動中。
8. 運用科技與資訊	應用科技與資訊進行閩南語學習和交流，以增進學習效能，豐富學習內涵。
9. 主動探索與研究	培養主動探索、研究閩南語以及其他語言文化的興趣和習慣。
10. 獨立思考與解決問題	應用閩南語進行獨立思考，並有效解決問題。

(三)分段能力指標 (Section 3. Skill objectives breakdown):

1. 聆聽能力
2. 說話能力
3. 標音能力
4. 閱讀能力
5. 寫作能力

<說明> 1. 能力指標編號說明: (Explanation of ability numbering)

(1) 第一個數字代表語言能力類別。(First number indicates language ability)

(1. 聆聽能力 Listening; 2. 說話能力 Speaking; 3. 標音能 Spelling; 4. 閱讀能力 Reading; 5. 寫作能力 Writing)

(2) 第二個數字代表學習階段。(Second number indicates learning phases)

(1. 一、二年級 grade 1 and 2; 2. 三、四年級 grade 3 and 4; 3. 五、六年級 grade 5 and 6; 4. 七至九年級 grade 7 to 9)

(3) 第三個數字代表分項能力指標序號。(Third number indicates abilities in learning objectives)

2. 下列指標內涵請教師依學生、班級及學校現況彈性調整、靈活運用。(The following index should be adjusted base on students' ability and classrooms)

3. 標音符號原則於三年級教授，惟學校得視實際需要及學生程度提前於二年級實施。

(Spelling system should be introduced in 3rd grade, but can be introduced a year earlier if needed)

1. 聆聽能力 (Listening)

- 1-1-1 能聽懂日常生活中的簡短語句。
- 1-1-2 能初步聽辨教師教學語言及教學內容。
- 1-1-3 能運用視聽媒材提升聆聽的能力。
- 1-1-4 能初步聽辨他人口頭表達的感受與情緒。
- 1-1-5 能養成注意聆聽閩南語的態度與習慣。

- 1-2-1 能聽辨日常生活中閩南語語詞及語句的語音成分。
- 1-2-2 能聽辨教師教學語言及教學內容。
- 1-2-3 能聽辨社區生活中的常用語句及語調。
- 1-2-4 能從閩南語聽辨中，認識社區及在地文化。
- 1-2-5 能初步聽辨閩南語的一字多音。
- 1-2-6 能初步運用科技與資訊媒材提升聆聽能力。
- 1-2-7 能聽辨他人口頭表達的感受與情緒。
- 1-2-8 能養成聆聽閩南語的禮貌與態度。

- 1-3-1 能聽辨閩南語語句的知識內涵與內在情感。
- 1-3-2 能聽辨並思考閩南語語句的內涵。
- 1-3-3 能聽辨他人意見的重點、異同及言外之意。
- 1-3-4 能聽辨閩南語聲調變化、語音訛讀和特殊音變。
- 1-3-5 能初步聽辨閩南語語音和讀音的不同。
- 1-3-6 能從閩南語聽辨中關心生活中的重要議題。
- 1-3-7 能運用科技與資訊媒材增進聽辨能力。
- 1-3-8 能從聆聽中培養主動學習閩南語的興趣與習慣。

- 1-4-1 能養成聆聽閩南語口說及書面語言的能力，並能把握主題、內容及其聲情。
- 1-4-2 能聽辨閩南語常用字詞的文白異讀。
- 1-4-3 能加強運用科技與資訊媒材增進閩南語聽辨與欣賞能力。
- 1-4-4 能主動聆賞閩南語相關的藝文及展演活動。

1-4-5 能從聆聽中加強主動學習閩南語的興趣與習慣。

2. 說話能力 (Speaking)

- 2-1-1 能說出日常生活中的基本語詞及簡短語句。
- 2-1-2 能運用閩南語進行簡單對話。
- 2-1-3 能簡單地向別人敘述自我的生活。
- 2-1-4 能唸唱童謠，並以簡單的語句複述所聽到的故事。
- 2-1-5 能初步運用閩南語表達對他人的關懷與禮貌。
- 2-1-6 能運用閩南語簡單表達感受、情緒與需求。
- 2-1-7 能養成樂意說閩南語的態度與習慣。
- 2-2-1 能流暢的說出日常生活對話語句。
- 2-2-2 能運用閩南語與師長、同學及社區人士進行對話。
- 2-2-3 能唸唱歌謠及說出簡易故事。
- 2-2-4 能運用閩南語簡單描述生活周遭的人、事、時、地、物。
- 2-2-5 能運用閩南語表達感受、情緒與需求。
- 2-2-6 能運用閩南語表達對他人的尊重與關懷。
- 2-2-7 能從傳播媒體和課外讀物中，學習說話的語料，並與人溝通。
- 2-2-8 能養成主動用閩南語與人溝通的態度與習慣。

- 2-3-1 能熟練運用閩南語各種句型從事口語表達。
- 2-3-2 能順暢的運用閩南語與別人談論生活經驗。
- 2-3-3 能以閩南語從事簡易的口頭報告。
- 2-3-4 能運用閩南語進行事物的描述、分析和解說。
- 2-3-5 能將閩南語書面詞彙與用語，運用於口語表達。
- 2-3-6 能運用閩南語與師長、同學進行問答及討論。
- 2-3-7 能在口語表達中適當使用閩南語的語音和讀音。
- 2-3-8 能用口頭方式進行閩南語和國語之間的翻譯。
- 2-3-9 能養成在團體中運用閩南語談論的習慣。
- 2-3-10 能養成吟、誦古今詩詞文章的興趣與能力。

- 2-4-1 能運用閩南語思考並流利的表達。
- 2-4-2 能運用閩南語進行開會、座談與演講。

- 2-4-3 能運用閩南語流暢的朗讀文章及吟唱詩詞。
- 2-4-4 能運用閩南語適切的表達想法、情感，並進行價值判斷。
- 2-4-5 能熟練用口頭方式進行閩南語和國語之間的翻譯。
- 2-4-6 能主動參與或演出閩南語相關的藝文活動。

3. 標音能力 (Spelling)

- 3-1-1 能認唸基本的標音符號。(得視實際需要安排於適當年級【二年級或中年級】實施)
- 3-2-1 能認唸標音符號的聲母、韻母、聲調。
- 3-2-2 能運用標音符號提升聽說能力。
- 3-3-1 能運用標音符號拼讀日常生活中常用的語詞及短句。
- 3-3-2 能運用標音符號拼寫日常生活中常用的語詞及短句。
- 3-3-3 能運用標音符號查閱字、辭典或相關資料。
- 3-3-4 能運用科技與資訊輔助標音符號學習。
- 3-4-1 能運用標音符號拼讀語句及文章。
- 3-4-2 能運用標音符號記錄語詞或有音無字的音節。
- 3-4-3 能運用標音符號記錄日常口語對話。
- 3-4-4 能運用科技與資訊增進標音能力，豐富學習內涵。

4. 閱讀能力 (Reading)

- 4-1-1 能養成基本的閩南語認讀能力。
- 4-1-2 能養成喜歡認讀閩南語讀物的態度與習慣。
- 4-2-1 能認讀閩南語語詞和語句，並瞭解其語意。
- 4-2-2 能閱讀閩南語常用字詞寫成的短文。
- 4-2-3 能初步使用閩南語字、辭典及其他工具書，輔助閱讀。
- 4-2-4 能養成主動利用圖書館，增進閩南語的閱讀能力。
- 4-2-5 能養成良好的閩南語閱讀態度與習慣。
- 4-3-1 能運用標音符號與漢字，閱讀閩南語文章，並理解其文意。
- 4-3-2 能養成閱讀閩南語詩文的能力，並領略其意境與美感。

4-3-3 能運用閩南語字、辭典及其他工具書，提升閱讀能力。

4-3-4 能養成以閩南語閱讀並與人分享、討論的習慣。

4-3-5 能透過閩南語閱讀以瞭解本土及多元文化。

4-4-1 能閱讀並欣賞閩南語文學作品。

4-4-2 能瞭解閩南語文學作品的主題及內涵。

4-4-3 能透過閱讀以瞭解閩南語作品的寫作技巧。

4-4-4 能透過閱讀，客觀分析閩南語文章的思維與觀點。

4-4-5 能透過資訊及檢索工具，蒐集、整理閩南語資料，以增進閱讀能力。

5. 寫作能力 (Writing)

5-2-1 能聽寫基本的閩南語常用語詞和語句。

5-2-2 能以閩南語進行基本的語詞替換與句型轉換。

5-2-3 能運用標音符號輔助簡易的閩南語寫作。

5-3-1 能運用閩南語書寫簡易的字條、卡片與標語。

5-3-2 能運用閩南語寫出自己的感受與需求，並表達對他人的關懷。

5-3-3 能運用標音符號提升閩南語寫作能力。

5-3-4 能運用閩南語媒材、工具書或線上檢索系統輔助寫作。

5-4-1 能寫出自身、周遭或鄉土有關的簡短故事。

5-4-2 能在觀看閩南語影音媒材後，以閩南語書寫簡單的心得。

5-4-3 能與同學以閩南語共同編寫角色扮演的簡單對白，並分享編寫與演出的樂趣。

5-4-4 能以閩南語書寫簡單的書信及邀請函。

5-4-5 能透過科技與資訊媒材，豐富寫作內容，提升閩南語寫作能力。

(四)分段能力指標與十大基本能力之關係 (Section 4. Matching skill objectives and overall objectives)

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
1. 瞭解自 我與發 展潛能	透過閩 南語的 學習， 建立自 信，以 為自我 發展的 基礎。	聆聽 能力	1-1-1 能聽懂日常生 活中的簡短語 句。	1-2-2 能聽辨教師教 學語言及教學 內容。	1-3-2 能聽辨並思考 閩南語語句的 內涵。	1-4-1 能養成聆聽閩 南語口說及書 面語言的能力 ，並能把握主 題、內容及其 聲情。
		說話 能力	2-1-1 能說出日常生 活中的基本語 詞及簡短語句 。 2-1-2 能運用閩南語 進行簡單對話 。 2-1-3 能簡單地向別 人敘述自我的 生活。 2-1-6 能運用閩南語 簡單表達感受	2-2-5 能運用閩南語 表達感受、情 緒與需求。	2-3-8 能用口頭方式 進行閩南語和 國語之間的翻 譯。	2-4-1 能運用閩南語 思考並流利的 表達。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
			、情緒與需求。 。			
	標音 能力	3-1-1 能認唸基本的 標音符號。(得 視實際需要安 排於適當年級 【二年級或中 年級】實施)	3-2-2 能運用標音符 號提升聽說能 力。	3-3-2 能運用標音符 號拼寫日常生 活中常用的語 詞及短句。	3-4-2 能運用標音符 號記錄語詞或 有音無字的音 節。	
	閱讀 能力	4-1-1 能養成基本的 閩南語認讀能 力。	4-2-2 能閱讀閩南語 常用字詞寫成 的短文。	4-3-1 能運用標音符 號與漢字，閱 讀閩南語文章 ，並理解其文 意。	4-4-2 能瞭解閩南語 文學作品的主 題及內涵。	
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		寫作 能力		5-2-1 能聽寫基本的 閩南語常用語 詞和語句。		5-4-1 能寫出自身、 周遭或鄉土有 關的簡短故事 。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
2. 欣賞、 表現與 創新	培養以 閩南語 創作的 興趣， 並提升 欣賞能 力。	聆聽 能力		1-2-5 能初步聽辨閩 南語的一字多 音。	1-3-5 能初步聽辨閩 南語語音和讀 音的不同。	1-4-1 能養成聆聽閩 南語口說及書 面語言的能力 ，並能把握主 題、內容及其 聲情。 1-4-4 能主動聆賞閩 南語相關的藝 文及展演活動 。
		說話 能力	2-1-3 能簡單地向別 人敘述自我的 生活。	2-2-3 能唸唱歌謠及 說出簡易故事 。 2-2-8 能養成主動用 閩南語與人溝 通的態度與習 慣。	2-3-10 能養成吟、誦 古今詩詞文章 的興趣與能力 。	2-4-3 能運用閩南語 流暢的朗讀文 章及吟唱詩詞 。 2-4-6 能主動參與或 演出閩南語相 關的藝文活動 。
		標音 能力			3-3-1 能運用標音符 號拼讀日常生	3-4-1

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
					活中常用的語 詞及短句。 3-3-2 能運用標音符 號拼寫日常生 活中常用的語 詞及短句。	能運用標音符 號拼讀語句及 文章。
				4-2-1 能認讀閩南語 語詞和語句,	4-3-1 能運用標音符 號與漢字, 閱	4-4-1 能閱讀並欣賞 閩南語文
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		閱讀 能力		並瞭解其語意 。	讀閩南語文章 , 並理解其文 意。 4-3-2 能養成 閱讀閩南語詩 文的能力, 並 領略其意境與 美感。	學作品。 4-4-2 能瞭解閩南語 文學作品的主 題及內涵。 4-4-3 能透過閱讀以 瞭解閩南語作 品的寫作技巧 。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		寫作 能力		5-2-2 能以閩南語進 行基本的語詞 替換與句型轉 換。		5-4-3 能與同學以閩 南語共同編寫 角色扮演的簡 單對白，並分 享編寫與演出 的樂趣。
3. 生涯規 劃與終 身學習	從瞭解 本土文 化與語 言，擴 展生涯 規劃的 空間， 奠定終 身學習 的基礎 。	聆聽 能力		1-2-3 能聽辨社區生 活中的常用語 句及語調。		
		說話 能力		2-2-7 能從傳播媒體 和課外讀物中 ，學習說話的 語料，並與人 溝通。		
		標音 能力	3-1-1 能認唸基本的 標音符號。(得 視實際需要安 排於適當年級 【二年級或中 年級】實施)		3-3-2 能運用標音符 號拼寫日常生 活中常用的語 詞及短句。 3-3-3 能運用標音符 號查閱字、辭	3-4-3 能運用標音符 號記錄日常口 語對話。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
					典或相關資料 。	
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		閱讀 能力	4-1-2 能養成喜歡認 讀閩南語讀物 的態度與習慣 。	4-2-3 能初步使用閩 南語字、辭典 及其他工具書 ， 輔助閱讀。		
		寫作 能力		5-2-3 能運用標音符 號輔助簡易的 閩南語寫作。		
4. 表達、 溝通與 分享	應用閩 南語以 表達情 意和溝 通意見 。	聆聽 能力	1-1-1 能聽懂日常生 活中的簡短語 句。 1-1-4 能初步聽辨他 人口頭表達的 感受與情緒。	1-2-7 能聽辨他人口 頭表達的感受 與情緒。	1-3-1 能聽辨閩南語 語句的知識內 涵與內在情感 。	

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		說話 能力	2-1-1 能說出日常生活中的基本語詞及簡短語句。 。 2-1-2 能運用閩南語進行簡單對話。 。 2-1-3 能簡單地向別人敘述自我的生活。 2-1-4 能唸唱童謠, 並以簡單的語句複述所聽到的故事。 2-1-6 能運用閩南語簡單表達感受、情緒與需	2-2-1 能流暢的說出日常生活對話語句。 2-2- 2 能運用閩南語與師長、同學及社區人士進行對話。 2-2-5 能運用閩南語表達感受、情緒與需求。 2-2-8 能養成主動用閩南語與人溝通的態度與習慣。	2-3-1 能熟練運用閩南語各種句型從事口語表達。 。 2-3-2 能順暢的運用閩南語與別人談論生活經驗。 。 2-3-5 能將閩南語書面詞彙與用語, 運用於口語表達。 2-3-7 能在口語表達中適當使用閩南語的語音和讀音。 2-3-8 能用口頭方式	2-4-2 能運用閩南語進行開會、座談與演講。
能力	分段能力指標					

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程 目標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
能力 指標 基本 能力	課程 目標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
			求。		進行閩南語和 國語之間的翻 譯。	
		標音 能力		3-2-1 能認唸標音符 號的聲母、韻 母、聲調。	3-3-2 能運用標音符 號拼寫日常生 活中常用的語 詞及短句。	
		閱讀 能力			4-3-2 能養成閱讀閩 南語詩文的能 力，並領略其 意境與美感。 4-3-4 能養成以閩南 語閱讀並與人 分享、討論的 習慣。	
		寫作 能力			5-3-1 能運用閩南語 書寫簡易的字	5-4-2 能在觀看閩南 語影音媒材後 ，以閩南語書

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
					條、卡片與標語。 5-3-3 能運用標音符號提升閩南語寫作能力。	寫簡單的心得。 5-4-4 能以閩南語書寫簡單的書信及邀請函。
5. 尊重、 關懷與 團隊合 作	透過閩南語的互動，關懷別人、尊重各族群語言和文化，以建立彼此互	聆聽能力	1-1-5 能養成注意聆聽閩南語的態度與習慣。	1-2-8 能養成聆聽閩南語的禮貌與態度。	1-3-3 能聽辨他人意見的重點、異同及言外之意。	
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
信、合 作的精 神。	說話 能力	2-1-5 能初步運用閩 南語表達對他 人的關懷與禮 貌。	2-2-6 能運用閩南語 表達對他人的 尊重與關懷。	2-3-6 能運用閩南語 與師長、同學 進行問答及討 論。 2-3-9 能養成在團體 中運用閩南語 談論的習慣。		
	標音 能力					
	閱讀 能力			4-3-4 能養成以閩南 語閱讀並與人 分享、討論的 習慣。		
	寫作 能力			5-3-2 能運用閩南語 寫出自己的感 受與需求，並 表達對他人的 關懷。	5-4-3 能與同學以閩 南語共同編寫 角色扮演的簡 單對白，並分 享編寫與演出 的樂趣。	
6. 文化學	透過閩 南語學	聆聽 能力		1-2-4 能從閩南語聽 辨中，認識社		1-4-2

