ABSTRACT

In this study, I used ethnographic methods to investigate the learning and education of the heritage language of a group of indigenous students in Taiwan. Traditionally, their heritage language, Atayal, was not written. Also, Atayal was taught at schools only recently. As one of Austronesian language families, Atayal language and culture could have been part of the origin of other Polynesians in the Pacific Islands. Furthermore, as an Atayal member I was interested in knowing the current status of Atayal language among the Atayal students in school. I also wanted to know the attitudes of Atayal learning of the participants as well as how they saw the future of Atayal language. Last, I investigated the relationship of Atayal language and Atayal cultures. I stayed in an Atayal village in the mid mountain area in Taiwan for six months to collect observation and interview data. The research site included the Bamboo Garden Elementary School and the Bamboo Garden Village. In the 27 Atayal students who participated in this study, 16 were girls and 11 were boys. They were between Grade 2 to Grade 6. Among the 18 adult participants, 13 were females and 5 were males. These adults usually had more than just one identity, such as a mother and a staff or a teacher and a villager.

In the findings, I present four themes. In Theme One the results shows that there is only a little improvement since the government of Taiwan began to encourage indigenous peoples in Taiwan to speak their heritage languages. In Theme Two I present the findings that
reveal the situation that Atayal language is less competitive compared to other surrounded languages such as Chinese and South Min. In Theme Three I present the situation that English doesn’t have a role in the multilingual society the participants live. Last, with my data related to Atayal cultural activities I present the observation that there is a gap between Atayal culture and the learning and education of Atayal language. In the chapter of Discussion I present two educational implications. First, I urge that the mechanism of the retrieval of the heritage languages in Taiwan to be through collaborative process. I suggest that such collaborative process shall honor the local culture and knowledge and the local activities. Second, I suggest that the curriculum for the heritage languages of the indigenous Taiwanese should be multicultural one, in which the heritage language and Chinese is taught from Kindergarten to G 2, and English is added in Grade 3. Again, I suggest that the multilingual education for languages should be through collaborative process in which the local fluent heritage-language speakers are invited. Their knowledge of local culture and language uses should be honored in this process. My conclusion in this dissertation is an inspiration to continue my studies and learning about the retrieval and development of the heritage languages among the indigenous people in Taiwan and around the world through promoting a collaborative process.
To the Lord
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research project investigated the learning of the heritage language (HL hereafter) of the Atayal students at an elementary school located in an Atayal community in the mountain area in Taiwan. The Atayal are one of the indigenous tribes that have lived in Taiwan for centuries. According to Li (1997), the earliest record available of the existence of indigenous Taiwanese groups is at least three hundred years old. However, Blust (1985) argues that it was around five thousand years ago when ancient Austronesian peoples began to spread to other parts of the world from Taiwan. In other words, according to Blust (1985), the history of native Taiwanese groups can be traced back much more than only a few hundred years ago. The traditional languages of these indigenous peoples in Taiwan are called Heritage Language/s\(^1\) (HL/s) in this study. Currently in Taiwan, fourteen indigenous peoples remain and are officially recognized by the government, and the total population of the indigenous groups as a whole is almost half a million\(^2\). This population makes up around 2% of the total population in Taiwan.

As for Atayals\(^3\), the current population is around 81,000. Atayals have lived in the

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\(^1\) In this paper, HL refers to “Heritage Language,” while HL/s refers to “Heritage Language/s.”

\(^2\) This demographic information is retrieved from the official website of Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan, which is the highest level of governmental administrative for indigenous people in Taiwan. The link is: http://www.apc.gov.tw/main/index_en.jsp?lang=en

\(^3\) In this paper, Atayal may be referred to the people or their HL.
mountain areas of mid to northern Taiwan for centuries. This research project focused on a group of young Atayals at an elementary school around the mid-mountain area in Taiwan, in which the majority of the population is Atayal. For only around a decade or so, these students have been learning three languages: their HL (Atayal), the only official language (Mandarin Chinese), and a foreign language (English). My purpose to initiate this study was to document the education and acquisition of the young Atayals regarding their heritage language, Atayal, as they were also learning two other languages, Mandarin Chinese and English. I also intended to investigate the perspectives of people around the research site, and to find out the current status of the multilingual education of the young participants.

1.2 MOTIVATIONS

This research project was planned with three general goals. The first was to investigate the circumstances surrounding the literacy acquisition of the young Atayals in their elementary school in Taiwan. In recent years in Taiwan, the national policy for education of languages has been that third graders have to learn English in addition to the official language, Mandarin Chinese. Only a decade ago, the Constitution of Taiwan was amended to protect minority groups’ rights to learn their mother tongues. As a result, education for these languages, English and HL/s, takes an auxiliary role to that of Mandarin Chinese, which has been the only official language for decades. Currently Taiwan is
becoming a country that officially promotes multilingual education for young students, starting with 3rd graders in public schools. By examining what happened in Finland regarding the relationship between successful language education and the nation’s international competitiveness, Huang (2007) reports that there was a strong relationship between being the best country in terms of international competitiveness and its emphasis on language education as part of state policy. In Taiwan on the other hand, multilingual education has just begun, and to seriously develop multilingual education as in Finland is thought of as a way for people in Taiwan to enhance their international competitiveness. With this trend of national recognition of the importance of multilingualism in Taiwan, it was my first motivation to understand how successful multilingual education was to the young Atayals who attend a school located in their community that was remote from the modern city. Specifically, I wished to document the patterns or structures in which they learn and acquire their HL as they were also learning two other languages.

I believe that the significance of understanding the development of indigenous Taiwanese groups’ HL/s should not be limited to the people inside the island, but it can also be valuable to those outside Taiwan. There is increasing evidence showing that the indigenous peoples in Taiwan might have been the origin of the indigenous peoples in the Austronesian region, which range from Madagascar near Africa to Easter Island in Pacific

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4 Private schools might have different curricula.
5 According to Diamond (2000), Austronesian language family is the biggest linguistic family in the world.
Ocean, according to Diamond (2000). Diamond (2000) also reports that of the ten distinct sub-groups of Austronisian languages, at least nine can be found in Taiwan. In fact, Trejaut & Lin (2005) have a more surprising finding regarding this matter. In response to the curiosity about the linguistic theory that Taiwan could be the “Hawaiki,” the original place where Hawaiian Polynesians were from, they studied 640 indigenous people from nine Aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, examining the variation in mitochondrial DNA to trace mutations through the generations. They concluded that their results support the linguistic theory that Taiwan should be the “Hawaiki” where Hawaiian Polynesians originally came from. In their article, these researchers go so far as to use the subtitle: “Polynesians are Taiwanese in disguise” (p. 69). These studies have supported a theory developed by a linguist, Blust (1985) who argued a few decades ago that Taiwan could have been the original homeland of Austronesian groups.

In sum, the traditional languages and the cultures of indigenous Taiwanese peoples could have been the early source of many other aboriginal or indigenous groups that are now living around the Pacific Island and some other places around the world. Because of this relationship, the revitalization of the HL of an indigenous Taiwanese group should not be regarded as a concern only to those people inside the island of Taiwan, but it is an invaluable cultural treasure meaningful to a significant number of people outside the island.

Aside from these two motivations above, I had one more motivation to initiate this research project. It was my identity as an Atayal, the same tribe as the young participants in
this research project. The understanding of my traditional culture, language arts in this case, let me initiate and supported me to conduct the current research. Having suffered from the monolingual policy many years ago in Taiwan, the Atayal language that should have been my mother tongue became foreign to me, much to my dismay. This tragedy began when my parents were convinced by the proclamation of the government’s monolingual policy more than three decades ago, and my parents would not use Atayal to communicate with me since I was very young. Since recently in schools in Taiwan people have begun to promote the teaching of HL/s, I felt it was a suitable timing to survey the current status of Atayal learning and education for young children.

1.3 THE CONCEPT OF “HERITAGE LANGUAGE”

Allow me to talk about the adoption of the term, Heritage Language (HL), in this study. Throughout this research project, I have considered the concepts of HL/s that combine Fishman’s (2001) definition along with an emphasis on the personal perspective of HL by Kondo-Brown (2003). As is pointed out by Kondo-Brown (2003), the term, HL, is adopted in literature with various definitions “depending on the perspective involved” (p. 1). In Kondo-Brown’s discussion of these definitions, I find two are strongly relevant to my project. The first is that by Fishman (2001), in which HL is defined as “any ancestral language such as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages, and therefore, it may or may not be a
language regularly used in the home and in the country” (p.1). In this research project, the participants had their ancestral language, Atayal as their HL that would not always be spoken at homes and in the villages. This concept of HL was adequate to what happened to my participants. It is also important to refer to this broad definition of HL by Fishman (2001) here before I continue my discussion about another relevant concept about HL because it is based on the Fishman’s (2001) definition. With reference to Wiley (2001) and Gambhir (2001), Kondo-Brown (2003) discusses the perspective of HL that is more relevant to the situation of the participants in this research project. Based on a “personal perspective of an individual learner,” HL “seems to depend on the degree of association one establishes between one’s own identity and the ancestral language” (P. 2). This perspective of HL indicates that one can still see her or his ancestral language as HL even if this language is rarely spoken by her or his immediate family members. As pointed by Kondo-Brown (2003) with regard to this perspective of HL, “Proficiency in the target HL is not a determining factor in defining who HL learners are” (p. 2), and the HL learners can be only beginners of the target HL. This definition can be seen as a further defined version of that of Fishman (2001), and I would like to adopt Fishman’s (2001) concept along with an emphasis on the personal perspective of HL by Kondo-Brown (2003) for this research project.

At this point, I wish to mention the contextual differences between the U. S. and Taiwan. With respect to HL in last paragraph, the scholars mentioned have discussed their
concepts about HL within the territory and contexts in the United States, but the contexts of the current research project were Taiwanese. This is the reason that I refer to the concepts, rather than simply borrowing the “definitions” in this research project. In their definitions the HL is usually defined in relation to English, the major language spoken in the U. S. Also, the HLLs (Heritage Language Learners) they discuss may include both the Native Americans and immigrants from other countries to the U. S. Significantly different from these contexts, in the current research project the HL was in relation to Mandarin Chinese, the only officially language in Taiwan. Meanwhile, English as a foreign language subject began being taught to the young children starting at the 3rd Grade. Another difference in Taiwan worthy of mention was that HL in this research project does not apply to an increasing number of young children who had parents that emigrated from other countries such as the Philippines, Malaysia, or Thailand. These are the few caveats that I wish to mention as I refer to the concepts of HL from individuals such as Fishman (2001) and Kondo-Brown (2003).

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

With the background knowledge of the Atayal participants as well as their language learning and education, four research questions evolved. First, what was the current status of Atayal learning and education of the young participants at their school and in their villages? How well were they able to communicate in Atayal with the fluent Atayal speakers?
Second, what were the perceptions of Atayal learning and education of the young Atayal students and adults? In other words, how much did they value the learning and education of their HL in their daily life? And how did they see the future of passing down Atayal to the next generations?

Third, what was the current status of multilingual learning and education of the young Atayal participants? Was there a language preferred by the young Atayal participants and their adults?

Last, what were the Atayal cultural elements that surrounded the young Atayal participants? And, how might these cultural elements be relevant to the learning and education of Atayal as their HL?

The four research questions above were developed and revised throughout this research project. In the final chapter of this research report, I would like to further discuss the findings with regard to preserving Atayal as a living language, and hope for having certain educational implications. Based on the discussions and comments made at the first National Conference on Heritage Languages in America in 1999, Compton (1999) states what I also had seen in my pilot study, “Multilingual education and Atayal students in Taiwan: A case study” (unpublished) that I conducted in the summer of 2008. He says that “[h]eritage language communities and schools are the source of incalculable riches for their members, their students, and the entire country” (pp. 145). In my pilot study, I also found that a rich
source of Atayal speakers such as the community members and the family members seemed to be unexploited. It seemed that they could have been powerful tools to help with the critical situation of having fewer young Atayal speakers by building up an Atayal-immersed environment. To face this kind of challenge, Compton (1999) gives the following recommendation:

    Carry out descriptive studies of heritage language communities, schools, teachers, and learners. Since some studies on these topics have already been conducted, it would be useful to have a clearinghouse devoted to heritage language teaching and learning, which would serve as a repository for such research. This clearinghouse could also provide information on materials available to support heritage language teaching. (pp. 160)

In this case, I also hope that this research project, as a descriptive study, will serve the same purpose to contribute to a clearinghouse-like repository where related individuals may find valuable insights when they design their heritage language teaching programs.
2.1 HERITAGE LANGUAGES IN THEORY AND RESEARCH

As is suggested by *Heritage language Education: A new field emerging*, edited by D. M. Brinton and O. Kagan, and S. Bauckus (2008), the field of HL education and research is only in its beginning stages, potentially because one incentive behind this movement has been the demographical shift in the recent decades in the United States. This is argued by Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis (2001) with regard to HL education and research studies in the U. S. context: “We are becoming more culturally and linguistically diverse than we have been for a long time” (pp. 6). However, many of the empirical studies were conducted in the territory of the U. S., holding different contexts than what will be studied in this research project (Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001; Schieffelin and Gilmore, 1986). In a sense, studies or articles in the Heritage Language Journal (thereafter HLJ) are more international in terms of the research participants and the studied groups of their countries.