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
習與國 際瞭解	習本土 文化， 並認識 世界不 同族群 的文化 。			區及在地文化 。		能聽辨閩南語 常用字詞的文 白異讀。
		說話 能力		2-2-2 能運用閩南語 與師長、同學 及社區人士進 行對話。		2-4-5 能熟練用口頭 方式進行閩南 語和國語之間 的翻譯。
		標音 能力				
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		閱讀 能力			4-3-5 能透過閩南語 閱讀以瞭解本 土及多元文化 。	
		寫作 能力				5-4-1 能寫出自身、 周遭或鄉土有 關的簡短故事 。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
7. 規劃、 組織與 實踐	應用閩 南語與 人協調 聯絡， 從事規 劃、組 織，並 落實於 各項活 動中。	聆聽 能力			1-3-3 能聽辨他人意 見的重點、異 同及言外之意 。	
		說話 能力	2-1-3 能簡單地向別 人敘述自我的 生活。	2-2-4 能運用閩南語 簡單描述生活 周遭的人、事 、時、地、物 。	2-3-3 能以閩南語從 事簡易的口頭 報告。 2-3-4 能運用閩南語 進行事物的描 述、分析和解 說。 2-3-9 養成在團體中 運用閩南語談 論的習慣。	2-4-2 能運用閩南 語進行開會 、座談與演 講。
		標音 能力				
		閱讀 能力				4-4-4 能透過閱讀， 客觀分析閩南 語文章的思維 與觀點。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
能力 指標 基本 能力	課程 目標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		寫作 能力			5-3-1 能運用閩南語 書寫簡易的字 條、卡片與標 語。	5-4-2 能在觀看閩南 語影音媒材後 ，以閩南語書 寫簡單的心得 。
8. 運用科 技與資 訊	應用科 技與資 訊進行 閩南語 學習和 交流， 以增進 學習效 能，豐 富學習 內涵。	聆聽 能力	1-1-3 能運用視聽媒 材提升聆聽的 能力。	1-2-6 能初步運用科 技與資訊媒材 提升聆聽能力 。	1-3-7 能運用科技與 資訊媒材增進 聽辨能力。	1-4-3 能加強運用 科技與資訊 媒材增進閩 南語聽辨與 欣賞能力。
		說話 能力		2-2-7 能從傳播媒體 和課外讀物中 ，學習說話的 語料，並與人 溝通。		
		標音 能力			3-3-4	3-4-4 能運用科技 與資訊增進

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程 目 標	能力 指 標 項 目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
					能運用科技與 資訊輔助標音 符號學習。	標音能力， 豐富學習內 涵。
		閱 讀 能 力			4-3-3 能運用閩南語 字、辭典及其 他工具書，提 升閱讀能力。	4-4-5 能透過資訊 及檢索工具 ，蒐集、整 理閩南語資 料，以增進 閱讀能力。
		寫 作 能 力			5-3-4 能運用閩南語 媒材、工具書 或線上檢索系 統輔助寫作。	5-4-5 能透過科技 與資訊媒材 ，豐富寫作 內容，提升 閩南語寫作 能力。
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程 目 標	能力 指 標 項 目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
9. 主動探 索與研 究	培養主 動探索 、研究 閩南語 以及其	聆聽 能力	1-1-5 能養成注意聆 聽閩南語的態 度與習慣。	1-2-1 能聽辨日常生 活中閩南語語 詞及語句的語 音成分。	1-3-1 能聽辨閩南語 語句的知識內 涵與內在情感 。	1-4-2 能聽辨閩南 語的文白異 讀和方言差 異。

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
他語言 文化的 興趣和 習慣。				1-2-3 能聽辨社區生 活中的常用語 句及語調。	1-3-2 能聽辨並思考 閩南語語句的 內涵。 1-3-4 能聽辨閩南語 聲調變化、語 音訛讀和特殊 音變。 1-3-8 能從聆聽中培 養主動學習閩 南語的興趣與 習慣。	1-4-4 能主動聆賞 閩南語相關 的藝文及展 演活動。 1-4-5 能從聆聽中 加強主動學 習閩南語的 興趣與習慣 。
		說話 能力	2-1-7 能養成樂意說 閩南語的態度 與習慣。	2-2-8 能養成主動用 閩南語與人溝 通的態度與習 慣。		2-4-6 能主動參與或 演出閩南語相 關的藝文活動 。
		標音 能力			3-3-3 能運用標音符 號查閱字、辭 典或相關資料 。	

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		閱讀 能力	4-1-2 能養成喜歡認 讀閩南語讀物 的態度與習慣 。	4-2-4 能養成主動利 用圖書館，增 進閩南語的閱 讀能力。 4-2-5 能養成良好的 閩南語閱讀態 度與習慣。	4-3-1 能運用標音符 號與漢字，閱 讀閩南語文章 ，並理解其文 意。	4-4-2 能瞭解閩南 語文學作品 的主題及內 涵。 4-4-4 能透過閱讀 ，客觀分析 閩南語文章 的思維與觀 點。
能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程 目標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
		寫作 能力			5-3-3 能運用標音符 號提升閩南語 寫作能力。	
10. 獨立思 考與解 決問題	應用閩 南語進 行獨立 思考，	聆聽 能力	1-1-2 能初步聽辨教 師教學語言及 教學內容。	1-2-1 能聽辨日常生 活中閩南語語 詞及語句的語 音成分。	1-3-6 能從閩南語聽 辨中關心生活 中的重要議題 。	

能力 指標 基本 能力	分段能力指標					
	課程目 標	能力 指標 項目	第一階段 (1-2 年級)	第二階段 (3-4 年級)	第三階段 (5-6 年級)	第四階段 (7-9 年級)
並有效 解決問 題。	說話 能力				2-3-6 能運用閩南語 與師長、同學 進行問答及討 論。	2-4-1 能運用閩南 語思考並流 利的表達。 2-4-4 能運用閩南 語適切的表 達想法、情 感，並進行 價值判斷。
	標音 能力					
	閱讀 能力					4-4-4 能透過閱讀， 客觀分析閩南 語文章的思維 與觀點。
	寫作 能力					

(五) 實施要點 (Section 5. Practical points)

1. 教材編選原則 (Principals for editing and selecting teaching materials)

(1) 閩南語教材之編選內容應以生活化、實用性、趣味性、文學性為原則。
(The contents should be based on daily life, useful, interesting and literary)

(2) 閩南語教材所涵蓋的層面應以學生日常生活及其未來發展為主要內容。
(It should cover contexts of students' daily life and later stages in their lives)

- (3)閩南語教材編寫及活動設計應力求多樣，融入不同體裁。
(Its editing and activity design should be diverse and include multidiscipline)
- (4)閩南語教材之編選應配合學生的語言發展，由口語表達能力進展到書面表達能力。
(Its editing should adapt to students' language development stages: from oral to paper-based expression)
- (5)閩南語教材之編選應呼應階段性之十項能力指標。
(Its editing should match the 10 learning objectives)
- (6)閩南語教材之編選應由第一階段到第四階段進行通盤規劃。
(The materials and its use should follow the four learning phases stated on p.37)
- (7)閩南語教材之編選應包含語音、詞彙、語法、語義、遣詞造句等項目，注意循序漸進及一貫統整的原則，教材篇幅（含延伸學習）亦應與教學時數相配合。
(It should include phonetics, vocabulary, grammar, pragmatics and syntax, and adapt to learning phase development and class length)
- (8)閩南語教材之編選，第一階段以培養聆聽、說話能力為主。第二階段加強聆聽、說話能力，並培養標音和閱讀能力。第三階段加強聆聽、說話、標音、閱讀能力，培養基本的寫作能力。第四階段在聆聽、說話、標音、閱讀、寫作五項能力均衡發展的基礎上，進一步提升寫作能力。
(The focus of each phase should be: phase 1 – beginners level in listening and speaking; phase 2 – advanced listening and speaking, and beginners level in spelling and reading; phase 3 – advanced listening, speaking, spelling and reading, and beginners level in writing; phase 4 – balanced level in listening, speaking, spelling, reading and writing, and improve writing ability)
- (9)教材選用漢字，先從常用國字入手，避免出現大量閩南語特殊漢字。
(The use of Han characters should start with those commonly used, and avoid large quantity of special characters)
- (10)標音符號原則於三年級教授，惟學校得視實際需要及學生程度提前於二年級實施。配合多元語言環境，注意符號系統間的共通性。
(Spelling system should be introduced in 3rd year, but it can be introduced a year earlier if needed. Should adapt to the multilingual environment and commonality with the Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (MPS))
- (11)參照本課程綱要編選教材時，應靈活應用，依各地區學生的語言差異，因人因地制宜，進行編選。
(Its edition should adapt to local students' language ability and geographical features)

(12)本綱要中所謂之閩南語應以臺灣所使用之閩南語為範圍。
(The Minnanyu (Daighi) in the textbooks refers to the one used in Taiwan)

2.教學方法建議 (Suggestions on teaching methods)

(1)閩南語的教學方法應由教師自主，配合人、事、時、地、物等因素，善用語文教學原理和方法，時時創新，靈活教學。

(Teachers should combine language teaching theories and methods to adapt to culture, event and environment, and be creative and flexible)

(2)閩南語的教學，應配合多元語文教育，參酌對比教學法進行教學。

(Adjust to multilingual education, combine and compare the teaching methods)

(3)閩南語的教學實施，應在教室、學校、家庭、社區營造閩南語之學習情境，讓學生置身其中，自然習得。

(Minnanyu should be used in classrooms, schools, family and speech community to provide inputs for students to acquire it)

(4)閩南語的教學實施應配合教學目標，善用多媒體與資訊科技。

(Teaching should adapt to learning objectives, and use multimedia to reach them)

(5)教學時應突破教師單向灌輸的模式，透過情境的融入雙向互動，讓學生從活動中學習。

(Avoid one-way instilling, and use activities to interact with students)

(6)閩南語的教學宜由教師與教師間之協同教學擴展到教師與家長、教師與其他社區資源人士等之協同教學。

(Minnanyu teaching should expand from teacher only to involve parents and speech community members)

(7)閩南語教學應重視下列各項基本原則：(Emphasize on the following principles)

A.聆聽教學宜採用面對面的有聲教學，並宜以討論方式進行，重視聽後的回應

。

(Listening: face-to-face discussion, and value responses)

B.說話教學宜兼重各種語體，配合各種情境，採用雙向溝通的教學法。

(Speaking: use multimedia and diverse situations to adopt two-way communication)

C.標音教學應配合教學需要，從認唸開始，盡量配合學生程度選擇適當階段實施，教材選用應力求前後一致的閩南語標音系統，避免學生學習的困擾。

(Spelling: adapt to teaching need and start with recognize and read it. Be consistent with selecting the spelling system)

D.閱讀教學宜從簡易有趣之本土故事及短文入手，以提高閱讀興趣。

(Speaking: start with simple local short stories to raise interest)

E.寫作教學應重視閩南語特有詞彙和句型之運用，以求表情達意。

(Writing: value the use of syntax and vocabulary that are specific to Minnanyu)

3.教學評量 (Teaching evaluation)

(1)評量以本課程綱要內容所指之教學目標為依據。

(Adapt to learning objectives)

(2)評量方法宜靈活運用評量方式，兼以實作評量、觀察為主，紙筆評量為輔。

(Be flexible, focus on actual practice and observation, with minor attention on paper tests)

(3)評量應考量區域差異，因地制宜、適性評量。

(Consider geographical differences and adopt the appropriate evaluation method)

(4)評量結果作為教學與學習的參考。

(Results are references for teaching and learning)

[Type here]

Appendix 2 Primary School A Daighi Syllabus

臺北市大安區金華國小 103 學年度第一學期暨第二學期第一週六年級語文領域課程

(閩南語) 計畫表 103.07

編寫者：六年級全體老師		來源：康軒版閩南語教材
背景分析	學生特質	本區的學生身處於文教區，周遭的文化資源豐富，學生素質頗佳，整體的語文能力優異。且多數的家長社經地位高，學生素質亦佳。學生學習意願強，重視學習成就感，但受限於慣用語為國語的影響，學童們在閩南語文化上的刺激較少，其閩南語聽與說的表現能力也差異頗大，所以在學習時易產生落差。
	學生舊經驗	大部分學生於日常生活中較少使用閩南語溝通，所以相關的學習經驗很少；甚至有部分學生只有在課堂上，才有機會學習此項語言，故整體而言，多數學生的閩南語表達能力雖然不夠流暢，但幾乎所有學生皆於學校學了將近六年的閩南語，因此可以利用一些閩南語的詞彙。
	社區環境特色 Socioeconomic features of the community	本學區屬於知識水平高、社經地位高的社區環境，對於語文的學習頗為重視，學校能結合社區的力量提倡閩南語教學，於每週訂定週一為母語日，配合閩南語廣播讓學生熟悉閩南語。 This community is a high intellectual and high socioeconomic community, paying focus on language learning. This school can cooperate with the community to promote Daighi learning, and set every Monday as the Mother-Tongue-Day to practice Daighi. Daighi radio programmes are used to provide Daighi environment and help the students to get familiar with the language.
學期目標	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.能學會各地景點名勝的閩南語說法，並能認識其人文風情，培養學生的國際觀。 2.能學會各地的點心美食的閩南語說法，並欣賞本土人文。 3.能學會確實做好資源回收，並懂得珍惜與愛護我們唯一的地球。 4.能學會各種防災的基本常識，並培養面對災害時冷靜面對的態度。 5.能學會各種藝文表演名稱的閩南語說法，並了解中西文化之差異，培養欣賞美的習慣。 6.能學習文白音，正確發音，並學會閩南語音標、字詞用法，用閩南語朗誦課文，了解課文主旨意義。 7.能認識、了解臺灣俗諺，欣賞閩南語歌曲之美。 	

第一主題：文化行腳

週次	單元名稱	節數	教學目標	十大基本能力	分段能力指標	重大議題	評量方式
第一週	第一課 臺灣好 tshit 迤	1	1.學會課文朗讀並能深入了解課文所描述之各地風光。 2.能講出語詞遊樂園裡的各地景點名勝，並能認識其人文風情。	【四】 【五】	1-2-11 2-2-5 2-2-14	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第二週	第一課 臺灣好 tshit 迤	1	1.學會本課句型「想欲.....」的造句與對話，並複習本課詞彙。 2.能透過神遊世界的樂趣，培養學生的國際觀。 3.能正確的完成本課練習。	【四】 【五】	1-2-11 2-2-12 2-2-14	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第三週	我攏會曉讀矣	1	1.學會「我攏會曉矣」的讀音和例詞。 2.進階了解閩南語「同字不同音」的用法。	【九】	1-2-1 1-2-5 2-2-9	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第四週	逛夜市	1	1.以逛夜市的經驗描述臺灣小吃。 2.透過對各地的點心美食的認識接近本土人文。 3.學會並熟讀本課課文，了解並熟悉本課語詞。 4.能做圖說故事之聽說練習。	【五】 【九】	1-2-15 2-2-10 2-2-14	【家政教育】 1-3-4 1-3-5	口試 實作 實踐
第五週	逛夜市	1	1.學會本課句型「先...閣...」的造句與對話，並複習本課詞彙。 2.能正確的完成本課練習。 3.學會本課內容相關之俗諺語。	【五】 【九】	2-2-12 2-2-14 2-2-29 4-2-12	【家政教育】 1-3-4 1-3-5	口試 實作 實踐

第六週	我攞會曉讀矣	1	1.學會「我攞會曉矣」的讀音和例詞。 2.進階了解閩南語「同字不同音」的用法。	【九】	1-2-1 1-2-5 2-2-9	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第七週	第一單元 複習	1	1.熟念第一、二課課文。 2.能將第一、二課語詞運用於生活。 3.能運用第一、二課句型進行對話。	【四】 【九】	1-2-3 1-2-15 2-2-11	【環境教育】 5-3-4 【家政教育】 1-3-4 1-3-5	口試 實作 實踐
第八週	綠島的象	1	1.能流暢的朗讀課文，並理解課文內涵。 2.能講出語詞遊樂園中的資源回收類別。 3.學會本課「做伙來開講」的例句與對話。 4.能學會確實做好資源回收，並懂得珍惜與愛護我們唯一的地球。	【二】 【四】	1-2-10 1-2-16 2-2-9 2-2-10 2-2-14	【環境教育】 2-3-2	口試 實作 實踐
第九週	綠島的象	1	1.能流暢的朗讀課文，並理解課文內涵。 2.能講出語詞遊樂園中的資源回收類別。 3.學會本課「做伙來開講」的例句與對話。 4.能學會確實做好資源回收，並懂得珍惜與愛護我們唯一的地球。	【二】 【四】	1-2-10 1-2-16 2-2-9 2-2-10 2-2-14	【環境教育】 2-3-2	口試 實作 實踐
第十週	我攞會曉讀矣	1	1.學會「我攞會曉矣」的讀音和例詞。 2.進階了解閩南語「同字不同音」的用法。	【二】 【四】	1-2-5 2-2-9	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐

第十一週	地動	1	1.學會課文朗讀並能深入瞭解課文意涵。 2.能講出語詞遊樂園中的各種天然災害。	【四】 【九】	1-2-5 2-2-5 2-2-11 4-2-14	【環境教育】 3-3-1	口試 實作 實踐
第十二週	地動	1	1.學會本課句型「代先……」的例句與對話。 2.學會各種防災的基本常識, 並培養面對災害時冷靜面對的態度。 3.能正確的完成本課練習。	【四】 【九】	1-2-5 2-2-5 2-2-11 4-2-14	【環境教育】 3-3-1	口試 實作 實踐
第十三週	我攏會曉讀矣	1	1.學會「我攏會曉矣」的讀音和例詞。 2.進階了解閩南語「同字不同音」的用法。	【九】	1-2-5 2-2-9	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第十四週	第二單元複習	1	1.熟念第三、四課課文。 2.能將第三、四課語詞運用於生活。 3.能運用第三、四課句型進行對話。	【二】 【九】	1-2-16 2-2-10 2-2-11	【環境教育】 2-3-2 3-3-1	口試 實作 實踐
第十五週	搬戲	1	1.學會課文朗讀並能深入瞭解課文意涵。 2.能講出語詞遊樂園中的各種藝文活動。	【二】 【五】	1-2-11 2-2-5 5-2-2 5-2-6	【家政教育】 3-3-1 【資訊教育】 4-3-1	口試 實作 實踐

第二主題：思考的魅力

第十六週	搬戲	1	1.學會本課句型「那……閣那……」的例句與對話。 2.了解中西文化之差異, 進而學會欣賞各種藝文活動。 3.能正確的完成本課練習。	【二】 【五】	1-2-11 2-2-5 5-2-2 5-2-6	【家政教育】 3-3-1 【資訊教育】 4-3-1	口試 實作 實踐
第十七週	我攏會曉讀矣	1	1.學會「我攏會曉矣」的讀音和例詞。 2.進階了解閩南語「同字不同音」的用法。	【九】	1-2-5 2-2-9	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第十八週	第三單元複習	1	1.熟念第五課課文。 2.能將第五課語詞運用於生活。 3.能運用第五課句型進行對話。	【四】 【九】	1-2-16 2-2-5 2-2-10 2-2-11	【家政教育】 3-3-1 【資訊教育】 4-3-1	口試 實作 實踐
第十九週	臆臺灣的地名	1	1.藉由有趣的謎猜學習臺灣地名。 2.能知道臺灣地名的閩南語說法。	【二】 【四】 【五】	2-2-25 2-2-29 5-2-7	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第二十週	俗諺	1	1.能了解俗諺的含義及使用時機。 2.能正確的念誦俗諺。	【二】 【四】	2-2-12 2-2-14 5-2-7	【環境教育】 5-3-4	口試 實作 實踐
第二十一週	總複習						

評量方式	評量百分比	學習目標	評量內容	能力指標
口試	50 %	能聽懂並應用閩南語簡短語句。	1.能在課堂上運用所學閩南語和老師、同學對話並發表心得。 2.能正確朗讀各課課文及附錄的文句。	1-2-1、1-2-2、1-2-4、1-2-5、1-2-7、1-2-8、1-2-12、1-2-17、2-2-4、2-2-5、2-2-8、2-2-9、2-2-10、2-2-11、2-2-18
實作	30 %	培養初步認讀能力，且按時完成補充教材作業。	1.能初步拼讀課本文句。 2.正確且按時完成習作樂讀和學習單。	2-2-4、3-2-1、4-2-3、4-2-5、4-2-8
實踐	20 %	能運用閩南語和他人互動。	能把所學過的閩南語應用於日常生活。	1-2-1、1-2-4、1-2-7、1-2-8、1-2-12、1-2-17、1-2-18、2-2-3、2-2-4、2-2-5、2-2-8、2-2-9、2-2-10、2-2-11、2-1-14、2-2-21、2-2-33、3-2-1、4-2-3、4-2-14

臺北市大安區金華國小 103 學年度第一學期暨第二學期第一週六年級語文領域閩南語課程評量表

Appendix 3 Modifications made based on pilot study

	Plan prior to pilot study	Changes after pilot study	Why?	Main study plan
Research questions	Questions 1: What is the Daighi teachers' perception of the national and school Daighi educational language policy in order to improve student's attitudes to Daighi?	Question 1: To what extent do Daighi teachers perceive promoting positive language attitudes as their role as teachers? *What are their understandings and definitions of 'language attitudes'?	According to my pilot study, the Daighi teachers I interviewed were not consciously aware of the 'Daighi language attitudes improvement' notion mentioned in the National Curriculum	Use the revised research question
Interviews	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bio data first, then interview questions 2. I was asking the Daighi teachers questions following the order of the questions I designed 3. I introduced my role as a researcher, a student learning the situation, and also a student graduated from this very primary school 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Language profile first, followed by interview questions, and bio-data comes last 2. I designed my interview questions in a table format. I will tick and write down notes next to the ones discussed, and move to the other ones that are yet to discuss 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bio data, especially teacher qualifications questions may be perceived as questioning teachers' ability or background, or may give unnecessary pressure to the teachers during discussion with me. I decided to collect this part of data at the end of my interview 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Language profile first, followed by interview questions, and bio-data comes last 2. I designed my interview questions in a table format. I will tick and write down note next to the ones

Appendix 3 Modifications made based on pilot study

		3. My role as learner, student stays	2. Repetition occurred in the interviews 3. My role as learner, student stays, as this may invite teachers to share their thoughts with me from teachers' perspective. This role may be better than taking from researcher's role, because teachers may feel the stress to discuss their teaching having in mind that I am a researcher, and may use a different tone.	discussed, and move to the other ones that are yet to discuss. 3. My role as learner, student stays
Observations	Observe classroom after conducting interviews, so I could match the teaching methods observed with what teachers' perception of what they do	Observe classes after interview	I observed classes either right after the interview or before interviewing the teacher, because it was the last Daighi class, this was the only possible way to collect both interview and classroom observation data.	Observe classes after interview
Time schedule	June	During semester time, not towards the end	Interviews should not be affected much by when it is	During semester time: the plan is to collect my data in

Appendix 3 Modifications made based on pilot study

			conducted, but teaching in classrooms may be. It was the last Daighi class that I observed, and I could not observe how Daighi classes were normally carried out due to lack of learning materials and motivation.	February 2016, when the second semester starts in Taiwan.
Numbers of participants	2	2		8
Length of data collection – interview	Around one hour	About one hour		About one hour
Length of data collection –	40 minutes	40 minutes x 2 / 3	Capturing the norm of the classroom is hard by observing classes only once. Therefore, I decided to expand the	40 minutes x 2 / 3

Appendix 3 Modifications made based on pilot study

observatio n			observation frequency to 2 to 3 times.	
Ethical issues	Gain consents from both teachers and students prior to any types of data collection	Not asking consents from the students	I am not interested in student aspect, and I do not intend to include students' opinions in my research, therefore I did not ask for students' consent. In addition, gaining students' consent requires their parents' consent. This is a time consuming process and does not often invite positive response and support.	Gaining consent forms from teachers prior to interview and classroom observation
Access	Ask for access prior to entering the research site	Ask for access prior to entering the research site	This process is completed through networking. Thus, this process can vary from site to site.	I have contacted school admins and primary school teachers. I now have 8 teachers who are willing to participate in my research.

Appendix 4 Mother Tongue Selection Form

臺北市金華國小學生選修本土語言意願調查表

親愛的家長：

您好！「多學會一種語言，就為生命多開一扇窗。」依據臺北市國民小學本土語言教學實施要點規定：「依學生意願就閩南語、客家語、原住民語等三種本土語言任選一種修習之，並以鼓勵持續學習同一種語言為原則」，請和貴子弟討論後填寫下表，做為學校規劃辦理 102 學年度本土語言課程之參考，謝謝您的協助。並祝福您 闔府安康！

金華國小教務處 敬上 2014.6.4

103 學年度學生選修本土語言意願調查表

家長 族語別	父親	<input type="checkbox"/> 閩南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語四縣腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語海陸腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語大埔腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語饒平腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語詔安腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽夏語 <input type="checkbox"/> 雅美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 邵語 <input type="checkbox"/> 噶瑪蘭語 <input type="checkbox"/> 知本卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南王卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 初鹿卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 建和卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卓群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 丹群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 巒群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 郡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 阿里山鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡那卡那富鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙阿魯阿鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 霧台魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 大武魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 多納魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬山魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 茂林魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽考利克泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 寒溪泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 四季泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 澤敖利泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 汶水泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬大泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 太魯閣語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-都達語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德固達雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 撒奇萊雅語-奇萊語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 海岸阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 馬蘭阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 恆春阿美語
	母親	<input type="checkbox"/> 其他 _____ <input type="checkbox"/> 閩南語 <i>in no other dialect?</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語四縣腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語海陸腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語大埔腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語饒平腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語詔安腔 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽夏語 <input type="checkbox"/> 雅美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 邵語 <input type="checkbox"/> 噶瑪蘭語 <input type="checkbox"/> 知本卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南王卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 初鹿卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 建和卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卓群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 丹群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 巒群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 郡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 阿里山鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡那卡那富鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙阿魯阿鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 霧台魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 大武魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 多納魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬山魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 茂林魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽考利克泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 寒溪泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 四季泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 澤敖利泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 汶水泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬大泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 太魯閣語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-都達語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德固達雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 撒奇萊雅語-奇萊語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 海岸阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 馬蘭阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 恆春阿美語 43 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他 _____
學生選修類別 (限選一種)		<input type="checkbox"/> 閩南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語四縣腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語海陸腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語大埔腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語饒平腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 客家語詔安腔 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽夏語 <input type="checkbox"/> 雅美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 邵語 <input type="checkbox"/> 噶瑪蘭語 <input type="checkbox"/> 知本卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南王卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 初鹿卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 建和卑南語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卓群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 丹群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 巒群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 郡群布農語 <input type="checkbox"/> 阿里山鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 卡那卡那富鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙阿魯阿鄒語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 南排灣語 <input type="checkbox"/> 霧台魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 大武魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 東魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 多納魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬山魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 茂林魯凱語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽考利克泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 寒溪泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 四季泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 澤敖利泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 汶水泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 萬大泰雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 太魯閣語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德路固語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-都達語 <input type="checkbox"/> 賽德克語-德固達雅語 <input type="checkbox"/> 撒奇萊雅語-奇萊語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 中部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 海岸阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 北部阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 馬蘭阿美語 <input type="checkbox"/> 恆春阿美語
學生程度		<input type="checkbox"/> 流利 <input type="checkbox"/> 尚可 <input type="checkbox"/> 完全不會

※備註：

1. 修習期間為一年(自 103 年 9 月至 104 年 6 月止)。2. 下列「學生班別」請填寫小朋友現在班別即可。

班別：____年____班 座號：____ 學生姓名：____ 家長簽章：_____

Appendix 5 Consent forms – interview (English)

The University of Edinburgh Informed Consent: Use of Recorded Speech

You are about to participate in a study which involves recording your speech. Please read the information below and tick all boxes that apply. Please sign and date below to confirm your willingness to participate, once you are happy with how the recordings will be used. You can withdraw at any point during the interview.

Thank you.

Consent for participation

Yes No

I consent to having my speech recorded for the specific research project Maintaining Daighi through Taiwanese primary school Daighi language classes. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the tasks.

Yes No

I understand that I have the right to terminate this recording session at any point. The recording of my speech will be deleted at that time, and will be returned to me upon request.

Use of Recordings:

Specific research project use

Yes No

I agree that these recordings may be used for the specific research project Maintaining Daighi through Taiwanese primary school Daighi language classes (PI: Chia-Ying Yang), and understand that these recordings may be used in teaching or research-related presentations and publications. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

General research use

Yes No

I agree that these recordings may be kept permanently by the researcher, and that they may be used by the above-named researcher as well as by other researchers for teaching or research purposes, in presentations, and publications. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

General public use

Yes No

I agree that these recordings may be kept permanently in the Linguistics & English Language archives, and may be made publicly available for general use, e.g. used in radio or television broadcasts, or put on the website. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

Yes No

Are you willing to participate in future study?

Appendix 5 Consent forms – interview (English)

Name: _____

Email: _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix 5 Consent forms – interview (Taiwanese Mandarin)

訪談同意書

本研究的訪談將需要錄下和您的對話。若您同意，請您在以下是的框框處打勾，並在本同意書左下處簽名和填寫日期。所有錄音當僅供研究之用。並保證除本人聽取外，不會外流也絕不公開。如需提及任何您所訴說的要點，皆以化名表示，不會以真名呈現。您的參與將對本研究提供莫大的幫助。在此僅對您的協助表示由衷的謝意！

同意參與訪談

同意 不同意

我同意研究者錄下此訪談，並使用於「國小閩南語教育對閩南語維護成效之研究」。我已授與提出對於此研究任何疑問的機會。

同意 不同意

我了解自己有權利隨時終止此訪談。所錄製的訪談也將被銷毀，或錄音檔將應我的要求交給我。

本研究之用途

同意 不同意

我同意此錄音檔將受用於此研究：「國小閩南語教育對閩南語維護成效之研究」。我也了解此錄音可能用於教學或研究相關的報告或出版。我的名字將以化名方式呈現。

一般研究之用

同意 不同意

Appendix 5 Consent forms – interview (Taiwanese Mandarin)

我同意此次錄音檔將存檔於研究員個人之資料庫，不會被其他研究員用於
教導或研究之用。我的名字將以化名方式呈現。

同意 不同意

您是否同意參與本研究之訪談？

姓名：

Email:

簽名：

日期：

Appendix 6 Consent forms – classroom observation (Daighi teacher and home teacher) (English)

Dear teacher:

I am a PhD student in Education from the University of Edinburgh. I am doing a research on ‘Maintaining Daighi through Taiwanese primary school Daighi language classes’. This study aims to investigate the teaching and learning of Daighi, as well as the use of Daighi in the classrooms. The research takes place between March and May. I will participate the Daighi classes and audio-record the classes during this time.

Please do not worry! The recordings are only for research purposes, and will only be viewed by myself. All the data collected will not be published in public. If this study wishes to mention any student’s name or your name, I will keep his or her name anonymous. I can guarantee that this study will not influence your students’ academic performance. If you are happy to take part, I would be really grateful if you could sign this consent form and return it to me.

Kind regards,

Chia-Ying (Annie) Yang

University of Edinburgh, PhD in Education

Date:

Consent Form (Teacher)

I agree

I disagree

I _____ agree to participate this research. I also agree for the researcher to video- and audio-tape Daighi classes, and observe the classes during this time for research purposes.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 6 Consent forms – classroom observation (Daighi teacher and home teacher) (Taiwanese Mandarin)

敬愛的老師，您好：

我是蘇格蘭愛丁堡大學教育語言學博士生，目前正在從事「國小閩南語教育對閩南語維護成效之研究」。在本研究中想了解閩南語課程的教學過程以及閩南語應用。

整個研究期間為三至五月，本人將於這段期間參與閩南語課程，並僅錄音此課程。所有錄音檔僅供研究之用，絕對不公開，請您放心！

本人保證。本研究的各項結果並不會對學生學業成績造成影響。本研究如需提及任一學生表現，皆以化名表示，不會以真名呈現，並保證本研究資料除本人觀看外，不會外流。本研究資料僅供學術研究之用，並不會作為其他用途。懇請同意參與本研究。如蒙 惠允，不勝感激。

在此僅對您的協助表示由衷的謝意。

如同意者，敬請於下方同意處打勾並簽名，謝謝！

耑此敬祝

教安

蘇格蘭愛丁堡大學教育學院

博士生 楊佳穎 敬上

中華民國一百零五年 月

Appendix 6 Consent forms – classroom observation (Daighi teacher and home teacher) (Taiwanese Mandarin)

教師同意書（回條）

我不同意

我同意參與本研究

本人 _____ 同意參與這項閩南語教學研究，並同意讓我班上的學生參與。本人也同意研究者全程拍攝影帶以及錄音，以利教學及研究的進行。

導師簽章：

中華民國 年 月 日

Appendix 7 Interview questions (main) (English)

1. Language use questions
 - a. What is your mother tongue?
 - b. How fluent is your (1. Very fluent, it is my main communication tool, 2. Fluent, I can express my thoughts, but I cannot use the language for academic discussion, 3. I can use it for basic conversation, but I cannot express my thoughts and make further discussion, 4. I only know some basic words (for example, hello, thank you, goodbye), or I can understand it when someone speaks the language to me, but I cannot speak the language, 5. I don't know the language)
 - i. Taiwanese Mandarin?
 - ii. Daighi?
 - iii. Hakka?
 - iv. Indigenous languages?
 - v. English?
 - vi. Others?
 - c. Which language do you prefer to use in public? For example, what language do you use when you do grocery shopping or making orders in a restaurant?
 - d. What language would you use when you are communicating with elders (for example, your parents)?
 - e. What language would you use when you are communicating with others of the same generation (siblings)?
 - f. What language would you use to communicate with younger generation (your children, nieces or nephews)?
 - g. What languages do you use with your students outside the classroom?
2. In your opinion, what is the purpose behind implementing Daighi education from the following authorities?
 - a. Taiwanese government, Ministry of Education
 - b. Local authority

- c. School
 - d. Yourself
3. In the school you teach, are students provided with the freedom to select what language to learn? Why do you think they chose Daighi?
4. What are your goals for teaching Daighi?
- a. Why do you want to teach Daighi?
 - b. What are the changes you want to bring to your students?
 - c. For example, what Daighi skills do you want your students to acquire? link to 5.a.3
 - d. Or, learn to respect and know more about Daighi culture? (In your opinion, what is Daighi culture?)
 - e. What other changes do you like to bring to students?
5. How do you plan to reach your goal?
- a. How do you plan your Daighi classes? For example, what is your course plan and syllabus?
 - i. How do you plan your class?
 - 1. Do you follow the syllabus from school?
 - 2. Do you have your own course plan?
 - 3. How do you plan to develop students' Daighi skills?
 - ii. How do you use textbooks?
 - 1. How much do you base your teaching on textbooks?
 - 2. How much does school syllabus rely on textbook design (publishing company)?
 - iii. In your opinion, what following factor(s) has impact on your Daighi teaching?