By examining the recent versions of the HLJ and the Journal of American Indian Education (JAIE thereafter), a few relevant studies are found and worthy of mention. For example, what happened to the indigenous peoples in Taiwan seems similar to the indigenous
peoples in American. Romero-Little (2010) describes the challenges faced by indigenous communities in America, and states that “[i]t has a long history for requiring Indian children to forfeit their language and cultures in exchange for that education [that helps them become successful in America’s society]” (11). By examining the condition of Navajo language shift with Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Distribution Scale (GIDS), Lee & McLaughlin (2001) in their report state that “the scale forces us to acknowledge that the intergenerational transmission of Navajo is under ever-increasing assault, and that English is taking over” (p. 37). In Peter’s (2007) Cherokee immersion program study a teacher complained, “I don’t think the parents are doing enough to reinforce the language at home” (p. 338). A few decades after the Rough Rock Demonstration School established the first bilingual Navajo language school, McCarty (2002) interviewed a local who worried that “the school seemed to be where parents place much of the responsibility for language learning” (p. 183). All of these situations posit a question as to what language the indigenous children speak at home today, and it was also a situation that I investigated in the current study.

Specifically in Romero-Little’s (2010) proposal, although originally aimed at planning educational programs for the indigenous peoples of the United States, she suggests that “[i]ndigenous communities must be clear about their own cultural beliefs and practice in teaching and learning, and about ways in which mainstream educational policies and practices have conflicted with their own goals for their children” (p. 23). This proposal
suggests a collaborative relation among community members. A few years earlier, McCarty (2002) reported that the Rough Rock Navajo community members and the school collaborated and produced their own teaching materials, which is an example that collaborative process empowered the minorities to address the obstacles they faced. In other words, it is suggested that programs to save the HL languages of the indigenous peoples should be initiated by locals who can attend related issues best known by them. A second point of Romero-Little’s (2010) suggestion is the proposed program that begins with preschoolers with regard to their HL learning and education. A third feature of Romero-Little’s (2010) proposal is the curriculum design “with a consideration of what children will need as they grow into the roles that the community and the world outside the Indigenous community expect them to fill” (17). In sum, the proposed program by Romero-Little (2010) for HL learning and education is a multilingual one with balanced considerations between education for traditional cultures and for preparing the youth for the outside world in the future.

Also related to the current issue is an evaluation of a bilingual program by Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011), in which they studied the use of home language of three informal playgroups involving 30 families and their very young children from the Mori and Tongan communities in Sydney, Australia. Using mixed methods to data collection and analysis, Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011) report that there is the “need for structured support of home
language and literacy practice in the informal playgroup sector” and “the need for adults to be actively involved in the child’s language learning, even though adults often need to learn techniques such as eliciting extended talk” (92). In the same report, it is suggested that “the best way to support parents is to provide bilingual, bicultural early childhood trained workers who are able to build on the home practices and culture in the playgroups” (92). These considerations found from recent journal reports prove to be relevant to the finding of the current study, in which further discussions will be made in the chapter of Discussion.

2.2 EDUCATION OF HERITAGE LANGUAGES IN TAIWAN

Regarding multilingualism in Taiwan, Chang (2007) believes that “multiculturalism” and “multicultural education” is an internationally significant trend for people concerned with language education in Taiwan to seriously consider, especially for those concerned about minority groups’ traditional languages. Huang (2007) in his article, “A multilingual classroom: Building an environment with the beauty of language,” [多語言教室教學：美言巧語生態環境之營造] points out that in Taiwan the society in general is indeed a multilingual one where more than fourteen minority languages are used on top of the three major languages spoken by the three major groups. To consider the composition of population in the island of Taiwan, Liu & Kuo (2007) report that currently three major ethnic

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6 The three majorities of peoples in Taiwan are Min who speak South Min as their HL, Hakka who speak Hakka as their HL, and Main Land China immigrants and their descendants who speak Mandarin Chinese as their mother tongue. Mandarin Chinese has become the only official language in Taiwan for decades, with mixed reasons and are not central to the topic of this paper.
groups as well as twelve other indigenous groups compose that of Taiwan. (Two more indigenous peoples were officially identified by the government after this article was published, which are Sakizaya [撒奇萊雅族] and Sediq7 [賽德克族].) It is evident that in the island of Taiwan the society is truly multicultural. Noticeably, while many different dialectal languages such as indigenous’ HL/s are used, Mandarin Chinese remains the only official language.

Native Taiwanese people have a history that can be traced back thousands of years, and they have had succeeded in preserving their mother tongues for this long without basic writing systems. Why are the mother tongues of these minority groups now fading away? What happened in these recent decades that may explain the loss of their traditional languages? Li (2007) believes that there could have been combined influences to this tragedy such as the historically enforced monolingual policy and the popularity of mass media that was only in the official language in the past. Even though now in Taiwan it is more multilingual both in language policy and in mass media, the harm has been done and many traditional languages of the minorities are dying. According to the classification of Ogbu & Simon (1998: 165), native Taiwanese people can be regarded as involuntary minorities, which means that they became minoritized and colonized not by their own will. Evident in Liu & Kuo’s (2007) report, indigenous Taiwanese peoples have suffered oppression from

7 Translations of the names of these two newly funded tribes are based on information found on the public website of the Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuen: http://www.apc.gov.tw/main/docDetail/detail_ethnic.jsp?cateID=A000427&linkSelf=147&linkRoot=101
mainstream groups in terms of traditional cultures such as language arts, and potentially this situation may resonate with many other minority groups around the world. The language cultures of native Taiwanese peoples happen to be one of the traditional life aspects that they have been suffering from the oppression. The recent situation seems worse, as Li (2007) reminds that in Taiwan “all the indigenous peoples’ languages are in the danger of extinction [所有的台湾南岛语言都面临消失的危机] (pp. 1),” and their mother tongues are not successfully passed to the next generation. Without first consolidating native Taiwanese peoples’ HL/s that keep fading away, he thinks that the currently multilingual environment is potentially becoming one inevitable facet that threatens the maintenance and development of the traditional languages of native Taiwanese peoples. To briefly sum up, it is certain that the mother tongues of indigenous Taiwanese peoples are critically threatened and the multilingual society in Taiwan seems to worsen the critical situation because the passing on their HL/s seem to be unsuccessful.

To consider the recent history of the retrieval of the HL/s of the native Taiwanese peoples, a turning point occurred in the period of 1980s. In an article I published several years ago (Chen, 2002), I attribute the emerging of this turning point to the overall emancipation of the Taiwan politics, but Hsieh (1994) gives credit to the efforts of “the Association for Promoting Taiwan indigenous people’s Rights” [台灣原住民族權利促進會]. At any rate, as a result, it was in 1988 that the President of Taiwan proclaimed the Act of
Indigenous Education [原住民教育法], wherein the nineteenth article it is stipulated that

“Indigenous preschoolers and students in the mandate levels of education should be provided with opportunities to learn their own mother tongues, history, and cultures” [學前及國民教育階段之原住民學生應提供學習其族語、歷史及文化的機會]. Perhaps influenced by the forceful trend for multilingualism mentioned previously, other related articles were indicated in the state Constitution of Taiwan in 2000 when legislators amended it. It is supposed to be good news to those who are concerned about Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ life and traditional cultures, but the progress seemed slower than expected. For almost eight years after the teaching of indigenous languages became part of the state law, scholars report that the situation has gone from bad to worse. For example, Chang (2007) reports that the situation of the native Taiwanese peoples’ mother tongues education and acquisition is in a “moribund” status (p.201). He mentions that, to name just one example, in Taiwan the hours of teaching and learning indigenous mother tongues of the young aborigines at elementary schools are terribly insufficient. This was observed the same in my pilot study, “Multilingual education and Atayal students in Taiwan: A case study (unpublished). I found my Atayal participants had only an hour of education per week in their HL. Furthermore, Huang (2007) reports that in Taiwan proponents of local cultures and languages worry that the emphasis on education for international language such as English would threaten the education for indigenous ones. All in all, currently in Taiwan it is a truly critical phase for language
educators and researchers to seriously consider multilingual education, particularly for the
minority groups.

In recent years, efforts for the development and maintenance of the HL/s of native
Taiwanese peoples have been focused on creating words, such as books for younger
indigenous children, dictionaries for individual tribes, or bibles for religious purpose. The
efforts can be various in different areas and fields, but they share a commonality: the
adoption of romanization for their written forms. Readers might wonder how romanization,
rather than the written system of Mandarin Chinese, would have become the written system
for the indigenous people in Taiwan. There is indeed a developmental history regarding this
matter. Li (2007) reports that there have been at least four different sources other than
romanization for creating written forms for the indigenous people in Taiwan. After decades of
efforts, it seems that many linguists concerned with indigenous people’s languages in Taiwan
began to reach an agreement that the adoption of romanized alphabet would be more
advantageous compared to other written forms. Li (2007) mentions one such advantage that is
the compatibility of using romanization to the western world in the future. Using a written
system that is more compatible to internationally used language seems to provide benefits.
Eventually, the government along with linguistics experts from universities formulated and
proclaimed an official guideline for indigenous peoples in Taiwan to form their written
system, mainly by romanization of the sounds. It is basically a table for sounds and symbols,
and the symbols are largely adoption of roman alphabet. It is hoped that this official proclamation will unify the discrepancies, due to confusion about sounds to symbols and vice versa, taking place in creating indigenous Taiwanese peoples’ written systems amongst groups and sub ethnic groups. In the current study, the young Atayal participants were learning Atayal with textbooks that were written and published only recently.

Many peoples around the world have romanized their writing systems. Taylor & Taylor (1983) report that, in addition to peoples in Europe, peoples in mainland China and the Quoc Ngu in Vietnam have had their written systems formed by adoption of roman alphabet (p. 29). Bernard (1999) reports that “[t]he Roman alphabet was adapted to the writing of many modern Europe languages” (pp. 24) such as French, German, and English to name just a few. In the same source, it is also reported that ‘indigenous languages in Africa, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Great America, Australia” (pp. 24) were found with similar efforts of adapting the roman alphabet. Perhaps the most significant example is the case reported by Taylor & Taylor (1983). In their study, the Cherokees in U. S. followed Sequoyah’s Amerindian syllabary system that was borrowed and adjusted from English, and they reached a 90% literacy rate in the 1830’s (p. 26). In short, it seems promising for indigenous people in Taiwan to consider creating a writing system to maintain and develop their mother tongues. Since in Taiwan there is the policy for the indigenous peoples to used roman alphabet to form their written systems. The young Atayal participants in the current study indeed were learning
Atayal with romanized texts.

To expand the above discussion, for indigenous Taiwanese peoples like Atayals to retrieve their mother tongues the linguistic aspect is not the only area to attend to. An example is given by anthropologist J. Fishman (1977) who stated that “[l]anguage is not only code but Code” (21). In other words, the language can function not just as communication tools used in daily life, but there is more than the symbols, such as the cultures, that a group of people with same tongue are inhered. In this case, the retrieval of a HL is considered as recoveries of several life aspects, like traditional cultures and economic needs. If the HL of an ethnic group of people is no longer used in the other aspects of their daily life, it does not matter how well the symbolic system is designed or kept. Their HL, and their cultures that make them ethnically unique, will vanish. This argument resembles Chang’s (2007) proclamation that indigenous Taiwanese communities should stand out and help retrieve their own HL/s by attending to the related issues. These locals are necessary because they know their cultural and economic life better than others, and so they are theoretically the most essential candidates to attend to these aspects of life with relation to the retrieval of their HL/s. Examples of cautions were the one made by Taylor, Meynard, & Rheault (1977) with regard to the Socioeconomic Status (SES) of the indigenous/native people, and the one made by Cummins (cited from Ferdman, 1999, p. 98) with regard to the allocation of resources and the relation of power.
To briefly sum up this section about the HL of indigenous Taiwanese, there are basically three discussions with related matters discussed in each of the areas. The first area of discussion is about the education of the HL/s of indigenous Taiwanese. In Taiwan the society as a whole is now multilingual, but linguists warn that it is not necessarily advantageous or disadvantageous. As to the adoption of Romanization, it shall be significant to further understand the relations that different writing systems amongst the languages (Atayal, English, and Mandarin Chinese) might have to the languages’ learning of the young native children in Taiwan. In the last area of discussion, the main point is that in retrieving and developing the HL/s of indigenous Taiwanese peoples it is important to attend to more than just the linguistic aspect. In other words, more efforts are needed in addition to editing dictionaries and publishing language materials, and it is equally important that daily life aspects of concerned people are attended to.

2.3 MULTILINGUALSIM AND BILINGUALISM

When Wiley (2002) tries to define HL and its speakers (HLLs), he refers to the four types of educational program planning identified by Horvath and Vaughn (1991). Among them, I have seen Bilingual/Multilingual as more relevant to the situation of the young Atayal participants in the research project. Making an example of Taiwanese as a dialectical language, he elaborates on this kind of language program planning:
Two or more languages are used in a community to fulfill major linguistic functions. For example, in a Chinese community, Taiwanese may be used for some purposes, Mandarin for others, and English for others; in some situations the three may be used together, with codes switching taking place. However, not all members of the heritage languages community may be fluent in both or all of the languages used to fulfill all the functions. Educators need to gain some understanding of the different roles that the different languages play in the community and different attitudes toward them. (pp. 33)

This kind of language program planning is based on multilingualism or bilingualism, an idea further developed from Banks’s (2007) idea of multicultural education. In the following paragraphs, I wish to review literatures of their ideas that may be helpful to consider the HL education of native Taiwanese peoples. And, I have synthesized them into three themes: 1) multiculturalism, 2) language learning through socialization, and 3) language learning by collaboration. To look closely, the latter two themes are actually aimed at the first one: multilingualism.

2.3.1 Multiculturalism

Banks’s (2007) multicultural education consists of the following assumptions. First, “Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their gender
and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics – should have an equal
opportunities to learn in school” (p. 3). Also, “some students, because of these characteristics,
have a better chance to learn in schools as they are currently structured than do students who
belong to other groups or who have different cultural characteristics” (p.3). Therefore
multicultural education, as “a reform movement that is trying to change the schools and other
educational institutions so that students from all social-class, gender, racial, language, and
cultural groups will have an equal opportunity to learn” (p. 4), becomes the penetrating value
when I consider HL education and research. Central to multicultural education is the
promotion of the diverse cultures and voices of the students. Based on Russian scholar
Bakhtin and his idea of “*heteroglossia*” (Banks, 2007, p. 54), Banks
(2007) argues that schools, as “collection sites for a diversity of voices and identities” (p. 55),
“come to term with the diversity of voices within is educational task for society, for the
individual, and for the school” (p. 56).

One way to achieve the goal summed up just above is to reform the schools to
become multilingual ones. Garcia, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzman (2006) define
multilingual education as “education where more than two languages are used as language of
instruction in subjects other than the languages themselves” (p.13). By arguing for an
education for all students, Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) recommends two strong models of

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8 *Heteroglossia* means differing tongues (Banks, 2007, p. 54).
multilingual education for both ethnic minority and majority students: *Immersion Programs for Majorities* and *Language Maintenance (Language Shelter) Programs for Minorities*. The former features that “linguistic majority children with a high-status mother tongue voluntarily choose, among existing alternatives, to be instructed through the medium of a foreign (minority) language” (p. 49). Therefore, the teachers are ideally bilingual or multilingual. The latter features that “linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue choose, among alternatives, to be instructed through the medium of their own mother tongue” (p. 49). Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) suggests these programs based on results of studies, in which children at younger age, during their first 8 years at the schools, learn better if taught in their mother tongues.

2.3.2 Language Learning through Socialization

This view of language learning holds that “Language socialization is a concept … to mean both socialization through language and socialization to use language” (Ochs, 1986, pp. 2). She further states that, in this perspective, “children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and system of belief (ethnographies) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction” (pp. 2). Therefore, language is acquired along with culture through interactional routines in the daily life of the children and their adults. In his studies with Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea, Schieffelin (1990)
holds the same concept and says “that acquisition of language and acquisition of culture are natural context for each other and should be studied as such” (pp. 14). These scholars are in line with Mehan (1982) of his claim that “language does not occur in isolated sentences, but in natural unit of speaking, like speech acts and speech events” (p. 63). This concept of language socialization implies at least two things. First, language learning is better enhanced through using it in authentic daily life activities. Second, the results of language learning are not limited to the linguistic competence or skills in communication, but also internalization of cultures in which the language is attached to.

This concept resonates with Banks’s (2007) view of schools as a social system. He believes, “to implement multicultural education successfully, we must think of the school as a social system in which all its major variables are closely interrelated” (p.25). He continues and argues that “we must formulate and initiate a change strategy that reforms the total school environment to implement multicultural education” (p. 22). Furthermore, he argues to “reform its power relationships, the verbal interaction between teachers and students, the culture of the school, the curriculum, extracurricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages (Beyknot, 2000), the testing program, and grouping practices” (Banks, 2007, p. 23). To sum up this idea of language learning through socialization, language learning is better through authentic language activities where real life language events take place. When seeing school as a social system, language learning and the internalization process take place
everywhere in school. Therefore, implementing multicultural education is certainly a whole school reformation process.

2.3.3 Language Learning by Collaboration

Two models strongly reveal this theme that focuses on the power relationship of the languages: Fishman’s (1990, 1991, 2001) Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and Cummins’s (2000) Transformative Pedagogy. To begin with Fishman’s RLS, it “realises that multiculturalism, though welcome as an atmosphere effect, is not enough” (Fishman, 2001, p. 465). Fishman (2001) argues that RLS “is firmly grounded in democratic processes” (p. 463), and is “directive or implicational vis-à-vis social action” (p. 464). Earlier, Fishman (1991) cautions that “democratic regimes can be just as blind to cultural pluralism and to the needs of minorities for cultural recognition and support” (p. 3). He argues that there will be constant need to the reform of the school, and “they will need to be carried on primarily by the minorities themselves” (p.3). In other words, Fishman’s (1990, 1991, 2001) RLS is a model for actively retrieving minority groups’s HL/s through actions of the minority groups themselves. This leads to consideration of the role of the family and community members of the minority groups, especially those who can still speak their HL/s fluently.

Cummins (2000) argues for additive bilingualism, which is “the form of bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing
develop conceptually and academically in their first language” (2000, p.37). Cummins (2000) examines hundreds of studies spanned over three decades, and contends that there is a positive relationship between students’s “linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth” and additive bilingualism (p. 37). Briefly speaking, it is argued that children would have advantages in both linguistic and intellectual ability if they continually develop their learning of different languages, although it takes a period of time that remains debatable.

Cummins (2000) also cares about “how unequal power relations are played out and can be challenged in the interactions between educators and students in the school context” (p. 40). He provides a framework, Transformative/Intercultural Pedagogy, which “attempts to foster collaborative relations of power in the classroom” (p. 253). In his explanation, collaborative relations “reflect the sense of them term ‘power’ that refers to ‘being enabled’ or ‘empowered’ (p. 44). Cummins (2000) argues that, “within collaborative relations, ‘power’ is not a fixed quantity but is generated though interaction with others” (p. 44). To sum up Cummins’s (2000) ideas, it is argued that bilingualism is not detrimental, but beneficial to children of their languages’ and subject matters’ learning. In order to empower students from minority groups in a classroom, collaborative relations during the educational process is necessary. If bilingual or multilingual is a potential advantage to all students, collaborative process that invites community and family members, particularly the minorities, can help reform the schools to multilingual ones without oppressing any outlier. Related studies and
literatures indicate that there are at least three types of collaborations possible, and I discuss them in the following paragraphs.

The first type, argued by Goodman & Goodman (1990), is collaboration in whole-language classrooms, which views the teaching and learning process as “reciprocal” and “transactional” (p. 235). The key to this kind of atmosphere is the teacher’s attitudes in front of the class. The teachers are described as non-authoritative, facilitative, and respectful learners. In discussing of the supporting factors of L2-learning (second language learning) and bilingualism, Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) reports that “a supportive learning environment and non-authoritative teaching reduces anxiety” and “internal motivation is increased when the pupil is not forced to learn L2” (p. 29). This concept is also similar to Rogers’s (1969, pp. 102 – 127) facilitative attitudes of the educators when they approach their learners, in which certain learning friendly atmosphere is enhanced by the educators’ facilitative attitudes mentioned by Goodman & Goodman (1990). In a word, the teachers in her or his classrooms can create classroom atmosphere that facilitate learning, and learning to learn, among a community of mutual learners. This kind of atmosphere is also significant in terms of inviting students of minority groups to bring their voices, languages, and identities to the classroom.

In the second type of collaboration, the parents play a critical role their children’s multilingual education. Reported by C. A. M. Banks (2007), many researchers argue that parental, or grandparental, involvements at the school where their children go are important.
She continues and confirms that “parent involvement allows parents and teachers to reinforce skills and provides an environment that has consistent learning expectations and standards” (p. 446). Parental involvement would also allow parents to know more about “their children’s school, its policies, and the school staff” (p. 446).

The third type of collaboration is perhaps more directly relevant to the education of minority groups’ HL. Cummins (1988) argues that “minority students will be empowered in the school context to the extent that the communities themselves are empowered through their interactions with the school” (pp. 141). Goodlad (1984) sees family and community members as “the necessary coalition of contributing groups” (pp. 293). The community might have untapped or underdeveloped resources, such as elderly who speak fluent heritage language. By inviting the elderly of the community to help create the multilingual environment, the schools also value the local culture, and are empowering local people if their traditional culture is threatened.

Allow me to briefly sum up this whole chapter of literature review before I discuss the methods employed in this research. First, HL is relatively a new field of study, yet it seems to be a global phenomenon since case studies of similar issues are reported around the world. Second, in Taiwan the multilingual society is not a recent phenomenon, and the current status of its multilingual education deserves investigation, although the education and learning of HL/s of the indigenous people seem to be more critical. Also, literatures about
multilingualism seem to give light to the retrieval of HL/s of minority groups, which becomes the assignment of the current study in the case of Atayal.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ETHNOGRAPHY

With this research project, I propose the kind of qualitative/ethnographic study that is also phrased by Bogdan & Biklen (2007) as “fieldwork” or the “naturalistic” method. Another similar term is phrased by Erickson (1986) as the “interpretive” approach, which infers to “the whole family of approaches to participant observational research” (p. 199). In discussing the nature of this kind of field-based research, Mehan (1982) gives a definition of ethnography as “a description of the cultural of a community or society” (p. 60). Geertz (1973) gives a classic definition that “ethnography is thick description” (p. 10). He further explains:

Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of “construct a reading of”) a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior. (p. 10)

In other words, the object of ethnography is to unveil “a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures” (Geertz, 1973, pp. 7). Vidich & Lyman (1998) discuss the Greek origin of the word, ethnography, in which ethnos “denotes a people, a race or cultural group” (pp. 46).
They reference to Peacock (1986) and see that ethnography “refers to a social scientific description of a people and the cultural basis of their peoplehood” (Vidich & Lyman, 1998, p. 46).

Regarding the features or themes of ethnographic method, what Bogdan & Biklen (2007, pp. 4 – 8) and Patton (1990, pp. 40 – 41) talk about are similar, although some ideas are differently termed. These shared features are also the reasons why they are the proper method to study the HL loss of a group of minority group. First, the ethnographic method is naturalistic, because it cares about the context. “They [ethnographers] feel that actions can be best understood when it is observed in the setting in which it occurs” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 4). Patton (1990) describes this kind of process as “non-manipulative, unobtrusive, and non-controlling” (p. 40). The character of the ethnographic method is adequate to the study of threatened heritage languages because, to use Mehan’s (1982) words, “language does not occur in isolated sentences, but in natural units of speaking, like speech acts and speech events” (p. 63). Therefore, ethnography is proper to capture the process of this minority people’s passing of their heritage language. Purcell-Gates (2004) supports this point and says that, “if done appropriately, the results, or outcomes, of ethnographies provide critical understanding of language and literacy in situ [italic as original]” (p. 92).

Second, Bogdan & Biklen (2007, p. 4 – 8) and Patton (1990, p. 40 – 41) both believe that ethnography features in descriptive or qualitative data, which are more of immediate
descriptions, or direct telling, of what is going on. Details of qualitative data will be discussed shortly. Allow me to continue my discussion on the next shared feature, a concern with the process. Patton (1990, p. 53) uses the term, “a dynamic, developmental perspective” to stress the theme of paying attention to the process. This is significant to study the language loss of a minority group because the situation of their heritage language is endangered, which is a constantly changing phenomenon that requires a method that can capture the developmental process. To use the words of Patton (1990), “Change is a natural, expected, and inevitable part of human experience. Rather than trying to control, limit, or direct change, naturalistic inquiry expects change, anticipates the likelihood of the unanticipated, and is prepared to go with the flow of change” (p. 53). In sum, this dynamic and developmental perspective of ethnographic method fits in capturing the phenomenon of language losing of a minority group.

One more shared feature of the ethnographic method of Bogdan & Biklen (2007) and Patton (1990) is the inductive approach to data analysis, which will be addressed in later sections. I wish to continue talking about the understanding nature of ethnographic method. Agar (1980) contends that ethnographers “are more concerned with accounting for things,” and “the emphasis is more on understanding behavior rather than predicting it” (p. 190).

While some readers might not agree with the using of the word, “behavior,” Agar (1980) contends that “the object of interpretive social research is action, not behavior” (p. 127). The emphasis is that human beings live as socializing beings with intention and motivation. Human behaviors usually do not consider the inner status such as intention, motivation, and feeling.
does touch the principal goal of ethnographic method to focus on understanding, rather than predicting. Mehan (1982) puts it another way, and says that “the fundamental question asked by an ethnographer is different [from a statistician] ... It is not why, it is how [both italics as original]” (p. 59). Bogdan & Biklen (2007) elaborate this point in depth:

The qualitative researchers’ goal is to better understand human behavior and experience. They seek to grasp the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meanings are. They use empirical observation because it is with concrete incidents of human behavior that investigators can think more clearly and deeply about the human condition. (p. 43)

In sum, ethnography does not intend to explain the observed phenomena; instead, it tries to understand the observed phenomena.

In my review of the methodological literature, naturalistic inquiry and attention to the developmental process were posed as reasons that ethnography was suitable to study the language and literacy loss of the minority group. When Erickson (1986) discusses the root of ethnographic method, or “interpretive research,” in Western European intellectual history, he states that “interpretive research and its guiding theory developed out of interest in the lives and perspectives of people in society who had little or no voice. The late 18th century saw the emergence of this concern” (p. 122). In other words, the early root of ethnographic method was actually related to the attention paid to the oppressed groups in Western world. Seeing
that “anthropological studies of cultures” as “ethnographies” or the “writings about a culture of people” (p. 20), Jacob & Jordan (1993) believe that the educational anthropological view of “education as a process in which all participants contribute to shaping the outcomes, influenced not only by the immediate context but also by their past experience and culture” would lead to “insights into the process (cultural, social, political, historical, interactional, and psychological) that contribute to the various outcomes of minority education” (p. 11).

This “holistic perspective” of ethnographic method (Patton, 1990, p. 49), which attends to as many life aspects of the focused minority group as possible when implemented naturalistically, renders it an adequate research method to adopt for the current research project.