Appendix 7 Interview questions (main) (English)

Ruling government, political factors	Ministry of Education, National Curriculum	Local authority
School policy	Personal teaching beliefs, and teacher professional training	Local community and parents' expectations
Colleagues	Others	

- b. What are your ways to reach the goal: what are your teaching methods?

Goals	Step by step plan	Teaching methods

- c. Experience sharing

If not yet mentioned

6. Attitudes to Daighi

- a. In your opinion, what are the motivations behind students learning Daighi?
- b. In your opinion, what attitudes do students have towards Daighi?
- c. How would you like to maintain, or promote students' attitudes to Daighi?
- d. In your opinion, what impact does Daighi education have on students' attitudes to Daighi?
- e. How do you achieve the national curriculum objective of 'promoting positive attitudes to Daighi'? What is your understanding of national curriculum?

Appendix 7 Interview questions (main) (English)

- f. Do you think the upcoming changing government will have any impact on Daighi education?

Your perceived students' attitudes to Daighi	How do you maintain such attitudes?	How do you promote such attitudes?

Next question...

7. English education
- a. In your opinion, what impact do simultaneous English and Daighi education have on Daighi?
 - b. In your opinion, what impact do simultaneous multilingual education (Taiwanese Mandarin, English and mother tongue) have on Daighi education? i.e. hours allocation
 - c. How would you rank the following languages based on its importance: Daighi, English, Taiwanese Mandarin?
 - d. How would your students rank them?

Questionnaire like interview section

8. Biodata
- a. Age
 - b. Birth city
 - c. City where you receive education from primary school to high school
 - d. City where you receive education for university
 - e. Current city living
9. Teacher training and experiences
- a. What is your Daighi teaching qualification?
 - b. What trainings did you have before becoming a Daighi teacher?
 - c. How long have you been teaching Daighi?

Appendix 7 Interview questions (main) (Taiwanese Mandarin)

1. 語言使用相關資料
 - a. 您的母語為何？
 - b. 您以下語言的能力各為何？
 1. 很流利，是我主要溝通的語言。
 2. 流利，我可以表達我的想法，但無法用此語言做學術方面的溝通。
 3. 我可以用此語言溝通，但無法表達想法以及做深入的討論。
 4. 我只知道一些基本的單字，像是您好、謝謝、再見，或是當別人和我說此語言時，我聽得懂但無法說。
 5. 我不會此語言
 - i. 國語
 - ii. 台語
 - iii. 客家語
 - iv. 原住民語
 - v. 英語
 - vi. 其他
 - c. 您平時在公共場合使用哪個語言？例如在買菜時，或是在餐廳點菜的時候。
 - d. 和長輩溝通時，您通常使用哪個語言？（例如您父母，或祖父母）
 - e. 和平輩溝通時，您通常使用哪個語言？（例如兄弟姊妹）
 - f. 和晚輩溝通時，您通常使用哪個語言？（例如您的孩子或姪子姪女）
 - g. 您平常在教室外和學生溝通的語言為何？
2. 您認為實施台語教學的目的是什麼呢？
 - a. 國家政府方面，教育部
 - b. 地方政府
 - c. 學校方面
 - d. 您個人教學目的

3. 您所任教的學校，學生可以自由選擇想學的语言嗎？您認為學生為什麼會選擇台語呢？

4. 請問您台語教學的目標是什麼呢？
 - a. 為什麼您想教台語呢？
 - b. 您想帶給學生怎樣的改變呢？
 - c. 譬如說，您希望學生得到什麼樣的語言能力呢？link to 5.a.3
 - d. 又，學習尊重，瞭解更多台語的文化？（您認為台語文化為何？）
 - e. 還有什麼其他改變是您希望帶給學生的呢？

5. 您計畫如何達成您的目標呢？
 - a. 您如何規劃台語課程？譬如說，課程的規劃及學期規劃為何？
 - i. 您如何規劃課程？
 1. 是否參考學校所擬定的綱要？
 2. 您是否有自己規畫學期課程？
 3. 逐步加強語言能力建構計畫？
 - ii. 課本的使用？
 1. 您教台語是多以課本為主？
 2. 學校課程規劃多依賴課本課程的安排(書商)？
 - iii. 您認為以下哪些要素影響您的台語教學？

Appendix 7 Interview questions (main) (Taiwanese Mandarin)

執政政府、政治因素	教育部、國家課綱	當地在權者
學校政策	個人教學理念、教師教育訓練	社區及學生家長期許
其他老師、同事	其他	

b. 實際達成目標的做法：您的教學方法為何？

目標	逐步計畫	教學方法

c. 經驗分享

如果還未提及

6. 對台語的態度

- 您認為學生學台語的動機為何？
- 您認為學生對台語這個語言持有怎樣的態度？
- 您想要如何維護，或提升學生對台語的態度呢？
- 您認為台語教育對學生對台語的看法與態度有什麼影響？
- 您如何達到教育部課綱台語政策中‘提升對台語態度’的目標呢？
您對教育部課綱有什麼了解？
- 您認為近期的政權轉換對台語教學會有(任何)影響嗎？

您認為學生對台語的態度	如何維護對台語的態度？	如何提升對台語的態度？

下一個問題

7. 英語教育

- a. 您認為同時進行英語以及台語教育對台語有什麼影響？
- b. 您認為同時進行多語教育（國文、英文、母語）對台語教育有什麼影響？i.e. 課程節數的安排
- c. 請問您如何依重要性排序：台語 英語 國語（對您自己來說）
- d. 您認為學生的排序為何？

問卷形式訪談部分

8. 個人資料

- a. 年齡
- b. 出生的城市
- c. 國小到高中受教育的城市
- d. 大學的城市
- e. 現在居住的城市

9. 教師訓練及經驗

- a. 您的台語師資認證為何？
- b. 成為正式台語教師之前，您受過的訓練為何？
- c. 您當台語教師多久了？

Appendix 8 Interview sample – Anita

Taiwanese Mandarin	English
研:那 ---拿一下東西 蔡:好好好 研:剛剛跟塗老師訪談就是 蔡:早上就跟塗老師訪談的 研:中午的時候 然後就還沒有訪談完 所以 蔡:蛤 是喔 阿老師就去上課了嗎 研:對 所以等一下四點再來一次 呵呵呵 蔡:好險妳住附近 不然一直跑來跑去 研:只是我等一下要衝去新生國小一下 就是也有個訪談 沒關係 那個妳的母語是 蔡:閩南語 研:然後 那我這邊有五個能力 就是很流利 就是大概 那妳可以告訴我 這幾個語言的 你認為妳的能力是怎樣 蔡:每個都 研:嗯 蔡:國語 應該就是很流利吧 研:嗯 蔡:對阿 台語應該也是很流利 客語的話 嗯 我只會基本單字 研:所以 4(01:00) 蔡:原住民 不會 研:嗯 那還有英語 蔡:英語 英語的話 都忘光光了 -----三吧 研:那還有會其它語言嗎 蔡:不會 研:那妳平常在公共場合是使用哪個語言 就是主動	A: ok, let me go get something Ta: ok ok ok A: I was just interviewing teacher Tu... Ts: oh (you were) interviewing teacher Tu in the morning A: during noon, and yea I didn't finish it so... Ts: ha yea? and the teacher went to class? A: yea, so (I) have to come here again later at 4 haha Ts: fortunately you live close by, or you have to keep running between places A: just that I have to rush to X primary school for a bit, (I) have another interview there, but never mind. So what is your mother tongue? Ts: Minnanyu A: so I have 5 (language) abilities here, these are fluent, just roughly...so can you tell me what you think your language abilities are for these languages Ts: each of them A: en Ts: national language, should be very fluent ba* A: en Ts: yea Taiyu should also be very fluent. As for Hakka, en I only know some basic words A: so...4 Ts: Indigenous* languages, I can't A: en what about English Ts: English, as for English, I forgot it all...3 ba* -sentence-final particles – reference: Li and Thompson, 1981- A: Do you know other languages? Ts: No A: na* -being used as a conjunction- which language do you use in public, I mean initiatively use

<p>蔡:主動跟人家講話就是國語 對對對 研:那和長輩溝通呢 蔡:就是閩南語 研:那兄弟姊妹(01:32) 蔡:閩南語 研:然後晚輩呢 就是姪子姪女 孩子之類的 蔡:妳說有限定嗎 譬如說是陌生人或是親戚 研:自己家裡的 蔡:家裡的親戚就是都閩南語 家族阿都是閩南語 研:然後對不認識的小孩子 蔡:當然都是國語阿 對對對 可是如果說知道她是會閩南語的 我就會多少會講一些閩南語的語詞 研:恩 所以還是會主動 主動用閩南語(02:03)那教室外和學生溝通呢 蔡:教室外 妳說現在平常喔 研:在走廊上遇到 蔡:我會用閩南語 研:會有兩個語言參雜嗎 就跟國語參之類 蔡:對對對 黑呀 因為畢竟我是教閩南語 那我就會想說 我就要示範 那我教就是用閩南語溝通講話 這樣子 研:那比重就是還是以 就是以閩南語為主 蔡:閩南語為主 這樣 研:那你認為 比如說教育 國家政府阿 教育部當時實施台語教育的目的是什麼 蔡:就是也是推行那個(02:37)地方語言阿 研:那妳覺得他們的 就是他們在推 在當初開始是想要維 所以是想要維護這個語言</p>	<p>Ts: (I) initiatively use national language to talk to others, yes yes yes A: na* talking to elders? Ts: that would be Minnanyu A: na* siblings? Ts: Minnanyu A: then younger generations, I mean nephew, niece, and children alike? Ts: Is it limited? For example strangers or relatives? A: in your family Ts: For relatives in my family we all use Minnan yu, family ah* all use Minnanyu A: then to children you don't know? Ts: of course national language ah* yes yes yes, but if (I) know s/he knows Minnanyu, I will more or less use some Minnanyu words or phrase A: en*, so still take initiative, take initiative to use Minnanyu. What about communicating with students outside classroom? Ts: outside the classroom, you mean in general A: like bump into them on the corridor Ts: I will use Minnanyu A: will you mix the two languages? Like mix with national languages Ts: yes yes yes <u>yea</u> because after all I teach Minnanyu, so I think, I have to demonstrate, so I teach to use Minnanyu to communicate, this way A: so proportionally emphasis on Minnanyu Ts: Minnanyu as priority A: so in your opinion, for example education, what is the purpose of implementing Taiyu education, from national government, ministry of education's point of view? Ts: it is to promote that, local languages ah A: so do you think they, that when they implement it then, they wanted to maintain, maintain this language</p>
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<p>蔡:痾 也不是只有針對閩南語 我覺得 是所有的地方語言</p> <p>研:對</p> <p>蔡:那因為就是世界各地都 一直在興起說 要維護地方語言 所以說如果我們不做的話 感覺好像 [研 : 笑] 對呀對呀 所以應該算是</p> <p>研:所以和國際接軌</p> <p>蔡:對對</p> <p>研:那地方政府方面呢(03:15)</p> <p>蔡:地方政府的話 我覺得 好像還好ㄝ 沒有沒有特別的去了解說 有什麼特殊的補助哇或什麼配套措施</p> <p>研:所以主要是執行政策</p> <p>蔡:對 執行政策 但是好像 像學校或什麼的 落實好像沒有非常明確(03:36)準確這樣</p> <p>研:那所以學校 喔 對 學校方面落實不確保</p> <p>蔡:對呀 因為像現在我上課 學生也是會學生就是不習慣 而且我覺得家庭教育也很重要 尤其現在大家都覺得英語是國際語言 (研 : 恩) 嘿呀 所以有時候上課然後她們就跟我說 譬如講這個語詞是什麼 然後呢 他們就跟我回答英英文這樣 我就跟他說 我現在是閩南語課之類的 就是他們還是沒有辦法把閩南語當成是這節課要講的重點的</p> <p>研:喔</p> <p>蔡:對對對 所以這影響很深 而且家庭的部分也有差 家長 (研 : 恩) 家長給的態度這樣 黑呀</p> <p>研:那妳個人教學的目的呢</p> <p>蔡:痾 我的部分呢 可能 因為 我自己本身我是覺得 閩南語就真的 大家不會很去重視 所以現在我國小部分以 他們喜</p>	<p>Ts: ah, not only focusing on Minnanyu (preservation) I think, it applies for all local languages</p> <p>A: yes</p> <p>Ts: so because (the awareness) to preserve local languages keeps raising everywhere in the world, so if we don't do it, it feels like [A: haha] yea yea so should be counted as</p> <p>A: so connecting to the world</p> <p>Ts: yes yes</p> <p>A: so what about local authorities</p> <p>Ts: as for local authorities, I think, seems to be so so, (I) haven't paid particular attention to find out, what special subsidy ah* or supporting measurements they provide</p> <p>A: so mainly implementing policies</p> <p>Ts: yes implementing policy, but seems like, seems like schools and alike, don't fully implement (the policies), or (implementing it) precisely, like that</p> <p>A: so schools, oh yea, schools don't implement (it) fully</p> <p>Ts: yes, because like when I am teaching in class, students also, students are not used to it. And I also think family education is important, especially when everyone all thinks that English is the international language [A: en] <u>yea</u>. So sometimes during the class, and they tell me, for example talking about what this phrase means, then, they reply to me in English. I then tell them, it is now Minnanyu class. It's that they still cannot view Minnanyu as the centre of the class like that</p> <p>A: oh</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes, so this has huge impact. Also there are differences in families, parents [A: en]. The attitudes parents show / hold, <u>yea</u>.</p> <p>A: so what about your personal teaching purpose?</p> <p>Ts: ah* my part, maybe, as for myself because I think Minnanyu is really, nobody pays much attention (to it), so in</p>
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歡上這個語言 嘿我不會很強求說他們一定要很精專 (研:恩) 對對對 所以我先讓他不排斥這個語言為主這樣子 (研:恩) 因為很多人他們可能也都會覺得說閩南語就是比較粗俗 因為大部分接觸到就是 比較白話的啦 粗俗那些語詞(05:00)所以他們對閩南語的既定印象 ㄟ 喔 那個都是髒話 所以我上課的部分就是會去扭轉 想辦法扭轉這個 不好聽的語詞 然後讓學生覺得說 ㄟ 閩南語是可愛的 有好玩的這樣子 對對對 研:恩 所以你覺得學生她們現在的態度是會 還是有負面的態度嗎

蔡:現在沒有

研:現在沒有

蔡:對

研:但會有妳說 恩

蔡:偶爾啦 就譬如說像講到一些那個音或字 譬如說像什麼(糞)他們就想到大便阿 什麼什麼 就類似諸如此類的 對對對 黑呀 都還是難免會去想到這些東西這樣子 但是比例有減少 我覺得 黑呀

研:連到?就是負面的語詞(05:53)那---

妳說他們會有排斥就是因為家長的關係 所以他們會有

蔡:家長可能也不支持說 因為家長就會覺得妳學這個幹嘛 (研:恩) 又沒有人在講這樣子 黑呀 那 痾 我是覺得因為我們學這個語言主要就是跟家長 長輩 譬如說阿公阿嬤 (研:恩) 或甚至說(阿祖)他們溝通 (研:恩) 那家長爸爸媽媽那一輩或者是學生不願意學 就變成變相的是老人家他們要去學國語 才有辦法去跟他的子孫溝通 那我覺得既

primary schools I focus on making them to like the language, yea. I am not asking them to become specialists [A: en], yes yes yes. So I start with the focus to let them not to reject the language [A: en], because many people may also think that Minnanyu is more of a vulgar language. Because most (Minnanyu) they encounter, are more colloquial, (like) those vulgar words and phrases. So the Minnanyu stereotype is, eh*, oh*, nage* -filler- are all bad language. So as for my teaching, (I) am trying to change, think of ways to twist these bad phrases, and let students think, eh* Minnanyu is a lovely, and fun language, this way. Yes yes yes.

A: en so you think the students' attitude nowadays is, is still negative?