Many authors trace the origin of ethnography to disciplines such as sociology and anthropology (Erickson, 1986; Vidich & Lyman 1998; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Erickson (1986) contends that “the first monograph-length educational ethnography” was Margaret Mead’s (1928) *Coming of Age in Samoa*. However, ethnographers who directly turn to educational issues was after World War II (Erickson, 1986, p. 124). Indicated in Bogdan & Biklen’s (2007) discussion of the tradition of qualitative research, it was around the 1960s when qualitative research methods began to catch people’s imagination. Yet, Dressman (2008) reports that “qualitative and ethnographic studies were not published routinely in major educational research journals until the late 1980s and early 1990s” (p. 149). At any rate,
ethnography today is “distinguishable within the category of qualitative research” where
there are other competing qualitative methods such as discourse analysis and historical
research on literacy (Purcell-Gates, 2004, p. 92 – 93). Also, ethnography as a methodological
tool is particularly drawn to literacy researchers because it is “grounded in theories of culture
and allows researchers to view literacy development, instruction, learning, and practice as it
occurs naturally in sociocultural context” (Purcell-Gates, 2004, p. 92). This is part of the
reason for me to consider ethnographic method for the current project.

Still, the ethnographic method provides an avenue to “attack the problem of the
organization of education from the perspective of the participants inside the classroom”
(Mehan, 1982, p. 65). Mehan (1982) has demonstrated how the “temporal organization” of a
classroom could be studied in terms of analyzable “constituent parts” (p. 66 – 67). Jacob &
Jordan (1993) call this kind of studies “classroom ethnographies” (p. 20). To combine a point
previously made about studying the language in situ, “what is crucial is not so much a better
understanding of how language is structured, but a better understanding of how language is
used” (Hymes, 1972, p. xii). To further expand what ethnography may affect, Erickson (1986)
says that “such study must also link the immediacy of the local lives of students and teachers,
inside and outside the classroom, to nonlocal and general aspects of social structure and
culture” (p. 139). The most immediate places indicated are the family and the local
community of a student. Heath (1982) gives a good example of such efforts. She conducted
ethnography, and documented and investigated the language use of students of two small but close-in-distance towns for almost a decade. Her ethnographies took the readers into the classrooms, the families, the communities, and back to the classrooms, and eventually the stratified structure of the participants’ cultures were able to be seen by the readers of her book. In reporting the same study in a shorter chapter, Heath (1982) claims that “such ethnographic data from communities and schools shared across participants should insure the exchange of information and skill along a two-way path” (p. 126 – 127). This study of Health (1982) informed me as I planned for the current research project.

Furthermore, case study as a research form is considered for the current project. By reference to Stake (1995) and Merriam (1988), Barone (2004) characterizes a case study as “a study of a bounded system that could be a child, a teacher, or a classroom” (p. 8). Bogdan & Biklen (2007) defines a case study as “a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event” (p. 59). Patton (1990) contends that a case study can “become particularly useful where one needs to understand some special people, particular problem, or unique situation in great depth” (p. 54). Furthermore, “detailed case studies of these unusual cases may generate particularly useful information” to puzzled policy makers (p. 99). Informed by these sources, for the current project I conducted a case-study like ethnographic study of a school that was located in an Atayal community.
Last for this research project, I wish to emphasize on the study as ethnography of communication. Hymes (1972) in his introduction to *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, discusses at least two essential features of the studies of language that were not valued by the linguists at that time. These two features are at the heart of ethnographic studies of languages by researchers such as Hymes (1972) and his followers, including Heath (1982).

First, Hymes (1972) argues that language is better understood in its social context, pertinent to what have been mentioned earlier. To put this idea in the language studies in the classrooms, he states that “A principle that runs through those paper [in the book] is that of starting where the children” (p. xiv). In other words, to understand how children learn languages, ethnographic researchers need to understand their daily life world such like the happenings at the school and at homes. These activities can be seen as “social units” according to Dyson and Genishi (2005, p. 3), in which speech events or literacy events may take place.

This idea leads my discussion to the second feature. Hymes (1972) argues that language researchers pay attention to ways of speaking of the children and people around them. On top of referential meaning, Hymes (1972) urges that language researchers not neglect social meanings when they observe people speaking. For example, Heath (1982) in her study found that the ways of speaking in the homes of some of her young participants were different from what happened at school, which might result in silence of these young
children since they were confused by the cues, or the questioning style, of their teachers. She suggests that there can be a “two-way path” in which the two different ways of speaking can be understood by both the teachers the adults at the children’s homes. In Dyson and Genishi (2005), the above two features of Hymes (1972) are discussed as the process of producing and understanding meanings and its dependent contexts. Furthermore, the meanings and its dependent contexts are studied in chunks of “speech events” or “literacy events” (p. 5-6). In other words, the phenomena to be observed include the meanings, meaning making processes, how they are delivered, and contextual details. Let me use the words of Dyson and Genishi (2005) to summarize the whole point:

In language and literacy studies in the interpretive tradition, case study researchers are interested in how teaching and learning happen through social participation. They need an initial lens for getting a sense of the flow of social activity itself, and so they use the culture of research to find etic terms like event and practice [italic as original] and the analytic language to tentatively describe those activities (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 580). Gradually, one’s eyes and ears become accustomed to new sights and sounds, and possibilities for study begin to coalesce…. (p. 29)

3.2 METHOD

For the current study, I used ethnographic methods for data collection and analysis. I
began my search for willing people and an available school for me to conduct this study in
the fall of 2010. My research activities in the research site began in January, 2011 when I
arrived at Taiwan, and ended in June, 2011, during the 2011 spring semester of the researched
school.

3.2.1 Research Site and Participants

The school that I found willing to participate in this study was “Bamboo Garden
Elementary School” (BGES). It was near two Atayal villages, the Bamboo Garden Village
(BGV) and the Heaven Gate Village (HGV). In both of the villages, the majority people were
Atayals with similar in cultures and language. According to the elderly, these two villages did
have different histories as they developed. During the rule of Japan in the early twentieth
century, Atayal tribes were constantly relocated for convenient administration by the Japanese.
This happened to both of the villages. During their individual developments, BGV were
infused with other clans of Atayals who were relocated by the Japanese, while HGV
remained with its traditional clans. The villagers in both villages generally felt that their
Atayal culture and language had become similar with each other throughout these decades,
but their last names would sometimes communicate certain messages that only the locals
were aware of. For example, a woman with the last name, Lai, in BGES would indicate that
her families were relocated from another county because of marriage or of the administration
of the Japanese. And, a young gentleman with the last name, Gou, in HGV would indicate that his family had had significant influence for generations in the village, and this young man would have lots of land and was very likely wealthy.

Related to Atayal language were nuanced differences in the use and pronunciation of some words between the two villages. Even though both villages claimed to be C’uli, a subcategory of linguistics for Atayal language, some locals believed that the Atayal that BGV spoke would have received influences from Kimhagun, an Atayal term used by the locals to describe the language style spoken by other Atayal people who lived in the southern areas. In fact, Kimhagun Atayal should be so-called “Squliq,” a subcategory for Atayal languages and its speakers defined by Taiwanese linguists. Squliq speaking Atayals lived just southern to the researched villages. And, historically the locals created a word, Kimhagun as a term only used by them to describe things with mixed tradition or cultures from “Squliq.” Interesting enough, the locals would refer to me as a Kimhagun rather than Squliq Atayal, probably because they were more familiar with the term they created than that by professors from academic world.

In each individual village, there was the chief, or tóumù [頭目], leader of a village and was popularly used in Taiwan. However, my informant told me that he was not comfortable to use tóumù\textsuperscript{10} [頭目] because it was a term coined by the Japanese. He

\textsuperscript{10} In this report, I use pinyin system next to the Chinese for English readers to pronounce the sound of the words. Pinyin is the pronunciation system used in China, and it’s suitable here because its alphabet usually informs its sounds, although not precisely.
preferred chief, or zúchángqīlǎo [族長耆老] with the similar meaning. The function of zúchángqīlǎo [族長耆老] in the two villages was not as visible as decades ago. To a certain degree zúchángqīlǎo [族長耆老] did have some influence to the villagers in general.

Regarding the researched elementary school, BGES, it was founded in 1955, and every child at BGES during my research activities was Atayal. BGES was ten minutes’ walk in slope to Bamboo Garden Group (BGG thereafter), but was 20 to 30 minutes’ walk in climb to Heaven Gate Group (HGG thereafter). In a sense, BGES and BGG were in the same mountain, and HGG was in another. During my research activities, most students were from HGG, and most of these HGG students lived in the dorm. Thus, these children did not have walk long distance between school and homes. Like their school staffs, these dorm-living children would leave school and return homes every Friday afternoon, although the school staffs would have to travel for hours. This whole research site was an hour’s drive from a nearby city in Taiwan.

In the end of my research activities in the research site, I managed to find 18 adults, with five females and 13 males, to participate in this study. These adults usually had multiple roles in the research site, such as a parent as well as a school staff or a school teacher as well as a villager. In this case, their role in this study was mobile, unless further specified with reason and purpose explained within the data in the finding chapter. In general, I had adult participants who were school staff, parents, and villagers. The oldest was a male Atayal
teacher and a villager himself around his sixties with more than 30 years of teaching around this neighborhood. And, the youngest adult participant was a female teacher in her early twenties, and she had a few years of teaching experience in the mountain area with indigenous locals.

In sum, of the 27 students from the 2nd Grade to the 6th Grade, there were 11 girls and 16 boys participating in this study (see Appendix B). The 1st Graders were not available for a few reasons. First, to communicate with them about the purpose and the activities in this study became extremely difficult. Explanations of the same question were repeated several times for more than a month, but they still didn’t show evidence of understanding about this research project. Second, with those who revealed interest, or told me their parents said they were willing to join this study, their consent forms never came back. In addition to these challenges, their homeroom teacher also was not available for participating in this study. At last, I decided to leave the 1st Graders for later possibility. Regarding those who participated in this study, all of them were Atayal. As a remote elementary school in this county, there was one class for each grade. In the semester during this research activities was conducted, the 5th Graders had 8 students and became the largest group compared to other graders. For the 6th Grade, there was only one student. When this 6th graded boy had his graduation excursion, a two day trip to Taipei city, everyone at this school was invited along with some of their families. In a sense, whenever there was an activity for one of the grade, sometimes half of all
the students would be involved.

Working as both an Atayal and a doctoral candidate from a major U.S. university, I was actually related to one of the staff who helped make my connection to the participants and to make this study possible. I was not aware that I had relatives in the research site until I began living in BGV. I am grateful for supports from mentors at UIUC, and relatives and friends found in the sites. Without these individuals, this research project was not possible.

3.2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The three types of qualitative data that I collected, informed by Patton (1990), were “in-depth, open-ended interviews,” “direct observations in videotapes or in fieldnotes,” and certain “documents” (p. 10). For the beginning weeks, I visited the school everyday during the weekday, and stayed until I had to leave. This was Phase One. It was during this period that I conducted lots of observations of school activities whenever available. I also used this period to introduce myself, to talk about this study, and to find willing participants for interviews.

In Phase Two, I continued with observations, and I also began interviews. In addition, I began paying visits to the villages with observations and interviews for willing and available participants. In Phase Three, which was around the last month of my research activities, I conducted a second round of interviews and observations. The foci of data
collection in this phase were extended to Atayal culture in general.

Data analysis procedures for the study were largely inductive, meaning that “the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data” (Patton, 1990, p. 390).

Appendix A, “Table of Data Analysis,” attached in the end of this report shows the collected data forms with their collections to the analyses for research questions. Specifically, language events were the bits of data that I gave code during the analysis process, as suggested by Dyson & Genishi (2005) that, for language and literacy research, “a fundamental concept if that teaching and learning, like other basic process, happen through socially organized interaction” (87). In other words, the most basic unit of data set was literacy events or language events. In this study, examples were Atayal Speech Events in Atayal classes, or English Literacy Events on YouTube. These data were coded accordingly with regard to their relations to the research questions and the contexts they were attached to. For example, one of the codes that I developed during this process was “Home Language: Atayal Events.” This process of coding was necessary for, to use the words of Bailey (2007), “organizing a large amount of data into smaller segments that, when needed, can be retrieved easily” (p. 127).

After initial coding was completed, I conducted a second round of coding, or re-coding process, with the purpose of connecting the data to research questions. In other words, my second round of coding was to find out answers for the research question from the data coded.

In fact, this process resembles to what Purcell-Gates (2004) suggest for qualitative
researchers to analyze their coded data with the purpose to search for different themes or patterns of human interactions that are relevant to the research questions. Dyson & Genishi (2005) may have well spoken this purpose of data analysis:

Through analytic coding, researchers aim to figure out the conceptual importance of human actions and reactions that have been inscribed in the data set. Discrete bits of data about individuals, behaviors, and contexts will become the discursive substance of analytic narratives about a studied phenomenon. In a sense, a researcher is developing the vocabulary needed to tell the story (or multiple stories) of what was happening in the case. (pp. 84)

With these processes described above, I have synthesized several themes. These themes were refined, reorganized, and categorized a few more times in order to be sensibly reported. And the final draft was sent for “member check”\textsuperscript{11} to increase its trustworthiness, as suggested by Bailey (2007, p.185). The findings are presented in next chapter.

\textsuperscript{11} I was able to find another educational researcher to read a draft of the finding.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 INTO THE SITE

The site of the Bamboo Garden Elementary School (BGES) where I collected my data was located on a mountain side and was approximately 1.5 hours’ driving from a nearby city. Half of driving would be on the highway, and the other half would be on the small roads in the forest of bamboo trees in the mountains. The highway was on a recently built viaduct and it was usually in good condition. After the highway toward the village and the elementary school, the local economic life was introduced by the fields of strawberries in the beginning, and then the plum trees and bamboo forest later. The conditions of the mountain roads were not smooth, and there were unattended road conditions such as fallen rocks in the middle or holes with sharp ends that could damage vehicles throughout the way. Occasionally, the path curved right on a cliff without a safety island. Or, a poisonous snake might be crossing from one side of the road to another as one drove by. In the beginning weeks before I found a place to stay in the village, I traveled these roads at least twice a day, and four times a week. On my first visit to BGES from the home of the principal in the nearby city, we woke up at 5:45 in the morning. We had to drop three of the principal’s children in two different schools before we could proceed with our trip. While I lived in the village, at least three teachers travelled more than an hour to BGES from a town or the nearby city. Before I found
a place to live in Bamboo Garden Group (BGG), I also carpooled with these teachers. With the chances to ride in their cars, I began to know the people and the place.