Ts: now no

A: now no

Ts: yes

A: but they do, like you said, en

Ts: sometimes la*, like for example when talking about those sound or words, for example can, they think of defecate, ah something something as such, yes yes yes yea. Still hard to avoid linking to these things, but the percentage is decreasing, I think yea

A: linking to negative word phrases. So, you said they reject, because of parents, so they will have

Ts: parents may not support, because parents think that what is the point of learning this [A: en], since no one speak (the language) anyway yea. Na* eer* I do think that the primary reason for us to learn this language is to communicate with parents, elders for example grandparents [A: en], or even great grandparents [A: en]. But if parents' generation (refuse to speak to their children) or students refuse to learn, then the elders instead, they have to learn national language to be able to communicate with their children or

<p>然長輩都可以學 為什麼你們不能學 (06:32)對對對對對 嘿</p> <p>研:對 所以 妳覺得 嗯那他們所以他們不學他們不會 現在排斥的狀況比較沒有那麼</p> <p>蔡:就沒有那麼嚴重 對對對 黑呀</p> <p>研:那妳說妳想要透過 希望他們可以喜歡上這個語言 那妳有什麼方式去讓他們</p> <p>蔡:我因為我上課的方式 因為我覺得語言是生活的算是生活的東西 (研:恩) 所以我會 例如說 我上課方式就是這樣 都會運用對話 問問題 然後讓他回答 那在讓他回答的時候(07:07)它一定會回答中文 然後我就會藉此再跟他說 妳剛講的這個的閩南語 妳應該要怎麼講 然後再請他重複一次 (研:恩:) 那她就可以藉此再學習到 中文這樣子 閩南語是這樣子 (研:恩:) 所以用對話的方式 再來我會用影片 (研:恩) 因為我教的是中低年級嘛 那中低年級對視覺聽覺會比較影響比較大 所以我用影片 (研:恩) 來輔助這樣子 那甚至有時候會講故事 還會說笑話 這樣子 就是讓她覺得 它 閩南語是一個很有趣的 上閩南語課是有趣的 (研:恩) 它不會說像上國語 有的時候會比較煩躁 或是上英語要一直背單字或什麼比較煩躁這樣子 對對對</p> <p>研:所以妳覺得他們喜歡這個語言 (蔡:對) 就是對這個語言有正面的態度</p> <p>蔡:對對對 我先讓他培養喜歡 (研:恩) 那她喜歡之後 他可能就會願意去聽妳上課了 (研:恩) 那願意聽 她一定會學到東西 (研:恩) 我是先從這個角度去</p>	<p>grandchildren. I then think if the elders can learn, why can't you learn. Yes yes yes yes yes <u>yea</u></p> <p>A: yes, so, you think, en, they. So they don't learn and they can't speak. The refusing (Minnanyu) situation is not as severe nowadays</p> <p>Ts: not as severe yes yes yes <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: so you said you want to, hope they can like the language through, so what are the methods you use to make them (like the language)</p> <p>Ts: Because of my teaching style, because I think language is used in daily lives, used in a daily life setting [A: en] so I will, for example, this is my way of teaching, all use conversation, asking questions, and they respond. And when they respond, they will definitely respond in Mandarin. Then I will use the chance to tell them again, eh* how to say (your answer) in Minnanyu, then ask them to repeat again [A: en]. Then they can use this opportunity to acquire, eh it's like this in Mandarin, and like this in Minnanyu [A: en]. So conversation method. Then I also use video clips [A: en]. Because I teach middle and lower grades mah*, the middle and lower grade students react more to visual and audio effects, these (effects) have more impact on them, so I use video clips [A: en] to support (my teaching). Then sometimes I also tell stories, and also jokes, to let them think, that Minnanyu is very interesting, Minnanyu class is interesting [A: en]. It is unlike national language, which is a bit fretful sometimes, or like English classes (you) have to keep memorizing vocabulary or something fretful like this, yes yes yes.</p> <p>A: so you think that (if) they like this language [Ts: yes], it is saying that they have positive attitude to the language</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes. I make them start to like (the language) [A: en], and after</p>
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<p>研:那會希望說他們(08:04)也會希望說他們主動使用這個語言---</p> <p>蔡:對對對 就是痾 像這學期是下學期嘛 那我就會比較要求 比較嚴格 就是說 妳就要開始回答要用閩南語 甚至是我之前教過的東西 妳就要用閩南語講 (研:恩) 那上學期的部分 因為還在讓他們學習接受這個東西 所以妳回答的時候用國語 我不會特別的要求妳說再重講一次 可是這學期的話 我就會要求 (08:30)妳 很好 (研:恩) 那我們教過的 妳再講閩南語再講一次 (研:恩) 對 這學期我就比較嚴格這樣</p> <p>研:所以就是首先讓課程變有趣 讓他們對這個</p> <p>蔡:對 對這個課先不排斥 那不排斥它就會願意聽 願意聽之後 就會學到東西這樣</p> <p>研:然後去漸漸地喜歡這個語言這樣子</p> <p>蔡:對 然後漸漸她就會主動去講這樣 像我現在很多班 他們也都會 看到我就會主動跟我說 老師我課文背起來了 對 要不然就是跟我打招呼 掰 跟我打招呼就是 蔡老師好 (研:恩) 講中文 現在就是因為偶爾一兩句閩南語就會出來這樣子 所以雖然速度比較慢 或者說比例比較少 但是有一兩個增加 (研:恩) 對 對對 所以覺得還是有用哈哈</p> <p>研: 那你覺得學生學台語的動機是什麼</p>	<p>liking the language, they may be willing to listen to you in classes [A: en]. And (if) they are willing to listen, they will learn something [A: en]. I cut in from this angle</p> <p>A: so (you) will want them, also want them to actively use this language</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes, that is right. Like this semester is the second semester, I will then be stricter. That is, you have to start responding me using Minnanyu, even use Minnanyu to say the things I taught before [A: en]. As for the first semester, because (I was) still letting them learn to accept this (Minnanyu, or using Minnanyu is class), so if you respond in national language, I wouldn't specifically ask you to repeat. But for this semester, I will request (to repeat in Minnanyu). You, very well [A: en], then use these things I taught you before, say it again in Minnanyu [A: en]. Yes, I am stricter this semester</p> <p>A: so you want to first make the course interesting, let them</p> <p>Ts: yes, not to reject the class, and not rejecting they will be willing to listen, and willing to listen (they) will learn something, like that</p> <p>A: and gradually like this language like this</p> <p>Ts: yes, then gradually actively speak it, like this. Like I teach many classes now, they all do, actively tell me when they see me, teacher I memorize the textbook content. Yea, or they greet me, bye, and greeting like, hello teacher Ts [A: en], speak Mandarin. Now occasionally a little Minnanyu will be used. So even if the (growing) speed (of the phenomenon in active use of Minnanyu) is low, or the percentage is low, but there are one or two more [A: en] yes yes yes. So I think it is still effective hahaha</p> <p>A: so what do you think are the students' motives to learn Taiyu?</p>
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<p>蔡:就是因為有這個課阿 對對對</p> <p>研:沒有說主要 恩</p> <p>蔡:對 學生的話她們就現在還是比較被動 因為他們課表排好好的(09:38)對對對</p> <p>研:所以沒有 那因為像 你們有很多語言可以選 (蔡 : 恩) 那他們選擇台語 你認為他們為什麼會選擇台語</p> <p>蔡 : 我覺得大部分決定權是在家長 對家裡的人 而且決定是爸爸媽媽可能是閩南人 那她就會用閩南語 (研 : 恩) 然後客語 客家人他就客語這樣子 (研 : 恩) 對對對 是家長去做選擇的</p> <p>研:恩 所以 好對 所以家長決定 然後學生主要還是比較被動(10:10)就是 痾 學校等於說給什麼 (蔡 : 對) 她就是去上課這樣子</p> <p>蔡:課表什麼就上什麼 這樣對</p> <p>研:那妳覺得近期的政權轉換對台語教學有幫助嗎</p> <p>蔡:近期哦 我 其實我比較少去關注政策跟教學的連結 對呀 (研 : 恩) 就是因為我覺得妳要讓閩南語表現得跟像英語這麼的讓人家重視 我覺得是不可能 (研 : 恩) 對 我覺得這是一個不可能的那所以我的部分是比較 痾 怎麼說 就是讓她至少不討厭這個語言拉 (研 : 恩) 對 就是把那個對於閩南語是負面的這個 想辦法把她轉換掉 (研 : 恩) 我的部分就比較 可能就是算比較消極吧 對呀 我不會去說 譬如說 想要去跟高層的反應或什麼什麼的(11:04)我的想法沒有那麼積極 因為我知道 我們現在這個趨勢一定是不重視閩南語的 (研 : 恩</p>	<p>Ts: it's because they have this class ah*, yes yes yes</p> <p>A: not thinking primary becuase, en</p> <p>Ts: yes, for students, they are more passive at the moment, because they have course timetable scheduled for them, yes yes yes</p> <p>A: so (they) don't, but because like you have many languages to choose from [Ts: en], and they choose Taiyu. Why do you think they choose Taiyu?</p> <p>Ts: I think the decisions are largely made by parents, yes, family members. And the decision is, if mom and dad are Minnan ren, then they will choose Minnanyu [A: en]. Then Hakka, Hakkanese they choose Hakka, like that [A: en]. Yes yes yes, it's the parents who made the decisions</p> <p>A: en so, ok yea, so parents decide, and students are still passive in general. Is it, eh*, it is they take whatever class [Ts: yea] the school asks them to</p> <p>Ts: yea take whatever class that is scheduled on their timetable, yea that's right</p> <p>A: and do you think the recent changing governing authority will benefit Taiyu education?</p> <p>Ts: recent oh*, I, actually I don't pay much attention to the link between policies and education, yea [A: en]. It's that, I think, if you want Minnanyu to perform like English being emphasized like this, I think it is impossible [A: en] yea. I think it is impossible. So my role would be, ah* how to say, at least let them don't dislike the language lah* [A: en] yes. That is, turning around this negative (attitude) to Minnanyu [A: en]. I myself am more, maybe more passive, yea. I won't go, for example, want to report to higher level or something as such. I don't think in such activist way, because I know, the trend we are in now does not pay much attention to Minnanyu [A: en] yea, and we cannot</p>
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<p>) 對阿 我們也沒辦法改變 (研:恩) 那我們能做的只是很細微的方面這樣 對</p> <p>研:那妳說這邊 現在學生普遍都比較沒 有負面的態度</p> <p>蔡:我目前教到的班級 對對對</p> <p>研:嗯那你認為會因為學校有這種安排 這樣的課程 (蔡:恩) 然後他們必須 學習這樣接觸 會讓他們比較算是對閩 南語或像是一個 只能說有一點不到生 活中的語言 但是普通普遍會只有接觸 對他們 對他們對這個語言的看法 比較 不會負面(11:44)</p> <p>蔡:我覺得應該也要看---老師教的方式 吧</p> <p>研:恩 那所以妳 對 教育部的課綱 妳有 什麼特別 有什麼了解嗎</p> <p>蔡:我不會特別去了解那個</p> <p>研:恩 然後 好 那妳當時是怎麼想要教台 語</p> <p>蔡:ㄟ 我一開 因為我是大學是 那個台灣 語文系 (研:恩) 我是專科系這樣 (12:19)那當時會選這個系 只是單純的 不想讀中文系 (研:恩) 對對對 然後 就想說 ㄟ 那我平常的母語就是閩南語 (研:恩) 那想說就來讀這個系這樣</p> <p>研:那妳想要帶給學生怎樣的改變呢</p> <p>蔡:就像我剛剛講的 至少能夠跟家講講 話是 (研:恩) 是用自己的母語 對呀 不要說妳身為台灣人 然後不會講台灣 話 然後台灣的一些事情文化妳不清楚 這樣子</p>	<p>make changes [A: en]. So what we can do is only, very subtle, yea</p> <p>A: so you said here, students nowadays don't have negative attitudes in general</p> <p>Ts: in the classes I teach now, yes yes yes</p> <p>A: en so do you think that it is likely that because schools scheduled this course [Ts: en] then they have to learn and have this kind of contact with it, it will make them, it will help them to view Minnanyu, a language that is not quite as a language in their daily lives, and (they) only have limited contact with it, to have less negative views to this language</p> <p>Ts: I think (we) should also consider, teaching style bah*</p> <p>A: en, so what do you think, yea – responding to what teacher Ts said -, about National curriculum, what is your take on it</p> <p>Ts: I don't put special effort to understand it</p> <p>A: en so, ok. What motivated you to start teaching Taiyu</p> <p>Ts: eh* at start, because I was, my bachelor degree major is Taiwanese Languages and Literature [A: en] I specialize in this. As for selecting this as my major back then, I simply didn't want to major in Mandarin [A: en] yes yes yes. I then think, eh*, my mother tongue is Minnanyu [A: en], so I thought I should study this subject, (it was) like that</p> <p>A: so what changes do you want to bring to your students?</p> <p>Ts: like what I just said, at least (they) have to talk to parents in [A: en] using their mother tongue, yea. It should not be, that you are Taiwanese, and can't speak Taiwanese languages, and don't know about Taiwan and its culture, like that</p> <p>A: en. So what language abilities do you want students to have? For example</p>
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<p>研:恩 所以妳希望學生得到的能力就譬如說妳剛剛說的會聽然後去說</p> <p>蔡:對 會聽然後妳 說妳可以不用很流利 但是妳至少回答的那些單字阿 什麼 對妳回答譬如說爺爺奶奶 (研:恩) 的重點 那個單字或什麼的 有辦法講出來 (研:恩) 讓爺爺奶奶可以懂你的意思 (13:14)這樣</p> <p>研:恩 然後也會希望說透過台語的這種教學 讓他們去了解或尊重台語的文化</p> <p>蔡:對呀 一定要啊 (研:恩) 而且很多我們台灣傳統文化的一些 那個 譬如說像俗諺好了 俗語然後那些歇後語 他們的發音都是閩南語 (研:恩) 來的 對那如果說妳不會去唸 或如果說妳 (13:39)聽 聽不懂 那妳就沒有辦法去了解這當中的好笑的一些狀況或是原由 嘿 那妳 先是沒有辦法了解 那妳就沒有進沒有辦法辦法進一步去尊重這個文化 (研:恩) 對不對</p> <p>研:先了解 · 在尊重文化 恩 那還有其它什麼是你希望帶給學生的改變嗎 其他方面</p> <p>蔡:大致上就這樣子(14:04)</p> <p>研:恩-----那所以妳在妳安排 妳有自己的安排的一個課程嗎 譬如說是一學年的課這樣子 然後妳有一個自己的計畫 說我要怎麼去達到一個譬如說 恩 最後希望他們達到什麼能力 然後你怎麼去安排這樣子</p> <p>蔡:喔我基本上會配合他們給的教科書 對 他們的那個 我沒有帶過來 就是她們</p>	<p>like what you just said, being able (to understand others through) listening, and then speaking</p> <p>Ts: yes. Being able (to understand others through) listening, then you don't have to be fluent when speaking, but at least you have to respond using those words or something, yea. You respond to, for example grandparents' point (of conversation) [A: en] you have to be able to use the vocabulary or something [A: en] to let grandparents understand what you mean, (should be) like that</p> <p>A: en. So you also wish to let them understand and respect Taiyu culture through Taiyu teaching</p> <p>Ts: yes it's a must [A: en]. Moreover, many of our Taiwanese traditions and cultures alike, those, take idioms for example, proverbs and those twisters, they are pronounced in Minnanyu [A: en] (originated) from there, yea. So if you don't know how to read, or say if you [A: en] can't understand through listening, then there is no way for you to understand the funny bits or reasons behind it, <u>yea</u>. Starting from not understanding it, then there is no way you can further respect this culture [A: en], right?</p> <p>A: understand (it) first, then respect the culture. en, so are there other changes you wish to bring to the students? Other aspects?</p> <p>Ts: en.....this is about it</p> <p>A: en... So regarding scheduling, do you make your own course timetable? For example, course plan for the academic year like that? And you make another plan to achieve (the goals). For example, the ultimate language ability goal that you want them to achieve, then how do you plan out to achieve this goal</p> <p>Ts: Oh*, basically I follow the coursebook they give us, yea. Their that, I didn't bring it with me, that the</p>
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廠商都會給我們那個教師用的書嘛 (研:恩) 那譬如說她第一單元是有講到現在 譬如說現在一年級 第一課是那個盥洗用具 我教她盥洗用具 那我除了教課本給的那幾個用品之外 我會額外補充很多(14:52) (研:恩恩) 我的方式我可能跟其他老師不一樣 嘿 因為我強調是生活化嘛 (研:恩) 所以我會一直不斷地補充很多東西 (研:恩) 嘿 那 但是補充那麼多也有個缺點就是學生可能記不起來那麼多 (研:恩) 但是我的原則就是妳至少有印象 (研:恩) 嘿嘿嘿 阿課本裡面的熟悉 那我其它補充的妳忘記不會講 沒關係 但是至少妳有印象(15:15) (研:恩) 等到以後妳長大或是五六年級 妳之後老師再教 那妳就會有印象 阿之前老師 某某老師有教過 (研:恩:) 對對對 他可能對於這個要進 腦袋要進去再學 會速度會變更快這樣 (研:恩) 對對對 所以就額外補充很多 然後像剛剛講第一課是盥洗用具嘛 那第二課就會連結到清洗清潔 (研:恩) 那我就會再跟第一課做搭配 (研:恩) 然後第一單元的一二課學完就是妳要會整個清洗的東西跟動作啦 跟那個盥洗用品 (研:恩) 就是我都會去搭配生活這樣 然後補充一堆(15:53)

研:那所以妳是教一到四

蔡:對 一到四

研:那妳一年級開始會使用很多 就開始使用很多台語嗎

publishing companies give us teaching materials mah* [A: en]. So for example, the first unit (we) talk about now, for example, in first grade now, the first lesson is toiletries. I teach them toiletries, but beside those mentioned in the textbooks, I give them a lot additional (materials) [A: en en]

My style, is maybe different from other teachers, yea, because I emphasize on making it practical {expression does not exist in English} [A: en] yes so but there are disadvantages providing so many additional materials, that is students cannot memorize that many [A: en]. But my principal is, at least you have impressions / vague memories (of what I taught you) [A: en] yes yes yes. So familiarize with the ones in textbooks, it's ok to forget or don't know how to say the ones from my additional materials, but at least you have impressions / vague memories of those

[A: en] wait until you grow up or in grade 5 or 6, your teacher teaches (you) again, you will have an impression, that other teacher, teacher XX taught (me this) before [A: en] yes yes yes. Maybe it will be faster for them to learn this again [A: en] yes yes yes. So I give many additional materials, then like we were saying, lesson one is about toiletries, then lesson two will be washing and cleaning [A: en]. Then I will link with lesson one [A: en], then after learning lesson one and two in unit one, you will have to know all the tools for washing and actions, and toiletries [A: en]. It's that I will link it with daily life situations, and add tons of additional (materials)

A: so you teach grade one to four

Ts: yes one to four

A: so at the beginning of grade one, will you use a lot, start to use a lot Taiyu?