The government had administered the two groups, Bamboo Garden Group (BGG) and Heaven Gate Group (HGG), into one village under the name, Bamboo Garden Village (BGV). The population of BGV was around 500, and only two people in the villages were not indigenous. However, while I lived in the village, I had seen non-indigenous people around. These people were not officially registered as living in the village, but they were there for business or work. These non-Atayal people sometimes could speak a few words, phrases, or even sentences in Atayal. Most of the Atayals in the village could also speak to these non-Atayals in the village in their heritage languages, such as South Min and Hakka. On a Sunday afternoon, I drove by a dam near the village, and there were vendors of local crops or foods for holiday tourists. I saw a familiar face selling barbeque chicken. It was Uncle Tang. Soon as I started chatting with Uncle Tang, a bus stopped by the dam and tourists left the bus running to the vendors. One customer came to Uncle Tang, and asked:

Uncle Tang: li1 hou412 [How are you!]

Customer: kan1 wu2 han3 se4 yi2? [Is there something ready to eat?]

Uncle Tang: bo2 a [Sorry, everything is sold out.]

Customer: a2 ? [What?]

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12 In this quotation, the pronunciation notes in the conversation was South Min.
Uncle Tang: bo2 [Gone]

Customer: a2? [What?]

Uncle Tang: bo2 a la0 [It’s all gone.]

Customer: wa2 [pity]

Uncle Tang: phai1 se8 la [sorry about that]

Customer: be2 la0 [Don’t worry about it.]

(Observation, May 15)

Note that this conversation was entirely in South Min\textsuperscript{13} between Uncle Tang, an Atayal himself, and a tourist. I had seen and heard Atayal in the village fluently speaking in South Min and Hakka. These multilingual events also took place in the General Staff office. I will describe further details later in this chapter.

4.2 THE BAMBOO GARDEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (BGES)

The research site of the elementary school, BGES, was located on the side of a mountain, where there was a level big enough to build a few buildings and a playground with track and field. At the BGES, there were three major buildings connected to each other. In the middle was a three-story building, facing the playground and the track and field. The Staff Office was on the ground level, and the special function rooms were on the second and third

\textsuperscript{13} South Min is a language of a major language group other than Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan. In this paper, I transcribe the pronunciations of the speech in South Min by TLPA system, or 台灣語文音標, retrieved from: http://home.educities.edu.tw/andrehsu/Andre_%AB%F7%AA%60%AD%B5%B9%EF%B7%D3.doc.
floor. To the east of this building was another three-story building where the dining hall was on the ground. On its second level were parking spaces and the entrance to the dorm. On its third floor was the dorm where a few teachers, two staff, and some students lived. The last building was also a three-story building mainly for instructional purposes. On its first floor were classrooms for Grades 1, 2, and 3 students, and the second floor had classrooms for Grades 4, 5, and 6 students. Inside each floor in this building, there was a big space faced by the classrooms, and each of them had different function. The space on the ground level was usually used for ballroom dancing that took place in the whole morning on Wednesdays. All the Grade 3, 4, 5, and 6 students learned ballroom dancing as required by the school. On the second floor, the school library took the whole space, in which bookshelves were lined up. Among the bookshelves, there was a long table big enough for six children to sit and read book. In this building, the third floor was on construction, in which there was a unique “Lookout” made by bamboos in Atayal style. The Atayal style lookout was not open due to the construction. The playground was also where the track and field also were. When the weather permitted, this area became the place for the whole school to have the Ceremony of Raising the National Flag, an activity to sing the national song and to raise the national flag on Wednesdays. This ceremony usually was accompanied with important announcements to the whole school.

The school life began earlier than people might think (Appendix C). The children
living in the dorm would have to get up around 6:30 in the morning. Miss Wood as their Dorm Guardian was also responsible for preparing the breakfast. Each morning she had a short time to wake up the children before she went to the kitchen located on another floor for cooking breakfast. Children would help each other in waking each other up. As preparation for leaving the dorm for the school which was just next building, they had to make the bed, brush their teeth, put on clothes, and make sure they bring everything they need for school. The dorm was closed without access during the day time, unless approved from a teacher with special situation. Like those who lived at home, the children living in the dorm arrived at school around 07:00 to 07:30 in the morning, and then everyone began cleaning the campus areas that were assigned to each grade. During this time, some of them might be sweeping the open space in front of the Principal’s Office, and some of them might be wiping the windows of the Computer Room.

When the children finished cleaning their assigned areas, they would go to the dining hall as a class. The breakfasts and the lunches were for every child, financially supported by a bank and the county government. Generally, the teachers took turns in watching the children of their morning cleaning and monitoring them eating breakfast. The assigned teacher would have to tell the children to start to eat, or they would quietly sit on their individual table and wait. Some of them would fall asleep in this period. In the dining hall, children sat by grade, but the only Grade 6 boy would sit with other grade. Meals at this school were planned with
varieties of items. Take the breakfasts from example, it varied from Chinese style of rice porridge to western style of oatmeal and milk. I never heard any child complaining about the meals, but I did recall a few chances when Miss Wood mentioned the delays of the truck that delivered cooking materials. Usually twice a week, this truck came from the nearby city, a 1.5 hours’ driving, to deliver cooking materials to three schools around the villages in this township. On a Monday that I was present, this truck was delayed. Then, Miss Wood magically made breakfasts for the children from the materials left in the kitchen. When the children ate breakfast, the teachers living in the dorm would join them. The younger children occasionally had trouble finishing their breakfasts, and they would ask the older boys to help them. These older boys usually finished theirs very quickly, and they would remain sitting there waiting for the younger children to give them extra foods. When the younger ones needed help finish the foods, they would say, “Brothers, help me finish [哥哥，幫我吃]” in Chinese. Most of the time, the older boys were willing to help. Meanwhile, the teachers who joined the breakfast would watch to make sure that the younger ones had finished at least some foods before they gave away the rest. In this school, most of these children were somehow related to each other, even to the staff. The whole school was like a big family, and they did oftentimes help each other.

After the breakfast, the activities before the first period of class were many. To begin,
sat in their classroom reading materials assigned by the teacher or by their choices.

Occasionally they were allowed to go to the library to find the books. On Tuesdays, discipline training and announcements would be conducted. Basically, it was for an assigned teacher to speak to the children as whole with regard to their recent performances such as politeness to the guests, or with regard to announcements such as ways to maintain individual hygiene. On Wednesdays when the weather permitted, all the children and the teachers would stand in the open space in the playground to have the Ceremony of Raising National Flag. After this ceremony, there would be announcements by the principal, and Atayal Day activities. About the Atayal Day, it was a newly initiated program promoted by the principal for the children to have more contacts with Atayal language and culture. During the research activities, a few times of Atayal Day were observed. They were speeches or stories about the traditional values of Atayal made by the teachers who were Atayal teachers. The speeches or the stories were told in Chinese, even though the speakers could speak Atayal fluently. Yet, a few Atayal vocabularies would be introduced in these speeches or stories.

At BGES, the first class period began at 08:50 in the morning. Every class lasted for forty minutes. In between classes were ten minutes breaks. In the noon, there was a lunch break for 50 minutes, followed by the fifth class at 12:50. The class officially ended at 15:20, right after the children cleaned the campus for ten minutes. Then the school entered their ninth period, an optional period for children to study school subject matters or to complete
homework with the assistants of a teacher. This was a program financially supported by an exterior organization. The arrangement of classes and the schedule at BGES was usually flexible and was through communication among the school staff. Take Wednesday mornings for example. During this semester, the children in the third Grade and above were learning ballroom dance, which was instructed by a ballroom-dance teacher who traveled three hours from the nearby city once a week. When this exercise was decided to be implemented for three hours in every Wednesday morning, rearrangements of the affected classes had to be considered. Another situation that happened frequently affected the daily routines was unexpected meeting required by the Education Bureau of the county. For several times, related information of meeting requirement was sent electronically on the same day of the meeting. When this happened, a teacher would have to leave the school for at least half day. Naturally, immediate rearrangement would be needed. This usually meant that other teachers or staff would have to teach more classes. The staff seemed to be used to this kind of situation. These were the general routines of BGES.

4.3 DA ALI SEASON IN THE VILLAGE

Earlier in chapter two the history and the likeness in Atayal culture of the two groups in Bamboo Garden Village (BGV) were briefly introduced. In terms of life of the villagers, they were also similar. In the beginning months of my stay, people around the village had a
common topic: “Da ali [bamboo shoots collecting]” in Atayal. Almost every adult would somehow relate their conversation with something about the collection or the business about ali [bamboo shoots]. “How’s the price of the ali [bamboo shoots] today?” “Heard you had a ali [bamboo shoots] harvest yesterday?” “Did you finish collecting ali [bamboo shoots] in your land?” “Would you like to join our group to collect ali [bamboo shoots] in my land, because we are short of man?” One of the dishes on the table would be made of ali [bamboo shoots]. Trucks were busy delivering tons of ali [bamboo shoots] or delivering workers to collect more ali [bamboo shoots]. In this season, “Da ali” was the center of their life. In this winter of 2011, they didn’t have a good start. The cold weather continued for more than normal length, putting down the budding of ali [bamboo shoots]. In their neighbor town where strawberries were their major source of income, longer cold weather was good news. In fact, these strawberry farmers had 20% to 50% more of income than usual compared to other years’ average. This same cold weather became a nightmare to the villagers of BGG and HGG. When I just started visiting the village, what I heard were mostly complaints and worries.

In this winter ali [bamboo shoots] came late, but it was better than never. Da ali [bamboo shoots collecting] activities influenced almost all levels of the daily life of the villagers. Once the ali [bamboo shoots] began budding on the ground, life in BGG and HGG became busier. During this season, ali [bamboo shoots] could be found everywhere when
there was a ground in the village. The tender *ali* [bamboo shoots] grew very quickly, and the best timing to collect them was before they grew longer than the shank of an adult. Usually when the *ali* [bamboo shoots] grew tall as an adult’s shank, they would probably be too hard to be foods. These overgrown *ali* [bamboo shoots] didn’t have market, and so the workers had to make count of the season when *ali* [bamboo shoots] were still tender. The collection of *ali* [bamboo shoots] was a hard work. First, a worker that carried a bag had to climb on the steep slope to collect *ali* [bamboo shoots]. For each *ali* [bamboo shoots] collected, the worker had to peel the hard-shell like skin right away. Then she or he had to carry the full bag of collection for some distance to put them on a truck. Then again, the worker traveled back to the deep bamboo forest to collect another bag of *ali* [bamboo shoots]. In a morning, a worker would have traveled around the slopes of the mountains several times back and forth between their truck and the bamboo forest. The truck brought full baskets of *ali* [bamboo shoots] back to a cottage or shack where the *ali* [bamboo shoots] would be boiled in hot water in a huge wok. This kind of wok was usually huge that it could boil a few hundreds of *ali* [bamboo shoots] each time. When boiling the *ali* [bamboo shoots], a canvas was used to cover the top of the huge wok. This canvas was tightly tied to cover the upper wok entirely, with one or two small holes to let the steam out. For around an hour or so, the *ali* [bamboo shoots] would be ready to pack. Usually, three or four workers were required to work as a team during this process of packing. Two of them wore two gloves on each of their hands, and they would
move the hot-cooked bamboo shoots from the wok to a box that would be moved to weight
and seal by other two workers. Within the range of right weight, a box could then be sealed.
Though these workers at this stage of a day would have been working several hours already,
they never forget to make fun. They would tell jokes, sing songs, drink beers, and even dance.
It was more like a party than a hard work to them. Sometimes when their work was finished,
their parties would go on. Because these activities required high levels of human labor, the
villagers were very tired when they finished their work, and it was usually very late when
they returned homes. As a result, they usually did not have extra energy to help their children
study or complete homework.

Moreover, these da ali [bamboo shoots collecting] activities were related to language.
Activities related to marketing were mostly in South Min or Hakka, because the buyers spoke
these languages. These activities included the negotiations of the prices, transportation means,
and the packing of the processed ali [bamboo shoots]. In activities in the process of collecting
and handling the ali [bamboo shoots], the Atayal villagers spoke in Atayal with each other. In
a chance that I personally witnessed when a group of workers were cooking and packing the
ali [bamboo shoots], I heard them speaking in Atayal with each other very often.

Da ali [bamboo shoots collecting] season lasted only for two to three months each
year, but the villagers had other nine months to live. Some of them would simply leave the
village and find jobs in the city or in another village. For those who stayed, there were a few
options. They could stay for the plum season that came right next to the bamboo shoot season, but the open positions for workers were not many, because plums were not popular in these years. Generally speaking, to be a successful farmer in this neighborhood was not easy. In some cases, the locals who owned land did not have sufficient funds to develop their own land. They would rent their land to wealthy farmers from the cities. Then, these wealthy farmers from the cities would hire the locals to farm the land. As a result, some locals became temporarily workers on their own land but were working for others. Furthermore, some of the locals were interested in traveling deep in the mountains for collecting rare herbs, even the illegal ones. The profits could be handsome when they were lucky. A few years ago, a small group of herb collectors from HGG found some rare herbs in the deep mountains, and they made a huge fortune enough for each of their family to live for a year without having to work. Since this news spread around the village, herb collecting in the mountains became a popular option for young locals to consider as a job. Yet, the income was actually unstable. In an interview with a local young man, this situation was revealed. In the following excerpt, I have translated our conversation from Chinese to English.

Joseph: Is a job of collecting herbs in the mountains enough for a man to support a family, assuming that this is her or his only job?

A Mi: That would be a gamble; with himself; he bets on luck. This trip…

Joseph: So it’s unstable?
A Mi: Yes. It’s rather unstable. I don’t know why they [the young people] are reluctant to find jobs in the cities or something. I have seen young people coming back [the village], and they talk to me; like we’d talk about how we’ve been or what we are doing now. And I ask them what they do now. They would say, the herbs, you know. And I ask if there is [herb]? Have they found some?

Joseph: So, you do ask about this [about the herb market]?

A Mi: Yes I do. I also ask the price, like how much they can make. They’d talk about the price, and then, you know, talk about things. Like I just say about betting the luck, the gambling. If in a trip there are good results, with lots of herbs, then this month or this year will be fine. If not, they have just to keep looking [for the herbs]. I just don’t know how they can support their families during this searching period.

(May 17, interview with local young man)

In the same conversation, Mr. A Mi also mentioned that some of the local young people depended on hunting animals, including the illegal ones. Once caught by a policeman, the fine could be ten times more than the usual income in a month by hunting animals. Before this interview, I heard from my mother about three men that were caught by hunting illegal animals. These were Atayals in my original village. As a result, they were put in jail until they were bailed by a hundred thousands of New Taiwan Dollars, around thirty four hundreds U. S. dollar. In other words, they had spent what all they had made in that month to pay the
Life in the village was not easy. The winter and the spring when I stayed in the village were even more so. It did not take too much time for me to observe the phenomenon that my young Atayal participants were away from authentic Atayal events that occurred in the daily life activities of the adults. However, it was not because the adults were against the using of Atayal. For most of the locals, once they knew that my dissertation research was about our traditional language, Atayal, they were always supportive. I had begun my observation and interviews with participants at the BGES. Then, I moved my attention to the village with the locals and their daily life activities. Near the end of my research activities, I spent some time searching for Atayal cultural elements in their daily life. In the following, I present four themes that answer the research questions in this research project.

4.4 THE FOUR THEMES

Theme One: Little Improvement. The students spent eight hours each day, or four hours on Wednesdays, at school with their peers and the school staff. After school, students who did not live in the dorm spent around four hours with their families at home. Those who lived in the dorm spent more time with their peers after school. During holidays they had more chances to see and talk to the villagers who were usually their relatives. I collected data and analyzed these data to investigate the current Atayal fluency of the participating students.
In addition, I investigated how well they could communicate with fluent Atayal speakers. I present my findings in the first theme, “Little Improvements,” which corresponds to my first research question.

**Theme Two: Atayal as a Less Competitive Language.** Official education of heritage languages in Taiwanese schools is recently new. While in the research site, I was also interested in the participants’ regard for Atayal teaching and learning in school. In particular, I examined the adults’ value of Atayal as their heritage language. How much Atayal did they use amongst themselves and with their children? I present the results as the second theme, “Atayal: as a Less Competitive Language,” through analyzing interviews and my personal observations. The results presented in this theme also answer my second research question.

**Theme Three: A Multilingual Society without English.** At the school located in the research site, all students were Atayal. However, the composition of the staff seemed to be an epitome of Taiwanese society in terms of racial and heritage language demographics. Besides Atayal, heritage language of the teachers and staff included South Min, Hakka, and Mandarin Chinese. However, these adults were usually able to speak more languages than just their heritage languages. While I was sitting in the general staff office, I could hear speeches in Chinese, Hakka, South Min, and Atayal. Students mainly spoke Chinese mixed with words and phrases in South Min, Hakka, and Atayal. In this study, I was interested in the current status of multilingual contacts of the students. After data analysis, I find my third theme, “A
Multilingual Society without English.” Generally, the students were surrounded by speech from many other heritage languages such as South Min and Hakka. In this case, Atayal and English seemed to be neglected, especially English.

**Theme Four: Atayal as Living Culture or Language?** During the initial stage of data analysis, I found some data which did not fit my research question. This was usually related to Atayal cultural crafts or practices such as facial tattoos. During this process of data analysis, I wrote reflection memos about this situation that Atayal culture seemed to be irrelevant to Atayal language. Later, I started to focus my attention on the gap between Atayal language and the Atayal cultural elements. After several reflections, I found that losing the Atayal culture might be part of the reason for losing Atayal language. Eventually, I could identify my fourth theme, “Atayal as Living Culture or Language?,” which corresponds to my fourth research question.

4.4.1 **Theme One: Little Improvements**

Before I left Taiwan for graduate studies in 2003, I already had an impression that Atayal learning and education was in the beginning stage. In 2008, I returned to Taiwan and surveyed a class of five Atayal fifth graders in the mountain area. I found the situation of their Atayal learning and education dire. As was warned by Huang (2007) and by Li (1997), the heritage languages of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan were not successfully passed to the
next generations. In this study, I went deeper and stayed longer, with the hope of capturing the insights of children’s Atayal learning and education and of certain related issues. As soon as I arrived in the research site, I began observing the daily life activities at the school. Later, my observations were focused on the daily life activities in the village. Through interviews, I also tried to understand what speech events in what languages the children were surrounded at home. The overall impression was that there was little improvement regarding the Atayal learning and education at the school and in homes. Here I present the detailed descriptions of how Atayal speech events occurred on a regular basis at the school, in homes, and in the villages.

4.4.1.1 Atayal speech events at the school

The students at BGES had contact with and practices in Atayal almost only in Atayal classes taught by the two teachers, Mama Hayung and Ms. June. Regarding Mama Hayung, he had been teaching Atayal at this school for ten years. He was in his sixties and he spoke fluent Atayal, although he was not as skilled at romanization of Atayal. He used to be a bus and large truck driver before he taught Atayal classes at BGES. When he returned to the village, he also took care of his own land and planted fruits as his major sources of income. Since he was not a full-time teacher, he could be found collecting bamboo shoots in the bamboo forest before or after his Atayal classes. A few years ago, Mama Hayung served as
the village chairman [村長], and he also had been the local Catholic priest for many years.

When Mama Hayung learned that I could not find any place to live, he offered me a place to stay in his newly built house in BGG. He was one of the most enthusiastic local informants that offered significant assistance while I lived in the local community. He spoke in Atayal whenever he could, but he would switch to Chinese occasionally. Generally speaking, his Atayal was much better than his Chinese.

In Mama Hayung’s classes, there were two types of class activities which were repetition and out-of-classroom learning. The major activity was for the students to repeat Mama Hayung’s words, phrases, or sentences in Atayal, followed by explanations or examples to help students comprehend them. His following explanations and examples could include Atayal and Chinese words. Repetition could be carried out between Mama Hayung and a student, or Mama Hayung and the whole class. The following excerpt was from part of Mama Hayung’s Atayal class with the third graders.

Mama Hayung: *lokah simu*[^14] [How are you?]

Students: *lokah ku.* [I am fine.]

Mama Hayung: 再一次 [One more time], *lokah simu*? [How are you?]

Students: *lokah samu ei...* {Students were not confident about their answer}

[^14]: In this report, Atayal speeches will be italic with English translation in parentheses, like [English meaning]. English speech will be in English in normal typeface. Chinese speeches will simply be written in Chinese with an English translation, like [Chinese]. Further indication of other contextual information will be separated out in parentheses like {contextual information}.
Mama Hayung: *lokah sami.* [We are fine.]

Students: *lokah sami* [We are fine.]

Mama Hayung: 兩個人以上是 *sami* [plural form is *sami*]; 一個人、一個人 *le ga* [for a person, a person, in this case], *kuzin* [I]

Students: *kuzin* [I]

Mama Hayung: *lokah su?* [How are you {to a student}?]

Students: *loka kun* [I am fine.]

Mama Hayung: 對 [Correct]. *lokah simu?* [How are you {to all}?]

Students: *lokah…sami* [we’re … fine {not identically uttered}]

Mama Hayung: *sami* [we]

Students: *sami* [we]

Mama Hayung: 兩個人以上是 *sami* [More than two persons, use “we”]

Student: *sami* [we]

Mama Hayung: 好 [good], *lokah* [good]

Students: 好，好 [good, good]

(Observation, April 1)

This was an example of a typical activity in Mama Hayung’s Atayal class. It consisted of numerous repetitions of Atayal words and phrases with Atayal or Chinese explanations.

Although he tried very hard to speak Atayal often, the students would communicate with each
other in Chinese. Occasionally, the students would revert to using Chinese to talk to Mama Hayung who would simply ignore it. Consider the next excerpt.

Mama Hayung: 好 [good], wutu ga [this], nanu mali [what then]. Gay tayan lega [if speaking in Atayal], 母語 ho [use Atayal]. Wutu ga nanu? [What this one is?]

{Pointing to the blackboard and asking the students to read]

Students: kuzin ga…[I am…{students can’t continue}]

Mama Hayung: mkabaga [be able to read]

Students: mkabaga biru [able to read books / be a student]

Mama Hayung: biru [books]

Students: biru [books]

{A boy stood up and walked to his shelf to put things away.}

A Girl: 偉偉、現在在上課，每次上課你都在寫那個。 [Wei, it’s in class now, you always write other things in class.]

{Mama Hayung uses the bamboo stick to knock on the boy’s table as an warning.}

Ji Bin: 老師我去拿東西{邊走邊講}，我去倒垃圾。 [Teacher, I am getting my stuff {speaking as walking away}, I am going to throw garbage away.]

{Mama Hayung turns to the backboard and starts to write. Then, Ji Bin walks back to his seat.}

(Observation, April 1)
In most of Mama Hayung’s classes, there were no textbooks used, and the students were only required to listen and repeat after the teacher. Apparently, the Atayal classes of Mama Hayung lacked of varieties of activities. His students were repeating whatever he said without thinking. It was questionable whether these students would be able to communicate with what were taught in Mama Hayung’s classes in daily life.

Mama Hayung had another activity in his class, which was to bring his students for a field trip and learning from the natural world. During my research activities at BGES, I observed a few times when this type of activities happened. Again, his strategy was to use Atayal only. When Mama Hayung and his students were learning Atayal outside the classroom, the Atayal speeches were given in question-answer format. Mama Hayung would ask if the students knew the Atayal for certain things, such as a plum tree or cloud in Atayal. The students would give answers, usually a word or phrase in Atayal if they knew. If they did not know, Mama Hayung would tell them the answers in Atayal. This activity was not conducted with any written material just as in the classroom. Mama Hayung explained that his classes were specifically focused on listening and speaking with regard to daily life conversations. Before classes, his teaching preparations were based on the same textbooks Ms. June used. In a sense, this emphasis of Mama Hayung was the result of coordination between Ms. June and him.

For Ms. June, she appeared to be in her early twenties, and this was her first year
teaching Atayal at BGES. She was from BGG herself, and her family had been influential in
the village due to her father’s years of legislative membership. Before Ms. June taught at
BGES, she was a nurse in the nearby city. In this year she was recruited by the school
principal to be an Atayal teacher, receiving financial support by the Council of Indigenous
Peoples, Executive Yuan\textsuperscript{15}. While Ms. June taught Atayal at BGES, she also
was a part-time nurse and took courses at Almighty College in Taoyuan city.

In the Atayal classes taught by Ms. June, she used Chinese as the major
communication tool. There were a few activities in her Atayal classes. Just as in Mama
Hayung’s class, she often taught using repetitions. However, she also made uses of CDs, a
computer, and a projector in her classes. Here is an example of her class activity.

Ms. June: *mkabaga biru*是谁？[Who is “*mkabaga biru*”?]

Students: [some are not listening] 不知道 [don’t know]

Ms. June: 不知道！[don’t know!] [point to one student] *mkabaga biru*是谁？是学生啊！[Who is “*mkabaga biru*”？It’s the “students!”]

{walks to her seat in front of the computer-control desk as she speaks}

*mkabaga biru* 学生 [“*mkabaga biru,*” students]

*psbaba biru* 是老师，我們上個禮拜不是有教嗎！[“*mkbaga biru*” is the teacher,
didn’t we talk about this last week?]

\textsuperscript{15} The Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, is the highest central governmental administration
devoted to indigenous peoples’ affairs in Taiwan.
Students: {unclear murmuring}

Ms. June: 一個禮拜就忘記了 [you forgot within just a week]

Ji Bin: 對啊忘記了 [yeah, forgot]

Ms. June: 好 [ok], isu ga isu ga mkbaga biru [you are, you are a student],

是什麼意思? [what does it mean?]…{silent for a few seconds} …

isu ga mkbaga biru [you are a student], mkbaga biru 是什麼? [What is mkbaga biru?]

啊? [what?], mkbaga biru …{silent for a few seconds, then someone said it}

對 [correct]

One boy:16 糞便 [excrement]

One girl: {in low voice, correcting the last boy} 學生

Ms. June: mkbaga biru 是學生 [mkbaga biru is student], mkbaga biru 是老師

[mkbaga biru is teacher]

Ji Bin: 老師我有一個問題 [Teacher I have a question.]

Ms. June: 你們都不想聽 nei 我覺得 [You don’t want to listen to my class, I gather.]

One boy: {speaking in low voice} 我真的不想聽 nei [I really don’t.]

Ms. June: 那去外面罰站 [Then, give me a time-out outside the classroom.]

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16 I couldn’t recognize who spoke it, but he was surely a boy.
17 It is an exclamation, not available in Chinese words.
{The boy is leaving with joy, running with naughty gestures. Ms. June attend to another situation. The class waits.}

(March 18, observation)

This was Ms. June’s first semester teaching Atayal at an elementary school. Without former training and experiences in teaching language to young children, she spent lots of time trying to draw the attention of her students. This excerpt continues:

Ms. June: 你們今天怎麼搞的 [what happen to you all today], 不想上課喔 [you’re not focused], 老師講什麼都沒有在聽 [you don’t listen to the teacher], 這個上個禮拜教很多次了 nei [this we learned many times last week].

psbaba viru 是什麼? [What is psbaba viru?]