Ts: basically for (teaching) grade one when I talk, I don't use too much Taiyu

蔡:一年級基本上我如果講 不會講太多台語 (研:恩) 黑還是以國語為主對對 而且我的觀點來說的話 一二年級他們還在學注音符號 那妳 妳如果現在給她拼音或什麼 家長會 argue (研:恩) 對對對嘿啊 所以我是以看圖 這個圖給妳 然後妳 譬如說那個牙刷好了 然後妳看到牙刷 然後你知道他是牙刷 (研:恩) 這樣 對 然後妳會認 會唸這樣就好了 (研:恩恩恩) 對對對 那三四年級的話 我就會教一些 三四年級還不會教到(16:36)拼音 但是我會介紹給他們 但是我會請他們認讀字 就是那個漢字 對

研:所以讀----

蔡:就是低年級 一二年級就是聽 說 (研:恩) 然後三四年級就是讀 所以是讀聽說 還沒有到寫(17:00)對

研:恩 那所以妳課本 妳教課主要是以台語為主這樣

蔡:對對對

研:然後妳說逐步加強語言的能力的話 像妳剛剛說的 痾 妳會去補充讓他們有印象

蔡:對對對 (研:然後) 補充很多語辭 或是說 生活的 順便加入一些生活的一些禮節啦 禮儀啦 (研:恩) 或是一些什麼態度之類的

研:恩然後等於 所以有相連相關聯的話 妳幫他們去就是連在一起 (蔡:對對對) 讓他們去

蔡:對對對

[A: en], yea still predominately used national language, yes yes. And from my point of view, grade one and grade two they are still learning Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (MPS) - ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ ㄏ po mo fo – so you, if you give them Pinyin –Romanized spelling system- or something, parents will **argue** [A: en] yes yes yes yes. So I use (methods like) looking at pictures, I give you this picture, for example toothbrush. Then you look at toothbrush, you know that it is toothbrush [A: en] like that. Then you can recognize, and read it out and that's enough [A: en en en] yes yes yes.

As for grade three and four, I teach a little...still won't teach grade 3 and 4 Pinyin yet [A: en], but I will introduce it to them, but ask them to recognize words, like those characters, yes
A: so read...

Ts: so lower grades grade one and two are listening and speaking [A: en] then grade three and four reading, so reading listening speaking, but not yet writing, yes

A: en, so your textbook use, eh*, your teaching predominately use Taiyu

Ts: yes yes yes

A: then you said in terms of gradually improving language ability like what you just said, eh*, you will give additional materials to let them have some impressions / vague memories of it

Ts: yes yes yes [A: and then] add many words and phrases, or, some daily etiquette lah*, manners lah* [A: en] or some attitudes alike

A: en then so if these are related, you help to link these together for them [Ts: yes yes yes] let them

Ts: yes yes yes

A: then textbook, so you follow the course timetable the school gave you, the course plan [Ts: yes] for carrying out in classes en

<p>研:然後 那課本 所以妳會依照學校所安排的課程就是課程規劃 (蔡 : 對) 主要上課恩</p> <p>蔡:對呀 基本上就是書商給的那個課程規劃計畫去做</p> <p>研:噢 你們學校是書商給的(17:52)就是你們學校有自己的一個課程規劃</p> <p>蔡:哪一個(18:01)?</p> <p>研:像 像這個是金華國小的 譬如說第一周要上什麼 第二周要上什麼</p> <p>蔡:喔會啊 就是 我的話就是一課上三個禮拜 (研 : 恩恩恩) 就是 像這個對呀 我的安排是這樣 那她上這個阿 她有分課文的部分 然後語詞的部分再後面練習對不對 那我的話就是第一周就是課文這邊 然後課文就順便介紹語詞那些 然後字詞 然後再來第二課就是 第二周就是講到相關的語詞 (研 : 恩) 然後第三周就是做統整練習這樣 對(18:41)</p> <p>研:所以比照學校然後呢 那你們在學校安排的 妳有參與他們的課程規劃嗎 還是學校就給你們看他們的規劃</p> <p>蔡:他們就叫我們自己規劃 (研 : 恩 喔) 課程計畫阿 那個都是叫我們寫</p> <p>研:那你們 喔所以你們自己討論然後寫出來</p> <p>蔡:對對對 (研 : 喔) 黑呀</p> <p>研:所以就類似這樣</p> <p>蔡:對 類似這樣 就是妳一課妳大概分幾節課去上完</p> <p>研:那妳有那個規劃嗎</p> <p>蔡:妳說這個課程規劃嗎</p> <p>研:對 你們的 你們安排編排 對</p> <p>蔡:就是類似這個阿</p> <p>研:這個 對 這是金華國小 我是上網去找的</p>	<p>Ts: yes, basically publishing companies provide course timetable (and I) teach based on it</p> <p>A: yi* (the course timetable) in your school is provided by the publishing companies, so does your school have your own course timetable?</p> <p>Ts: which one?</p> <p>A: like this is from primary school JH primary school. For example, what you teach in week one and what you teach in week two</p> <p>Ts: oh yea, it's, for me it's three weeks for one lesson [A: en en en] it's, like this yes, that's how I arrange it. So when teaching this, they have content part, and vocabulary part, and then practice right? For me it is the content part for week one, then I will also use this chance to introduce the vocabulary phrase alike, then words. Then week two (we) talk about related words [A: en], then overall review and practice in week three like that, yes</p> <p>A: so following the school plan, and then? So the plan your school made, did you participate in the planning process? Or the school just gave you their plan</p> <p>Ts: they ask us to plan by ourselves [A: en oh] course plan ah* all those they ask us to plan ourselves</p> <p>A: so you, oh* so you discussed among yourselves and wrote it down</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes [A: oh] <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: so something similar to this</p> <p>Ts: yes, similar to this. It's like how many classes you need to cover one lesson</p> <p>A: so do you have the course plan</p> <p>Ts: you mean this course plan?</p> <p>A: yes, yours, the ones you planned out yes</p> <p>Ts: it's similar to this</p> <p>A: this, yes, this is from primary school JH, I found it online</p>
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<p>蔡:喔 我們學校官網應該有 對對對 再去 看一下</p> <p>研:那你覺得以下有哪些 以下這些因素 阿 哪些影響你的台語教學 然後如何影 響你的台語教學這樣</p> <p>蔡:恩 影響我們台語教學比較 比較大的 研:就是多或少 然後有無這樣子 然後如 何影響</p> <p>蔡:學生家長 對 就像我剛剛講的 家長的 態度 ㄟ 像我都跟學生家長說 語言 就是 閩南語是語言 那語言就是是生活化 妳 要不斷地講 聽 妳才有辦法去做 進一步 的那個動作 那如果說我在學校一個禮 拜只有一節課 然後只有一直有老師在 一直不斷的...回家你又是中文(20:12) 那也沒有用 沒有進步的成效 (研 : 恩) (20:14)對 所以家長的這一環 我覺得 是很重要</p> <p>研:恩會影響 就是影響台語的教學</p> <p>蔡:對對對 我覺得這是最主要的 家長 (研 : 是因...恩) 家庭的部分</p> <p>研:然後是因為她 除了 這等於說 台語的 讓學生有用台語說的環境或聽的環境這 樣子</p> <p>蔡:對對對嘿</p> <p>研:那他們的態度 因為他們 我的我的理 解拉 就是他們的態度比較負面的話 學 生可能 會影響學生的態度 (蔡 : 對) 那學生態度如果負面的話 對妳上課教 教學 (蔡 : 一定是) 起來一定會有很大 的</p> <p>蔡:家長如果 這有相關聯啦 因為家長她 也覺得閩南語 她就覺得說學閩南語幹 什麼 那就影響學生 那學生她上課就會 覺得我媽都說學閩南語沒有用 那我上</p>	<p>Ts: oh, they should have it on our school's official website, yes yes yes, go have a look</p> <p>A: so what do you think about the following elements, which ones have impact on your Taiyu teaching, and how does it influence your Taiyu teaching</p> <p>Ts: en, the ones to have more impact, more impact on my Taiyu teaching</p> <p>A: so more or less, or is there (impact) or no (impact), and how does it influence</p> <p>Ts: parents, yes. It's like that I just said, parents' attitude. Eh* like I always tell parents that language, I mean Minnanyu is a language, and language should be used in daily lives. You have to keep speaking and listening (to it), in order to make any further actions. If say in school, there is only one class per week, and only the teacher keeps (saying it?) and after going home you (use) Mandarin, then it's useless, no improvement and no effect [A: en] yes, so parents' role I think is important</p> <p>A: en will have impact, so impact Taiyu teaching</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes, I think this is the major one [A: because...en] family's role</p> <p>A: then because except, that is, Taiyu's, providing students a speaking and listening environment</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: so their attitudes. Because they, this is my understanding, that is if they have more negative attitudes, maybe students, maybe it will have impact on students' attitude [Ts: yes]. Then if students' attitudes are negative, then the influence on your teaching [Ts: definitely] will be huge</p> <p>Ts: if parents, (I think) this is related lah*. Because parents also think Minnanyu, they think that what is the point learning Minnanyu, this will have impact on students. So in classes</p>
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<p>課幹嘛那麼認真(21:00)對 就是間接會影響到學生這樣子</p> <p>研:所以就是這個是主要 其他就還好</p> <p>蔡:其他我覺得還好 還不至於 因為像 閩南語像這個人的教學理念或是方式阿 我覺得就是看各個老師不一樣 對對對 黑呀</p> <p>研:恩 那妳自己</p> <p>蔡:我自己就像我剛剛講 (研:對) 我會比較生活化 然後補充大量的 其他相關資訊 對</p> <p>研:所以 因為不過這也是妳教學的中心 因為那是妳的理念</p> <p>蔡:對對對(21:31)</p> <p>研:那所以妳剛剛說的那個 妳希望她們 恩 因為他們現在沒有 希望他們喜歡這個語言 (蔡:對) 然後 所以妳教學方式是用比較互動 (蔡:對) 對話的方式</p> <p>蔡:互動 然後活潑</p> <p>研:然後用影片阿讓他們去 因為一到四年級 (蔡:對對對) 所以用影片 (蔡:對) 去讓他們有聲音或是視覺的 (蔡:對對對) 學習</p> <p>蔡:對對對 就譬如像我剛剛講的 一年級的那個盥洗用品 (研:恩) 那我就會去找那個譬如說 那個湯姆貓與傑利鼠以前的卡通 (研:恩) 就有那個鴨子在洗澡 (研:呵) 洗澡就盥洗嘛 我就會把它做連結這樣 對對對</p> <p>研:恩</p> <p>蔡:相關的影片這樣</p> <p>研:然後妳也會補充一些故事跟笑話這樣</p>	<p>students think my mom says it's useless to learn Minnanyu, why do I have to pay attention (in class). Yes, so it will have indirect impact on students</p> <p>A: so this is the main one, and the rest are minor</p> <p>Ts: the rest are just minor, not to the extent like, Minnanyu like personal teaching belief or style ah* I think each teacher is different yes yes yes <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: en what about yourself</p> <p>Ts: Myself, like I just said [A: yes] I focus on making it practical in life, then provide loads of additional materials, and other related information yes</p> <p>A: so, because since this is also the centre of your teaching, because that is your belief</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes</p> <p>A: so you just said that, you want them... en, because they don't at the moment, (that you) want them to like this language [Ts: yes] so your teaching style is more interactive [Ts: yes] dialogue style</p> <p>Ts: interactive, and lively</p> <p>A: then use video clips for them to..., because from grade one to four [Ts: yes yes yes] so use video clips [Ts: yes] to give them visual and audio input[Ts: yes yes yes] (for) learning</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes, like what I just said, the toiletries in grade one [A: en] I will go find those, for example, that old cartoon Tom and Jerry [A: en], they have ducks taking a shower [A: haha] and taking a shower is {wash-up/ refreshing yourself / washing their face and brush their teeth} mah*, so I link the two yes yes yes</p> <p>A: en</p> <p>Ts: related video clips like that</p> <p>A: then you also give additional (materials like) stories and jokes like that</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes</p>
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<p>蔡:對對對</p> <p>研:所以這是這些方式是讓妳讓他們覺得說 閩南語課很有趣</p> <p>蔡:是 有趣的 (研 : 然後再去喜歡) 然後就不會覺得說 ㄟ 爸爸說閩南語是不好的 好像沒有這回事 我就讓他去想法先改變這樣子</p> <p>研:所以妳認為現在的家長 還是會 普遍對閩南語負面的態度</p> <p>蔡:北部</p> <p>研:所以北部還是有負面 家長</p> <p>蔡:對 像上學期學校日的時候啊 我就在講解說我的上課方式阿什麼甚麼的 就講那個評分方式 (研 : 恩) 然後呢 我就我就說我的考試方式 然後就有家長舉手 老師 閩南語怎麼考試阿(22:56)那個字 小孩子應該聽不懂吧 然後我就馬上說 喔 我不會考 每個家長都 恩 對 不要考 懂嗎 (研 : 恩) 對 就是他們因為閩南語自己現在有自己的漢字嘛</p> <p>研:對</p> <p>蔡:那一二年級現在就像我剛剛講 他們還在學注音符號ㄅㄆㄇ那 而且又有英文 他們排位還是會上英文 他們用ABC 用注音符號 然後又閩南語 他們應該會錯亂 (研 : 恩) 對阿 所以就有家長 我還沒 我其實知道我還沒有講到的時候 家長會先舉手 就問我 然後就說 好等一下我會講 對 然後等我講出來說那個不會考 拼音不會考什麼的 每個家長都點頭 (研 : 恩) 點頭如搗蒜 (研 : 恩) 所以我覺得家長態度真的很重要 (23:36)</p>	<p>A: so these methods are for you, for them to think that Minnanyu class is interesting</p> <p>Ts: yes, (it) is interesting [then start to like (it)] then (they) don't think that eh* dad said Minnanyu is bad, seems like it is not the case. I let them to first change their thoughts like that</p> <p>A: so you think the parents nowadays, still, in general have negative attitudes to Minnanyu</p> <p>Ts: in the North</p> <p>A: so in the north (it is) still negative, parents</p> <p>Ts: yes. Like last semester on the school day {parents' evening} ah*, I was explaining my teaching methods and alike, talking about the grading methods [A: en]. Then, I was, I was talking about my exam methods and a parent raised their hands: teacher, how to test Minnanyu? That word, children probably don't understand? Then I quickly said: oh* I won't test that. Every single parent was: en yes, don't test that. Understand? [A: en] yes, its because they, because Minnanyu now has its own Han characters mah*</p> <p>A: yes</p> <p>Ts: then grade one and two now are like what I just said, they are still learning MPS bo po mo fo. So, and there is also English, their ranking is still priorities taking English (classes), they use ABC, use MPS, then also Minnanyu, they will get confused [A: en] yes. So there are parents, before I, I actually knew that before I talked about it, parents would raise their hands first, and asked me, and I said ok, I will explain it later. And when I told them that I won't test it or something, every parent was nodding their heads [A: en] like nodding strongly {nodding like crushing garlic / nodding empathetically} [A: en] so I think parents' attitude is important</p>
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<p>研:就是普遍認為說這個語言沒有很重要</p> <p>蔡:對 他們就覺得說不用學了這樣子 而且英文的發音我覺得影響很深 像我現在三四年級就有先稍微講拼音嘛</p> <p>(23:51)然後就問他說 ㄝ 這個符號 閩南語怎麼發音 像 P 閩南語是ㄅ 就用注音符號去發音 然後他們就會發成(ㄨㄛ)(ㄨㄛ)(ㄨㄛ)就用英文的去帶進去這樣 嘿啊</p> <p>研:恩 所以(24:06)ㄛ 同時進行英語跟台語教育 主要的影響是</p> <p>蔡:就跟他們說 對阿 就是會 而且畢竟就像 (印歐語系? 應語系?) 英語系跟閩南語系是不一樣的 那他們就把它弄錯亂了</p> <p>研:那妳覺得同時這樣進行多語的阿 就是妳說他們從一年級開始就要就是他們都要學中文英文跟母語 (蔡:恩) 那這樣子多語的進行 對他們來講 你覺得對台語的學習上有什麼影響</p> <p>蔡:就是會 台語哦 就是相對台語就是會變得比較弱 對阿 因為台語一開始就弱 (研:恩) 然後現在大家都推國語是一定要的嘛 (研:恩) 中文 然後英語 大家一直在推 那相對就擠壓到閩南語 (研:恩) 對阿 這是不變的 永遠都是 (吸氣) 一直都是這樣子的</p> <p>研:所以這樣子 因為比重的關係 反而是妳覺得會是另外一種形式的就是 痾 (蔡:擠壓) 擠壓 排擠</p> <p>蔡:對對對</p> <p>研:等於說對母語也是一種壓迫 (蔡:對) 然後並所以這樣這樣來說就 痾 這樣推行的政策並沒有真正在推廣或者是 (蔡:沒有) 維護這個語言</p>	<p>A: just their understanding in general is that this language is not important</p> <p>Ts: yes. They think that there's no need to learn (it) in that sense. And English pronunciation I think has huge impact. Like the 3rd and 4th grade now I teach a bit of Pinying mah*. Then they ask eh* this symbol, how to pronounce it in Minnanyu? Like P in Minnanyu is bo, to use MPS to pronounce. Then they will pronounce it as po po po ke ke ke, brining English pronunciation in like that <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: en so eh* what is the main impact of simultaneous implementation of English and Taiyu education</p> <p>Ts: so I tell them, yes, it does. After all, English system and Minnanyu system are different, and they confused the two</p> <p>A: so what do you think about implementing multilingual education simultaneously, that you said they have to learn all Mandarin, English and mother tongue since grade one [Ts: en], having such simultaneous multilingual (education), to them, what do you think are the impacts on their Taiyu learning?</p> <p>Ts: it will, for Taiyu? It will be that Taiyu is relatively weaker yes, because Taiyu is (in a) weak (status) from the start [A: en]. And now everyone is promoting national language, it's necessary [A: en]. Mandarin, then English, everyone is promoting (them), and in turn it will suppress Minnanyu [A: en] <u>yes</u> this is never changing, it's like this forever, it has always been like this</p> <p>A: so this way, because of the proportion (of languages classes), you think that this is another form of eh [Ts: suppression] suppression, extrusion</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes</p> <p>A: that means it's also oppressing mother tongue [Ts: yes] so then that is to say eh* implementing policy like this is not actually promoting or [Ts: no] preserving this language</p>
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<p>蔡:對阿 就是形式上做做樣子 就是她 他有做出這樣的動作 但是他可能沒有很徹底的去執行或是說 痾 去督促 對 那就像那天那個老師講的 就是塗老師他們講的 國高中他們也幾乎都沒在上 雖然課表上有排這個 (研:恩) 但是我第一個 考試可能不會考 對那班導師就沒再管那 就ㄟ 這一課 我現在國語在趕課 就把閩南語拿來趕國語 對阿</p> <p>研:現在這邊 DM 國小會有這樣子的狀況嗎</p>	<p>Ts: ye, it's only posturing. So they, they did carry out this act, but maybe they didn't fully implement it or, eh* supervise it, yes. Then it will be like what that teacher said the other day, that Teacher Tu them, it's been barely taught in junior high and high school, even if it's scheduled on their course timetable [A: en]. But for me, first, it might not be tested in exams, yes then the home teachers don't care much about it, so eh* (for example) this class, I am tight on Mandarin class schedule, so I use Minnanyu class to catch up with Mandarin schedule, yes</p> <p>A: is it like this now here in DM primary school?</p>
<p>蔡:DM 國小我是不知道 但是我以前國高中的時候也是會這樣 (研:喔) 對對對 黑呀 我以前也是在對呀新竹 (研:恩) 閩南語根本都沒在上 對呀就是</p> <p>研:就是被拿去借課</p> <p>蔡:對拿去借課(26:02)然後補課阿 考試阿什麼的這樣 (研:喔) 對對對 但是如果你去 argue 說 去反應說 ㄟ 怎麼都沒有在上 那上層的可能會 這是我的想法 就是上層可能會說 有阿 我課綱有排阿 (研:恩) 我課表有排給你們啊 對對對 然後她就會把責任推給學校說 學校怎麼沒有去徹底執行 (研:恩) 我在猜應該是這樣</p>	<p>Ts: DM primary school, I don't know, but my previous junior high and high school were also like this [A: en] yes yes yes <u>yes</u>, I was also in Hsingchu [A: en] wasn't having Minnanyu (classes) at all, yea that's right</p> <p>A: (classes) were borrowed (to teach other subjects), or make up missed lessons, exams and alike [A: oh] yes yes yes. But if you go argue, go report saying eh* why is (Minnanyu class) not being carried out? Then the higher level (of authority) may be, this is my thinking, that the higher level (of authority) may say: yes, I put it in the curriculum [A: en], I put it in the course timetable ah*. Yes yes yes, then push the responsibilities to the schools, asking why the schools are not implementing it [A: en], this is my guessing</p>
<p>研:所以妳是說你在新竹教書嗎 還是</p> <p>蔡:不是我是在新竹 (研:讀書的時候) 讀書的時候 (研:喔) 對呀 閩南語就是會常常被拿去 上課</p> <p>研: 所以你們有必修 是閩南語是必修哦</p> <p>蔡:不是必修 就是它那個課表會有那個語言閩南語 (研:喔) 是選修 對呀但</p>	<p>A: so you are saying that you taught in Hsingchu before or</p> <p>Ts: no I was in Hsingchu [A: studying] studying [A: oh] yes, Minnanyu classes were borrowed to teach (other subject)</p> <p>A: so you have mandatory, Minnanyu as mandatory oh*</p> <p>Ts: not mandatory, it's that on the course timetable there is language Minnanyu [A: oh] it's selective yea. But</p>

<p>是它那個選修可能就排在ㄗ 就是某一天下午是社團的時候嘛 (研:恩) 那可能就排在那裡 就是把妳不是把你排在主課那樣子 (研:恩) 所以學生就覺得有無都沒有關係這樣</p> <p>:喔 恩 排課 所以你剛剛說妳個人認為依重要性拉 國語英語跟台語妳的排序是蔡:重要性嗎 我覺得是---國小這個階段可以國台英對 (研:國台英) 對呀 或者說妳到五六年級再 英文去做加強也可以 (研:恩) 對</p> <p>研:那妳個人 妳自己對妳自己來說 你覺得哪一個比較重要 就妳個人</p> <p>蔡:個人 現在的話 只能挑一個嗎</p> <p>研:沒有 就是排序</p> <p>蔡:排序哦(27:42) 大致上也是這樣</p> <p>研:就是國台英</p> <p>蔡:對阿 國台英</p> <p>研:那你認為學生的安排</p> <p>蔡:學生她們大部分都受家長影響吧 是國英台 普遍的狀況</p> <p>研:好 然後 那妳在 痾 教學的時候 你覺得有什麼 遇到什麼困難嗎 或者是</p> <p>蔡:教學哦 痾 譬如說 學生他可能 雖然我我剛剛講我上課方式 感覺好像很活潑 但是還是會遇到幾個是比較 我覺得帶不太起來的狀況 就是會比較沉悶 嘿 就是可能沒有 譬如說像這個單元 現在課排的這個單元 它可能補充 讓我可以補充的東西比較少 那相對的就是會變成比較制式化的講 聽 講 聽 (研:恩恩) 那學生就是 就是會覺得齁 怎麼這一節的閩南語這麼的無聊 (研:恩) 就</p>	<p>it's that they arrange the selective classes in eh* the afternoon on one of those days when there are association classes [A: en], it is possible that (Minnanyu class) is being arranged there. So not arranging the class as one of the main subjects that way [A: en]. So students feel that it doesn't matter if there is (Minnanyu class / selective classes) or not, like that</p> <p>A: oh en, arranging classes. So you were saying, your personal ranking of national language, English and Taiyu according to its importance are</p> <p>Ts: according to its importance? I think, at primary school stage, it can be National language, Tai and En yes [A: National language, Tai and En] yes, or you can put more emphasis on English when you're in 5th or 6th grade, that's fine [A: en] yes</p> <p>A: so what about you, yourself, to yourself, which one do you think is more important to you</p> <p>Ts: personally, for now..., only pick one?</p> <p>A: no, I mean ranking</p> <p>Ts: ranking oh, it's about the same</p> <p>A: so national language Tai En</p> <p>Ts: yes national language Tai En</p> <p>A: then what do you think students' ranking is</p> <p>Ts: most students are largely influenced by their parents bah* its national language En Tai, in general (most common)</p> <p>A: ok, then you, eh* when you are teaching, what do you think, have you encounter any difficulties, or</p> <p>Ts: teaching oh*, for example, students may, even though I was saying that my teaching style, sounds active/lively, but I still encounter situations (where I find) some (who are) more, I think, hard to engage. Just that (the whole class / these students are) more quiet, <u>yes</u> so maybe there are no, for example this</p>
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<p>可能跟上一節的會有反差 嘿 那學生那個表情反應超明顯的阿 (研: 呵呵) 那他他覺得喔好無聊他就開始做其他事情 他有聊就一直盯著你看 (研: 恩) 所以還是教學 ㄜ 對</p> <p>研: 就等於說 學生的態度啦 (蔡: 對對對) 有時候就是比較 比較 恩 不活躍 沒有很主動參與課程這樣子</p> <p>蔡: 痾 就是他會看妳妳上課的方式 對</p> <p>研: 所以妳就必須 反而必須帶很多那個</p> <p>蔡: 對對對 嘿啊 因為就像我剛剛講 這其實講到源頭 他就是對妳那個不重視 (29:24) 所以他就不想上 所以妳想要引起他的興趣 妳就要想一些花招 但是花招總有想完的時候 (研: 對 laughing) 那這時候就 (笑) 很頭痛 所以我常常都會去弄一些 PPT 啊 或是抓有的沒的影片這樣 我的電腦那個 (研: 呵) D 槽滿滿都是影片這樣 (研: 呵呵) 對呀抓很多</p> <p>研: 就是等於是提升他們的那個興趣</p> <p>蔡: 對 興趣</p> <p>研: 那現在就最後的那個 就要問妳的個人資料(29:53) (蔡: 喔) 所以你的你的年齡是</p> <p>蔡: 我想一下我的年齡 2..2 8 還是 2 9</p> <p>研: 你是 1 9</p> <p>蔡: 7... 1 9 8 8</p>	<p>unit, this unit scheduled for this lesson, maybe the supplementary, less things for me to provide supplementary (materials), then relatively the class becomes more regularized teaching style listening teaching listening [A: en en] and the students are feeling: ho* why is this this Minnanyu class so boring [A: en], so possibly have a big contrast with the previous class, <u>yes</u>, the facial expressions of the students are super obvious [A: hahaha]. Then if they think it's very boring they will start to do other own things, but if it's interesting they will stare at you [A: en]. So it's still down to teaching eh* yes</p> <p>A: as in students' attitudes [Ts: yes yes yes] sometimes are more, more, en, less active, not actively engage in classes that way</p> <p>Ts: eh* it's that they will judge your teaching style yes</p> <p>A: so you have to, instead have to bring a lot of that</p> <p>Ts: yes yes yes <u>yes</u>. Because like what I just said, going back to the source, they just disregard (this language / this class), so they just don't want to attend the class (mentally), so if you want to attract their attention, you have to think of tricks. But there is always a finishing point in coming up with tricks [A: yes haha] and at that time hah (I would have) serious headache. So I often go make some powerpoints, or download some video clips, so in my computer [A: hehe] in Disk D, it's full of video clips [A: haha] yes, downloaded a lot</p> <p>A: that is to raise their interest</p> <p>Ts: yes, interest</p> <p>A: so now is the last bit, it's about your personal information [Ts" oh] so your, what is your age</p> <p>Ts: let me have a think, my age, twenty... 28 or 29</p> <p>A: are you 19</p> <p>Ts: 7... 1988</p>
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<p>研：喔那妳 可是你幾月生 蔡：10月 研：那應該是2 蔡：28吧 (研：28) 研：然後出生的城市 蔡：台南 研：然後國小到高中受教育的城市呢 蔡：喔 國小...我想一下 研：不一樣也可以就是可以分開 蔡：台南 新竹 研：所以國中就到新竹嗎 蔡：ㄟ (研：還是高中) 國小 國小四年級三年級就到新竹了 (研：喔) 黑 研：然後大學的城市呢 蔡：大學在台中 研：然後現在居住就是台北 蔡：在台北 對 研：那因為 其實我 其實我是1987年生的 (蔡：恩) 可是我沒有閩南語的課 我不記得我們沒有任何閩南語選修課 新竹可能比較 (蔡：是喔) 可是我會以為新竹市客家 蔡：痾 新竹市客家 (研：的對) 對對對 啊我的話就是南部搬上去的 研：恩 可是因為對你說 新竹他們有 蔡：我記得國小 有有 有國小就有上過閩南語 應該是講鄉土語言課程 研：我們有鄉土課 可是我 不是語言是講一些那種文化類的東西 蔡：恩 我記得我們老師還有 ㄟ 不是語言 就是不是講語言拉 (研：恩) 就是我還記得我那個國小老師他有讓我們唱那個 唱一首閩南語歌謠這樣 (研：恩) 他還把我點上去 然後就我跟一個討厭的男生一起唱 (研：哈哈) 害我一個整個唱的很爛這樣 (研：哈哈)</p>	<p>A: oh but which month were you born? Ts: October A: then that should be twenty Ts: 28 bah* [A: 28] A: then city you were born in Ts: Tainan A: then the city you received primary school to high school education Ts: oh primary school, let me have a think A: it's ok to be different, it can be separate Ts: Tainan, Hsingchu A: so you already went to Hsingchu in junior high school Ts: eh* [A: or in high school] primary school, primary 4, 3 (I) went to Hsingchu [A: oh] <u>yes</u> A: what about university city? Ts: university in Taichung A: and current city where you live is Taipei Ts: in Taipei yes A: so because, actually I, I was actually born in 1987 [Ts: en] but I didn't have Minnanyu classes. I can't remember if we have any Minnanyu selective classes, maybe in Hsingchu it's more [Ts: oh is that so] but I would think it's Hakka in Hsingchu Ts: eh* it's Hakka in Hsingchu [A: yes] yes yes yes yes, as for me, I move up from the south A: en, but you said, in Hsingchu they have Ts: I remember in primary school, they do they do, yea I took Minnanyu class in primary school, maybe it should be indigenous languages class A: we did have indigenous classes, but I, it wasn't (about) language, it was about culture and alike Ts: en I remember our teacher also, eh* not language, as in not talking about the language [A: en]. It was, I remember</p>
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<p>研：那你對台語的映像就會很不好 呵呵</p> <p>蔡：不會不會 那首歌明明是我很喜歡唱的 然後結果竟然點一個 因為老師要點一男一女上去唱 (研：合唱) 對就是點一起唱 然後就點一個我討厭的男生 我就覺得好煩這樣子 (研：呵呵呵) 嘿啊 所以 我記得那個國小 三 對呀我來新竹的時候 所以是三四年級的時候 就一個鄉土課 (研：恩) 對對對</p> <p>研：對啊 我忘記 我忘記</p> <p>蔡：國小其實記憶有點遙遠 (研：呵呵呵) 對呀</p> <p>研：那妳臺語師資的認證 師資的認證是什麼 就是你有考認證嘛 (蔡：有) 還是有的老師是實習這樣子</p> <p>蔡：我沒有實習 (研：恩) 我有考個檢定 (研：恩) 對 台語檢定這樣子</p> <p>研：所以你是哪一年考的</p> <p>蔡：喔 大學的時候考的 (研：恩) 我忘記哪一年了 大大一 大二</p> <p>研：是 2005 2006 嗎</p> <p>蔡：我大二是什麼時候</p> <p>研：差不多 我覺得應該是 2005 2006 2006 或 2007</p> <p>蔡：5 或 6 之類的</p> <p>研：差不多 反正就寫 6 好了 (蔡：呵呵)</p> <p>3 2 : 4 1</p> <p>研：那你正式癩 成為正式台語教師之前 你有受過什麼訓練嗎 就是你說你的台文系的訓練</p>	<p>that primary school teacher of mine s/he did ask us to sing one Minnanyu folk song [A: en] and s/he even asked me to sing (on stage), and I was singing with a boy I disliked [A: ha ha ha]. Causing me to sing very badly like that [A: ha ha ha]</p> <p>A: so you developed bad impressions of Taiyu haha</p> <p>Ts: no no, that song was the song I loved to sing, turned out that (the teacher) asked one, because the teacher had to ask one boy and one girl to sing [A: duet] yes, so asked (us) to sing together, and asked a boy I dislike and I was annoyed [A: ha ha ha] <u>yes</u>. So I remember that in primary 3, yes, when I came to Hsingchu, so it was primary 3 or 4, there was an indigenous class [A: en] yes yes yes</p> <p>A: yes, I forgot, I forgot</p> <p>Ts: primary school memories seems pretty far away [A: ha ha ha] yes</p> <p>A: so about your Taiyu teaching certificate, teaching certificate – repeated here because I didn't pronounce it properly the first time-what is it, as in did you take the exam [Ts: yes] or some teacher did internships that way</p> <p>Ts: I didn't do internship [A: en]. I did take the exam [A: en] yes, exam on Taiyu</p> <p>A: so which year did you take the exam</p> <p>Ts: oh, when I was undergraduate [A: en]. I forgot which year, fresher or sophomore</p> <p>A: is it 2005 2006</p> <p>Ts: when was I a sophomore</p> <p>A: around, I think it should be 2005 2006, 2006 or 2007</p> <p>Ts: 5 or 6</p> <p>A: it's pretty much the same, I will write 6 [Ts: ha ha]</p> <p>A: so when you became a formal, became a formal Taiyu teacher, what trainings did you have, like you said</p>
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<p>蔡：沒有受過老師的訓練（研：恩） 嘿 就是 以我以前老師上課的經驗（研：恩）跟我覺得 因為我把我自己當成是現在的學生 然後去想 如果我是現在的學生的話 或是現在的家長 那 我要怎麼去 怎麼樣老師 老師怎麼上課我才會想要去學這個閩南語（研：恩）對尤其是現在的狀況 就是我剛剛講的 北部的狀況就是 比較壓迫閩南語的 的這種情形 嘿 然後就去反思說 我如果是學生我老師怎麼上課我才會想要 聽這樣子（研：恩）對呀 研：恩 那台文系裡面教的主要是偏 蔡：我 痾 有分 我們學校教的就是拼音 研：嗯 蔡：對 台中教育大學教的是 拼音 恩 台羅拼音這個 研：恩 蔡：黑 然後我知道 我知道那個好像 中山醫還是哪裡他們就是比較偏文化 研：嗯 蔡：就是一些台灣文學的文化這樣子（研：恩）所以每個學校 在意的點還是不太一樣 研：恩 那你當台語教師多久了呢 蔡：我 之前兩年是 終點 代課老師（研：恩恩）今年才是代理教師 所以才三年 研：喔 代理教師是指 蔡：就是 痾 一年一聘（研：喔）對他 就是 一年一聘 然後終點代課就是 就是 有點 就是像那個塗老師他們 2 6 8 8 那個（研：恩）就是一節課 2 6 0 這樣（研：喔）對對對 黑 研：一節課 2 6 0 喔 蔡：對 國小一節課 2 6 0</p>	<p>trainings from your Taiwanese language and literature degree Ts: I didn't receive teacher training [A: en] <u>yes</u> its I based on my previous experience in attending classes [A: en], and I think, because I put myself in student's position, then think, if I am a student now, or if I am a parent now, then how do I, what kind of teaching will make me want to learn this Minnanyu [A: en]. Especially facing the situation now, just like what I said, situation in the North oppress Minnanyu more, such situation, <u>yes</u>. Then I reflect on it, if I am a student, what method / style the teacher use will make me want to listen [A: en] yea A: en, so what is the focus of the Taiwanese Language and Literature Ts: I, eh*, there are differences, our university focuses on Pinyin A: en en Ts: yes, National Taichung University of Education focuses on Pinyin, TLPA this one A: en Ts: <u>yes</u> and I know, I know that I think, Chung Shan Medical University focuses more on culture A: en en Ts: so it's about the culture of Taiwanese literature [A: en] so each university's foci differs A: en so how long have you been a Taiyu teacher Ts: I, the previous two years, (I was) a substitute teacher [A: en en] and I became acting teacher this year so only three years A: oh acting teacher you mean Ts: it's, eh* one year one contract [A: oh] yes it is one year one contract, and substitute teacher is, it's a bit, it's like teacher Tu them 2688 that [A: en], it's one class (NTD) 260 like that [A: oh] yes yes <u>yes</u> A: 260 per class oh*</p>
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<p>研：恩恩 那所以 代理的話等於是你說 是學年</p> <p>蔡：對一整年</p> <p>研：恩但這也都是 反正都是教育部的 就是</p> <p>蔡：對 這我今年考 DM 是教育部額外 的那個開缺 (研：恩) 對額外開缺 現 在很多學校幾乎都不開 專門的閩南語 (研：喔) 科任缺 對 他就是會讓老師 班導師去 去上課這樣 不然就是像 痾 塗 老師那樣 就是把所有的課都盡量排在 同一天或是集中在 2 3 4 之類的 (研 ：恩) 然後再去找一個外聘的 (研：恩) 來專門上閩南語這個課這樣子 對對 對</p> <p>研：那 如果這樣講 因為 DM 的話一到 四也是我覺得找代理老師像你們這樣的 代理老師 就是閩南語本身就很好的 這 樣子的老師 對小孩子的學習應該比較 有幫助 因為如果像你說 很多是導師自 己帶 (蔡：恩) 但是他們的 痾 語言能 力可能 比較沒有那麼 (蔡：嗯嗯) 對</p> <p>蔡：可能就是 像他們就 可能就 CD 拿 過來放一放 然後影片看一看 聽一聽 (研 ：恩) 就結束了</p> <p>研：恩那所以 DM 這樣算比較重視這 個 你覺得呢 重視 台語</p> <p>蔡：應該算 北部都會算比較重視吧 因 為 很多正式政策新實施一定都先以台 北 (研：恩) 為 為 最先實行的一個縣 市 嘿啊</p> <p>研：恩 因為我有看到在路上 就是走廊 上都會有 就是 (蔡：對對對) 國語 台 語 (蔡：就是那個 嘿啊)</p>	<p>Ts: yes 260 per class for (teaching) primary school</p> <p>A: en en, so for substitute, it means, you said the whole academic year</p> <p>Ts: yea the whole year</p> <p>A: en but this is also, it's also part of Ministry of Education, it's</p> <p>Ts: yes, this year I took exam for DM primary school, it's the additional vacancy opened up by the Ministry od Education [A: en], yes, additional vacancy. Many schools don't open up (vacancies) specializing in Minnanyu [A: oh] subject vacancy, yes. They just ask the home teachers to, to teach the classes it's like that. Or it's like, eh* like teacher Tu, that try to arrange all classes in one day, or on Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday or something [A: en], then go find a supplementary (teacher position) [A: en] to teach specifically Minnanyu class it's like this, yes yes yes</p> <p>A: so, in this case, because DM primary school has for p1 to p4 also, I think employing acting teachers like you acting teacher, who's Minnanyu ability is good this type of teacher, it's helping children's learning. Because if, like you said, many home teacher teach it [Ts: en] but their, eh* language ability may not be so [Ts: en en] yes</p> <p>Ts: maybe it's like, like them, maybe just play CD, and watch some videos and listen to it [A: en], and end the class</p> <p>A: so in this case, DM primary school can be counted as emphasizing this more, do you think so? Emphasizing Taiyu</p> <p>Ts: maybe, emphasize relatively more in the North bah*, because a lot of policy implementing start with Taipei [A: en], as the first county or city to implement, <u>yes</u></p> <p>A: en because I saw on the way, on the corridor I mean there are, those (idioms</p>
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<p>蔡：就是很多那個 那個都是只是為了 要做報告 就是要有一個 paper 然後上 去呈交這樣子 (研：恩) 對對對 嘿啊 研：所以都是有一個恩 蔡：就是那個學生看的應該也很少 就 是掃過然後就走掉了這樣 研：對拉 可是有這樣子的 動作應該 蔡：至少有在這樣的環境營造出來 (研：恩) 嘿啊 我覺得也算不錯 研：我也覺得 恩好那大概就是這樣子 我可能還會有一些補充的一些問題或什 麼的 (蔡：恩恩好啊) 就是在第二次那 個訪談的時候再問你 蔡：好好好 研：好 蔡：希望你 有講到你想要的答案 研：有啊有啊</p>	<p>signs in) [Ts: yes yes yes] national language, Taiyu [Ts: that's that <u>yes</u>] Ts: it's that there are many of that, that is for reports. That they have to give a paper, and submit it to higher (authority level) like that [A: en] yes yes <u>yes</u> A: so they all have one, en Ts: it's that students who read it, must be very rare, they just scan it and walk away like that A: yes, but there are still this sort of action, it is still Ts: at least they create this kind of environment [A: en] <u>yes</u> I think it is nice A: I think so too. En ok, en it. I may have further questions or something [Ts: en en ok ok] those I will ask you in the second interview Ts: ok ok ok A: ok Ts: I hope you, (I) give you the answers you want A: yes yes yes</p>
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Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