Students: {all together but not loud} 老師 [teacher]

Ms. June: mkbaga biru 是什麼? [What is mkbaga biru?]

Students: 學生 [student/s]

Ms. June: 對啊講那麼久 [exactly, why taking so long], 那 isu ga mkbaga biru是什麼? [Then, what is “isu ga mkbaga biru”?], isu ga mkbaga biru?

Students: {unrecognizable murmuring}

Ms. June: 對 [correct], kuzin ga psbaba viru 是什麼? [What is kuzin ga psbaba viru?]

Students: 老師 [teacher]
Ms. June: 對 [correct], 好 [ok], 來我問你喔 [listen to this questions]

[approaching to a girl], *isu ga mkbaga biru?* [Are you student?], 注意聽喔 [Listen carefully], *isu ga mkbaga biru?* [Are you student?]

{Ji Bin stands up, walks to the door, on the way he jumps and touches the hanging buckle of the ceiling fan.}

Ms. June: 是嗎? [Are you?] …{wait a few seconds, then face toward another girl}

還是你要講? [or do you want to answer?] *Kuzin ga* [I am]

Girl: *Kuzin ga* [I am] {silent for a few seconds}

Ms. June leading the girl: *mkbaga biru* [student/s]

Ms. June: 對 [correct], 這上、這上個禮拜教的你們都忘記了 [last, last week we learned this, have you forgot all], 你們兩個坐好喔 [you two behave yourselves on your seats]

(Observation, March 18)

In the Atayal classes of Ms. June, she could have different managements of her classes to attract the attention of her students. Instead, she simply gave orders to behave her students. Evidently, professional-development courses about class-management could be of help to her language teaching. Compared to Mama Hayung, Ms. June used more Chinese as a communication tool in her Atayal class, as demonstrated in the last excerpt. Also, Ms. June did not use the textbooks (Appendix D) very much, but she would prepare handouts.
(Appendix E) for the students to use in her Atayal classes.

In an interview, Ms. June mentioned that the Atayal communication ability of the students at this school did not match their grade level. In fact, the students’ Atayal ability in general at BGES was critical low except for two boys (the sixth grader Gong and the fifth grader Xiao Ming). In this case, approved by the principal Mama Hayung and Ms. June decided to start over from the beginning level, which was why the students were given handouts and not textbooks. The two Atayal teachers had to reorganize all the material before they taught it. In a sense, the curriculum for the Atayal class at this school was a result of the coordination of Mama Hayung, Ms. June, and the principal in the beginning of each semester. Their decisions were compatible with the description in Education Ministry’s “Grade 1 – 9 Curriculum Guidelines: Language Arts (Dialects) [國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要語文學習領域(原住民語)].” As a matter of fact, there was another reason that their textbooks were not widely used. In this village, the local Atayals spoke C’uli Atayal, categorized by linguists as a subcategory of Atayal language. Other subcategories were such as Squilqi and Sediq (Li, 1977, p. 93). According to Ms. June and the principal, the textbooks available for them to use were not exact in C’uli, although in the textbook it was claimed to be C’uli. In the textbooks, there were many words that were not written according to their local pronunciations of BGV. Referring to Appendix D, there are marks of revision on certain words that were made by Ms. 

18 Personally, my mother tongue belongs to this language group.
June. These revisions were done exactly for this reason. Generally speaking, the curriculum of Atayal language at BGES was indeed coordinated between Ms. June, Mama Hayung, and the principal. Their curriculum was an on-going plan and was adapted to the needs of the students each semester. The Atayal levels of the students were generally not at their corresponding grade level, and in fact most of them were in the beginning level. Last, the textbooks became auxiliary because they were not precisely designed for the local Atayals in this village.

The Atayal classes taught by Mama Hayung and Ms June were where the students at BGES had the most contact with and practices in Atayal. Outside their Atayal classes, the students had only limited opportunities to hear or use Atayal. Mama Hayung and Ms. June each taught one Atayal class per grade of students per week. Each Atayal class was forty minutes long, a typical length for elementary school classes. Both of the teachers had obtained the License of Indigenous Language Competence\(^{19}\) [原住民語言能力認證], which was a minimum qualification to teach heritage language in school. Generally, Mama Hayung was more responsible for Atayal speaking and listening. Ms. June concentrated more on reading and writing in Atayal. Guided by the school principal, they coordinated with each other and decided these individual emphases in their individual Atayal classes.

\(^{19}\) The “License of Indigenous Language Competence” is an initiative based on the 1998 “Act for Indigenous Education [原住民教育法].” It was a language examination of indigenous peoples’ heritage languages, focusing on the four lingual competences of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Those who passed the exam were given a license which they can use to help preserve and maintain the teaching and education of their individual heritage language.
There are a few more concluding remarks related to Atayal language events at school. During the semester, Ms. June initiated an Atayal related game-like program. The students were given a list of Atayal words, and they had to familiarize themselves with these Atayal words. Later, the students had to find an Atayal speaker at this school to test them about the Atayal words on the list. Every three correct answers on the test would result in a small prize, and every five correct answers would result in a big prize. This was an evident of an additional effort that Ms. June went to in order to educate her young students. On the other hand, Mama Hayung seemed to need improvements in his language teaching practices. This was evident in my observations, and was confirmed by the other teachers and a parent during interviews. One teacher talked about this situation in his interview.

Mr. Mu: Quality of the [Atayal] teacher is important. Take Mama Hayung for example, he spoke Atayal perfectly, but he is not familiar with language teaching strategies.

Researcher: You mean, Mama Hayung.

Mr. Mu: Yeah, Mama Hayung.

Researcher: I see.

Mr. Mu: He is like, perfect in speaking Atayal, in Atayal conversations, but the young children cannot talk to him with complete Atayal sentences all the time.

Researcher: You are talking about the teaching strategies.
Mr. Mu: yes, yes, yes. The strategies of language teaching might require some improvements. Like, to devote to the education [of Atayal language], the young generations [of Atayal people] should receive some training before coming back to teach [Atayal].

(Interview, April 26)

One of the parents during her interview mentioned the same concern about the teaching methods of Mama Hayung. However, during these interviews every single interviewee recognized the Atayal communication skills of Mama Hayung. Truly, Mama Hayung had been teaching Atayal at BGES for more than ten years, and many young adults in the village were personally taught by Mama Hayung 20. When I concluded my research activities in the village, I did not know that this was also his last semester teaching Atayal at BGES.

Outside the Atayal classes, not many Atayal speech events were observed at BGES. Rather, Chinese was the major language for communication. However, under certain circumstances Atayal speech would be observed, such as private talk, greeting, jokes, names, and adult reproach. On one occasion, an Atayal teacher asked me to watch his students for two minutes so that he could go to smoke. Since he didn’t want the others to know his reason, he spoke Atayal to me when he made his request. In fact, my Atayal wasn’t good enough to understand the whole sentence, but I got his basic intention and that was enough. Some of the

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20 In many ways, Mama Hayung was related to me. Many years ago, Mama Hayung was colleague of my uncle. He was also a previous colleague of my older brother, and my sister in law. When my younger sister transferred to BGES, Mama Hayung was also my sister’s Atayal teacher. I did not know this information until I was there for research.
staffs were fluent Atayal speakers, and they spoke Atayal to each other sometimes. Yet, they would have to switch to Chinese, a mutually understood language, when a non-Atayal speaker was present. It was not only out of respect, but also for communication purposes. After all, the busy weekday hours wouldn’t allow them to teach and learn each other’s mother tongues. Among the students, complete Atayal sentences were rarely heard. I could stay at the school for a whole day without hearing the students say a word in Atayal outside the Atayal class. Yet, a single word or phrase in Atayal could be found in their Chinese sentences occasionally.

There was one more initiative of Atayal activities outside Atayal classes at BGES, which as the Atayal Day on Wednesday mornings during the Ceremony of Raising the National Flag. The principal had this idea in the beginning of this semester. On one Wednesday morning, she proclaimed this program in front of the school. Later, I had a few chances to observe the activities for Atayal Day. Atayal Day was mainly a few cultural activities rather than linguistic ones. Namely, language training or skills were not the major focus. Instead, traditional stories or values were the major entities passed to the young children. On one of the Wednesday mornings, I heard Mr. Knight, an Atayal teacher with more than 30 years teaching experience in this neighborhood, talking about gaga [ethics], which was a traditional ethics of Atayal people. Being respectful to the elderly was part of Atayal gaga [ethics]. In this case, during this speech given by Mr. Knight for ten minutes the
students learned only one word, *gaga* [ethics]. This event revealed a message to me that learning an Atayal word of its pronunciation and meaning was equally important to learning its cultural meaning. However, many other school activities and the unpredictable weather would sometimes disallow the execution of planned activities on Atayal Day. In the end, there were on only a few Wednesday mornings reserved for Atayal Day and its activities.

There were other resources for the students to have contact with Atayal, although these were focused on Atayal culture rather than on written words or heard speech. In the library, there were two story books (Appendix F) about Atayal, written in Chinese. On the second floor of the General Staff Office, there was an “Indigenous People’s Resource Room [原住民族資源教室],” a room displaying Atayal crafts such as traditional weaving equipment and products of rattan weaving. To introduce these objects, there were illustrations and Chinese explanations with a few key Atayal words. When the principal introduced this Indigenous People’s Resource Room [原住民族資源教室] to me, she also recalled her own memories involving authentic contacts such as equipment and the elderly members. I wouldn't have heard these stories if I did not ask her to introduce this room to me.

4.4.1.2 Languages at home and in the village

There are a few reasons that I would not separate this section into two parts such as Atayal events at home and Atayal events in the village. First, in this small village where there
were only around 500 Atayal, people were mostly related to each other. A child in BGG might have a grandmother living in HGG, and probably have some cousins at the school as well. To my surprise, even I was related to the people in the village. Life matters were closely tied together that relatively small events would include several families in the village. Therefore, the life of the children at home was the life in the village. While walking around the village, they would run into relatives constantly. Therefore, I decided that the presentation of Atayal events should combine the children's life at home and in the village.

For the young Atayal participants, Chinese was almost exclusively spoken at home and in the village. However, they still had some contact with Atayal speech. One such opportunity was through the elderly. Many children said the most contact they had with Atayal was from their grandparents either at home or in the village. The following interview with a fifth grader, Mu Ping, reveals the typical experience of many other children in the village in this regard. Note that all the interviews in this study were originally conducted in Chinese. I later transcribed and translated them into English. Atayal speech will be denoted by *italics* followed by English explanations in parentheses like [example]. Further information added will be included in brackets like {example}.

Researcher: Do you live in the dorm?

Mu Ping: No.

Researcher: When you return home after school, who is at home?
Mu Ping: Grandmother, father, uncle, and aunt.

Researcher: Oh, there are quite a few people at your home. What do they say to you when they see you returning from school?

Mu Ping: She or he would say, *lokah su* [how are you], like that

Researcher: What would you say then?

Mu Ping: I’ll say, *lokah ku* [I am fine.]

Researcher: And then? What else would be said, like, if your father wants you to take shower, what would he say?

Mu Ping: He’d say, go shower, Mu Ping. {in Chinese}

Researcher: I see. So, who else speaks Atayal at home?

Mu Ping: Grandmother.

Researcher: Grandmother, what about your father?

Mu Ping: A little bit.

Researcher: A little bit. Would your grandmother speak lots of Atayal, or…

Mu Ping: Almost all in Atayal

Researcher: How do you reply, when you reply you say\(^{21}\)…

Mu Ping: Chinese.

Researcher: When you reply to her, why don’t you reply in Atayal?

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\(^{21}\) When I gave this interview question in Chinese, I did not indicate to Mu Ping to answer me "in what language he would use." Rather, I asked an open question requesting Mu Ping to tell me "what he would answer." However, through the answer he gave he was aware that I wanted to know whether he was speaking in Chinese or Atayal. Thus, he simply told me that he was speaking in Chinese.
Mu Ping: I don’t know how to.

Researcher: Are you not confident, or are you not able to [reply in Atayal]?

Mu Ping: Not confident

Researcher: Not confident; so, you actually are able to [reply in Atayal]

Mu Ping: {Nodding his head.}

(Interview, May 11)

Almost every interviewed child had more than just parents or guardians at home, and sometimes one or more of these adults would be from their grandparent’s generation. These elderly were very fluent in Atayal compared to the young parents, but they would not necessarily force their grandchildren to communicate with them exclusively in Atayal. More often, Chinese would be spoken by the child and Atayal was spoken by the elderly. If any one was forced to switch language, it usually was the older generation. Ms. June spoke of this situation in an interview:

Researcher: In the village, do you see children using Atayal? Between children and the adults?

Ms. June: Almost not anymore now. I am from BGG and each time as I return to the village their chance for me to hear children speaking in Atayal is almost none.

Researcher: Almost none?

Ms. June: They don’t speak [Atayal]. And they speak Chinese with their parents.
They also speak Chinese to their grandparents. Now they force their grandparents to learn Chinese.

Researcher: So those grandparents who don’t speak Chinese learn Chinese?

Ms. June: These grandparents are so devoted and they might have better Chinese than their grandchildren.