	Semi- theme (interview questions)	Semi-theme and code (answers)	Extarcts (an example)	Notes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher code • Page number • Note
1.	Use of language	•		R: additional discussion p.1
&		•		R: 1.c, p.4
56.		•		O: 1.d, p.2
		•		O: 1.f, p.2
2.	Daighi Education implementation – National level *Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They want to promote Daighi • They are aware that the status of Daighi is in threat • Not implementing fully 	賴: 拎 我們就去教室 可能就是因為中斷這 麼久 想要提升這方面 (05:45)可能語言的危 機有一些吧 可是推行 的政策沒有辦法很積 極 或者是父母	T: 2.a, p.2
	Daighi Education implementation – National level *Current practice	•		T: 2.a, p. 3/4
3.	Daighi education implementation – Local authority	•		T: 2.b, p.4
		•		K: 5.a.iii, p.5

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

4.	Daighi education implementation – Schools	•		S: 2.c, p. 2
	Daighi education implementation – Schools CURRENT PRACTICE	•		T: 2.c, p. 5/6
5.	Teaching experiences	•		T: 2.a, p.2
		•		T: 2.a, p. 3/4
		•		T: 2.b, p. 5
		•		T: 2.c, p. 6
		•		T: 2.c p.6
		•		T: 2.d, p.7
		•		T: 4.c, p. 9/10
		•		T: 4.d, p. 10
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p. 12/13
		•		5.a.iii, p.14/15
		•		T: 5.b, p. 18
		•		
6.	Family education is important / parents' attitude to Daighi is important 'family environment'	•		T: 2.a, p.2
		•		T: 2.a, p.3
		•		T: 2.a, p. 3/4
		•		
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.11
		•		

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

7. / 14. (see e als o 61.)	Daighi education implementation – personal (sub- theme: goal and purpose) 14. Motivation	•		T: 2.d, p.7
		•		T: 3 talking about 2.d, p. 8
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.11
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.11/12
		•		O: 5.a.iii, p.9/10
8.	Attitudes	•		T: 2.a, p.4
		•		T: 2.b, p.4
		•		T: 2.b, p.5
		•		T: additional discussioin, p.10
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p.1
		•		T: 6.b, p. 19/20/21
		•		
	Improving their attitudes → link to 12.	•		S: 4.b, p.5/6
		•		S: 4.b, p.7
		•		S: 6.b, p.15

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

9.	Teaching methods (to meet the goal)	•		T: 5.a.iii, p. 13
		•		T: 5.b, p. 16
		•		T: 5.b, p. 16/17
		•		T: 5.b, p. 18
		•		S: 5.b, P.12/13
		•		S: 6.c, p.15/16
		•		S: summary, p. 16
		•		J: 5.a.iii, p.7
10.	Students' motivations	•		T: 3, p.7/8
		•		T: 6.a, p. 18
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.11
		•		S: 6.a, p.14
11.	Recent changing government's influence	•		T: 6.f, p. 21
12.	Influence of formalizing Daighi class	•		S: 6.b, p.15
		•		R: 6.d, p. 22/23
13.	National curriculum	•		T: 6.e, p.21
		•		O: 6.e, p.11
14.	Teacher's motivation for teaching Daighi	•		
		•		
		•		
15.	*Changes you want to bring to	•		T: 4.b, p. 8

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

	your students (can link to personal level purpose – goal)			
		•		T: 5.b, p.10/11
		•		
16.	*Language abilities you want your students to have (can link to personal – goal)	•		T: 4.c, p.9
		•		J: additional discussion, p.10
		•		I: 5.b, p.6/7
17.	*Let students learn to respect Daighi culture through Daighi education (link to personal – attitude)	•		T: 4.b, p.10
		•		I: 4.d, p.6
18.	Course timetable, course progression plan	•		T: 5.a.i, p.11
		•		S: 5.a.i.2, P. 9
19.	Percentage / proportion of Daighi usage in class	•		
20.	Pinyin system	•		N: 6.b, p.4

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

21.	Use of textbooks in class	•		T: 5.a.ii, p.11/12
		•		S: 5.a.i.2
22.	Factors / elements influencing your teaching	•		T: 5.a.iii, p.12
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p.13
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p.13
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p.14
		•		T: 5.a.iii, p.15/16
		•		
23.	Simultaneous multilingual education impact	•		T: 5.b, p.16
		•		T: 7.b, p. 22/23
24.	Language ranking	•		T: 7.c, p. 23
		•		I: 7.d, p.11
25.	Teacher training	•		T: 2.c p.6
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.10
		•		S: 5.a.iii, p.11
26.	Focus differs among various Taiwanese language and literature department	•		
27.	Daighi teacher types	•		O: 7.a, p.12
28.	Understanding of home teachers'	•		T: 2.a, p.3/4

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

	teaching style and methods			
		•		I: additional discussion, p.7
29.	Policy implementation focused city	•		E: 5.b, p.4
30.	Primary school environment	•		S: 5.a.iii, p.12
		•		S: 6.a, p. 14
31.	Purpose of Daighi education	•		
32.	Personal attachment to Daighi	•		R: 1.e, p.5
		•		R: 1f, p.5
33.	Current Daighi situation	•		
34. & 39.	Exam, marking & method	•		P: additional discussion, p.8
		•		K: additional discussion, p.7
35.	Textbook design	•		S: 5.b, p. 9/10
36.	Outcome of Daighi education	•		F: 4.b, p.5/6
	Daighi impact on their daily lives	•		
37.	Difference between North and South	•		R: 1g, p.4
		•		G: 6.b, p.5

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

38. & 63. & 37. & 65.	Language ability	•		O: additional discussion, p.5
39. & 34.	Exam oriented education system	•		T: 2.a, p.2
		•		J: 5.c, p.9
40.	Learning situation	•		G: 6.c, p.5
41.	Improving attitudes to Daighi	•		G: 5.a, p.4
42.	Simultaneous Daighi and English education	•		T: 7.a, p. 21/22
		•		O: 7.b, p.12
43.	Teacher's influence on students	•		S: 7.a, p. 16/17
44.	Necessity of learning Daighi	•		N: 6.b, p.8
		•		E: 6.c, p.8
45. 15 Ja n 20 17	Daighi and identity	•		S: 2.d, p.2/3
		•		S: 4.b, p.5/6
46.	Course preparation	•		

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

47.	Daighi impact on their daily lives	•		
48.	Daighi v.s. other languages	•		T: 2.b, p.4
		•		T: 2.b, p.5
		•		T: 5.a.i, p. 11
49.	Teaching and learning materials	•		T: 5.b, p.17/18
		•		S: 5.b, P.12/13
		•		G: 5.b p.5
50.	Language learning environment	•		T: 2.a, p.4
		•		P: 5.a.iii, p.5
51.	Politics	•		S: 5.a.iii, p.10
		•		J: 6.f, p.10
		•		
52.	Teacher's Daighi ability	•		P: 6.c, p.4
53.	Home teacher's and contract teacher's view on supplementary teacher	•		
54.	Supplementary teaching	•		
55.	Publishing companies	•		S: 5.b, p. 9/10
56.	Use of language to others	•		F: 1.c, p.1
57.	Culture	•		S: 4.b, p.5
		•		
		•		
		•		

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

58.	Mother tongue day	•		P: 2.b, p.4
59.	Colleagues	•		
60.	Teacher's confidence	•		S: 1.a, p.1
		•		S: 9.b, p.19
61.	Teacher's expectations (Language ability related)	•		P: additional discussion, p.8
62.	School policy	•		S: 2.c, p. 2
		•		S: 4.b, p.5
	School size	•		I: additional discussion, p.1
63.	Students' Daighi ability	•		S: 4.b, p. 6
		•		S: additional discussion, p. 8/9
64.	Challenges for being a Daighi teacher	•		I: 5.a.iii, p.8/9
		•		I: 5.a.iii, p.8/9
65.	Difference between city centre and countryside	•		J: 2.a, p.2
66.	Daighi history	•		R: additional discussion, p.8/9
		•		O: 2.a, p.2/3
67.	Speech contests	•		O: 5.a.iii, p.6
		•		O: 5.a.iii, p.9

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

68.	The existing form for Daighi	•		P: additional discussion, p.8/9
69.	Intergenerational language shift	•		T: 2.b, p.4
		•		T: 2.b, p. 5
70.	Invented Daighi characters influencing the pronunciation of the words	•		R: additional discussion, p.7/8
71.	Language ability and intelligence	•		R: additional discussion, p. 11
72.	Normalization of Taiwanese education	•		R: additional discussion, p. 15
		•		R: 4.a, p.16
		•		R: 5.a.iii, p.19
		•		R: 6.f, p.23
		•		R: 7.b, p.24
73.	Teacher's awareness of Daighi's as an endangered language	•		T: 4.b, p.8
74.	Teachers' perceived class style	•		
75.	Improve the importance of Daighi	•		
76.	Special cases in class	•		

Appendix 9 Codes list with sample information

77.	Taiwanese Mandarin as the lingua franca of Taiwan	•		
78.	Discrimination	•		