(Interview, March 22)

Related to this phenomenon was that the young adults seemed to not use Atayal as frequently as the elderly when they addressed their children. A HGG woman, Nana, who temporarily worked at BGES talked about her experience regarding languages use at home. In her interview, she told me that her high school son was able to communicate with the elderly in Atayal, because he had a lot of contact with his grandfather. Nana further explained that, “Every time when I spoke Chinese to my son, how to say this, yaba mu [my father in law], he would reproach me, and [he would] ask me to teach Atayal to my son. But sometimes my Atayal has become, somehow, not that smooth” (May 11, interview).

The fifth grader Xiao Ming, one of the two Atayal fluent speakers, said in the interview that he used to live with his Yutas [grandfather] and had to communicate in Atayal because his Yutas [grandfather] couldn’t speak Chinese. Here is an excerpt of his interview.

Xiao Ming: When Yutas [grandfather] wants to wake me up, tulix la [wake up], he would say.
Researcher: That’s during the holidays, when you are home [not in the dorm]?

Xiao Ming: Yes. [I am] sleeping, and then grandfather’s like, *tulix la, tulix la* [wake up, wake up], he always does that because he needs to go to work on the mountain.

Researcher: Does he speak Chinese?

Xiao Ming: Rarely.

Researcher: He can’t or he doesn’t want to?

Xiao Ming: He speaks [Chinese]

Researcher: Like very well, a lot [of Chinese]?

Xiao Ming: Mm [confirming]…to my aunt he speaks [Chinese], to me he would [speak] Atayal, he wouldn’t [speak] Chinese

Researcher: Like always Atayal

Xiao Ming: Because he wants me to learn [Atayal]

Researcher: Oh, he wants you to learn [Atayal] and so he always speaks Atayal with you.

Xiao Ming: Mm [confirming].

(May 5, interview)

Xiao Ming was a rare example, in which he had to live with a determined fluent Atayal speaker who switched to Atayal when addressing him. However, since Xiao Ming’s parents were not around and his grandfather was also not usually home because of long hours
of working, Xiao Ming became a concern in the village during the weekend when he left the
dorm for his home without anyone else at home. The villagers found Xiao Ming idling
around with the troublemakers in the village during the weekends. After a few meetings with
the village representative and the school staff, a decision was made that Xiao Ming had to go
to stay with his relative in a nearby town during the weekends. This way, Xiao Ming was
forced to leave his source of Atayal language, his grandfather. His father seemed to agree
with this decision that it would be best for Xiao Ming. During the semester, teachers would
take turns driving Xiao Ming to stay with his relatives each weekend. In an interview with
Xiao Ming, he told me that he wanted to learn Atayal, but he was not sure if he’d have the
chance to continue his education. At the age of 11 or 12, he already felt that, sooner or later,
he would have to drop the school and work to support himself. Here is the excerpt:

Researcher: Do you think you will continue learning Atayal in high schools?

Xiao Ming: To me, I will.

Researcher: You will continue learning [Atayal]

Xiao Ming: But I am not sure about high schools.

Researcher: Why? You mean you want to learn but you don’t know, you don’t

know…

Xiao Ming: No; I just plan to work from junior high

Researcher: Why from junior high?
Xiao Ming: Woops; I meant senior high school.

Researcher: That’s right, you have to finish junior high [for it’s the law]

Xiao Ming: Yes. But I don’t want [to go to] high school

Researcher: You never know; maybe the law will change and you still have to finish high school. Don’t you think that you can simply drop school.

Xiao Ming: Mm.

...

Researcher: Why are you eager to find a job?

Xiao Ming: I need to look after my grandfather.

Researcher: How old is he?

Xiao Ming: My grandfather is like 90 something

Researcher: Over ninety!

(Interview, May 5)

Atayal contact was constantly observed in the village, but it was usually between fluent Atayal speaking adults. A commonly observed situation was that a Chinese sentence was mixed with words or a phrase in Atayal. Outstandingly, some of the speech observed in the village was the Atayal-accented Chinese. It was still Chinese, but the accent was entirely Atayal. Here is an excerpt of an incident that I observed. On one afternoon, I was in a store interviewing the owner, *Yata Atai* [Auntie Atai]. In the middle of our interview, a few
customers came to check out, and I sat next to them and recorded what happened.

_Yata Atai_: Just excuse me {to researcher, then turn to a customer}. Adding to the 150 earlier and here these are 480, 150 and 480 is…how much again? I am too old!

Researcher: 480 and 150?

_Yata Atai_: 480 and 150

Researcher: 630

Customer 1: You owe me…

_Yata Atai_: How much did I just give you? I gave you…4

Customer 1: You owe me 370

Researcher: That’s correct; if he gave you 1000, you owe him 370.

_Yata Atai_: {to customer 2} _inina ki, Watan ki_ [wait just a little bit, Watan please] … … {to customer 1} that one is on me

Customer 1: Sounds good to me

_Yata Atai_: {to Watan who waits to check out} Let me see yours, 2, 4, 6, 4 times 6 is 24, _pisa pira iswa kuzin kasa?_ [How much did you give me already?]

_Watan_: 220

_Yaki Atai_: 220 is not enough, you still owe me 40

_Watan_: 40! _nanu_ [what], I don’t want _hasa kany_ [that over there]

_Yaki Atai_: _aw la_ [for sure], now it’s just right.
It was amazing to meet Yata Atai, especially once I learned that we were related. While I lived in the village before I knew Yata Atai, I went to her store a few times but was not able to stay and talk. One day when I went there to eat noodles for lunch I had a chance to talk to her. After I told her who I was, where I was from, and who my parents were, Yata Atai started laughing out loud and told me that she was actually my aunt.

4.4.1.3 Quick Test of Oral Atayal Communication (QTOAC)

Since this research project was designed to survey the current Atayal learning status of young Atayal participants, I decided to have this Quick Test of Oral Atayal Communication (QTOAC), an idea also suggested by my dissertation committee chairman. The purpose was to find out, in general, how much the participating children could communicate in Atayal. At BGES, I was able to find three fluent Atayal speaking adults to serve as conversation initiators. These initiators included Atayal teacher Mama Hayung, the principal, and the Dorm Guardian Ms. Wood. They were all fluent Atayal speakers, and the former two had obtained the License of Indigenous Language Competence[22] [原住民語言能力認證]. Before each test, I asked these adults to prepare a few greeting questions and other simple questions in Atayal. If the child was not able to answer a question, then the adult

[22] Please refer to footnote number 1 in this paper.
would ask another simpler question. Otherwise, the adult would ask harder questions. A set of sample questions ranging from easy to difficult is given in Appendix G. It was not easy to find a time when one of these adults and a participant child were available at the same time. In the end, eight students (three boys and five girls) participated in this oral test. Before the test began, each child was told to answer the questions in Atayal as much as possible. No material or other instruction was given in advance to either the adult or the student. The adult simply initiated conversation in Atayal with a greeting. As the researcher, I was present for audiotape or videotape purposes, as well as for observation. As a result, the tests lasted between one minute and five minutes, depending on how much a tested girl or boy could answer. Right after each test, I discussed the performance of Atayal ability of the tested child with the adult.

Most of the children only understood some greetings as well as questions about giving names. They usually could not understand questions more complicated than these, much less in giving answers in Atayal. One Grade 4 girl, Sha Sha, didn't seem to understand any of the questions, and she didn't speak a word in Atayal. The most fluent Atayal speaking children were two boys: Xiao Ming in Grade 5 and Gong in Grade 6. They both understood most of the questions, and were able to answer half of them in Atayal. This result matched the descriptions given by the school staff and some parents in the village when I had asked them whom they thought were the best Atayal speaking children.
4.4.1.4 Theme one summary

The Atayal learning and education of the young Atayal participants were dire. First, during the semester the children contacted and practiced Atayal mostly within the two Atayal classes each week at school. Second, the Atayal lingual environment at home and in the village was passive, meaning that the children could hear Atayal speech in which they did have to react to. Rather, their adults accommodated to the children and switched to Chinese when the children were silent on Atayal speech. Last, the result of Quick Test of Oral Atayal Communication (QTOAC) clearly shows that most of these children have not successfully inherited their traditional language, Atayal. The fact that the principal and the two Atayal language teachers were quick to react to the current low Atayal level of the children at BGES, and hence to revise their curriculum for Atayal language, confirms the theme that the status of the Atayal learning and education of the young Atayal participants in this study remain critical. This result corresponds to my first research question in which I wanted to know the current status of the Atayal communication ability of the young participants.

Li (1997) estimates that, “the indigenous peoples’ languages in Taiwan may be extinct in the next five decades, based on how these languages are used and the speed of the previous ones disappeared” [依照它們的實際使用情況和語言消失速率推算，大概不出五十年大都會消失] (p. 190). His chapter was written in 1997, when there was no written form
for indigenous peoples’ languages in Taiwan. Around fourteen years later when the current study was conducted in 2011, the young Atayal participants had romanized Atayal text to read and write. Comparing these two results, it is confirmed that, over time, there is improvement, although little. Furthermore, in Duoyou’s (2006) article, she complains that the only one heritage language class for 50 minute per week is not enough to retrieve the dying heritage languages of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In the current study, the children received two periods of Atayal classes each week, a rather small increase from a few years ago. What Chang (2007) warns of five years ago, that the indigenous peoples’ heritage languages were in “moribund” status (p. 201), remains true according to the findings in the case of this study.

4.4.2 Theme Two: Atayal as a Less Competitive Language

One focus in this study was how the participants, including children and adults, perceive Atayal learning and education. To investigate this question, I mainly depended on interviews, and on my personal observations in the research site. The interview questions were semi-structured, in which there were a few guiding questions and the interviewees were able to give answers in their terms. After the guiding questions, I would follow with different questions for different interviewees based on the answers they gave.

4.4.2.1 Perceptions of the students
Here are the sample guiding-questions that I always asked in the beginning of the student interviews. “你喜歡學泰雅語嗎? [Do you enjoy learning Atayal?]” “泰雅語, 中文, 和英語這三個語言之中, 你最喜歡學哪一個? 為什麼? [Please rank the learning of the three languages of Atayal, Chinese, and English, according to preferences.]” “有沒有哪個語言的學習讓你觉得很困難? [Is any of the languages difficult for you to learn?].” Table 1 below briefly shows the results. Note that 3 students replied that they didn’t know which language class was their favorite, which explains why there were only 13 answers of the 16 interviewed students.

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atayal as Favorite</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese as Favorite</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English as Favorite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Dislike Atayal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly Dislike Chinese</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of them said they liked learning Atayal, but only two of them ranked Atayal as
their favorite language to learn. Instead, Chinese was the most popular language to these children. When I asked those who liked Chinese best, their reasons were that Chinese “is easy [輕鬆]” (Mu Ping, interview, May 11), “lets me learn a lot [可以讓我學到很多東西]” (Xiao Qi, interview, May 11), and “is fun [很好玩]” (Xiao Gong, interview, April 27). A Grade 5 boy ranked Atayal as his favorite language to learn. In the excerpt below, he explained his reason.

Researcher: Between Chinese, Atayal, and English, which one is your favorite language class?

Da Jun: My favorite…should be Atayal.

Researcher: Atayal. Why?

Da Jun: Because it feels like mature.

Researcher: What do you mean by “mature”?

Da Jun: It’s like you are an adult, and you speak well.

(Interview, May 11)

Da Jun felt that being able to speak Atayal well was part of the maturity of an adult, and he wanted to be like the adults that spoke Atayal fluently. Xiao Wu, a Grade 5 boy, said he liked learning Atayal the best because it’s “easy to remember [比較好記]” (Interview, May 4).

With regard to English, a Grade 3 girl, A Yu, said she liked it best, but she doesn’t know why (interview, June 14) On the other hand the Grade 5 boy, Xiao Ming, was very clear about why
he disliked English.

Researcher: Now you have been learning English. Do you feel, between English, Chinese, and Atayal, these three languages, do you encounter any difficulty? Or, do you feel it’s great to learn many languages?

Xiao Ming: No. I just feel that the romanized spelling and sounds, the English words, are confusing. [Xiao Ming felt that English letters and romanized words in Atayal, looked alike but pronounced differently, caused confusion to him.]

Researcher: Because they [the romanized Atayal and English alphabets] look similar?

Xiao Ming: Mm, all are like a, b, c, stuff

Researcher: Mm, but they are pronounced in different ways, to my knowledge

Xiao Ming: Yes, there are [different pronunciations]

Researcher: And you are confused?

Xiao Ming: I am, because they are all like a, b, c, something

Researcher: But no such confusion in Chinese?

Xiao Ming: Not in Chinese

Researcher: Because in ㄅㄆㄇㄈ or Chinese character don’t have [an alphabet]

Xiao Ming: Mm

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23 This is the pronunciation-note system of Chinese, mostly used in Taiwan and some other countries that also use traditional Chinese characters. It is also called “注音符號[zhùyīnfhúhào]".
Researcher: Is it really annoying? Like seriously?

Xiao Ming: For English, yes, but not for Atayal.

In other words, these children generally had a positive attitude toward learning of Atayal.

However, they were more comfortable in learning Chinese comparatively. Moreover, they didn’t have much to say about English learning.

4.4.2.2 Perceptions of adults

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with adults. However, my questions were different from those that I asked the children. Here are groups of sample interview questions for the adults. These questions were guiding questions when I interviewed them.

1. “Generally, how do people in the village regard Atayal teaching and learning? [部落裡面的人大概都怎麼看待泰雅語的教育?]” “In the village, who actively promotes speaking Atayal? [部落裡面誰比較積極推動泰雅語的教育?]”

2. “To your observation, what language do the adults usually use with their children in the village and at home? [就你的觀察, 大人在部落和家裡都跟小孩子講什麼語言?]” “In the village, why would the adults, who are Atayal fluent speakers, naturally switch to Chinese when they address the children? [在部落裡面, 熟稔泰雅語的大人對小朋友講話的時後為什麼會自然而然的轉換成國語?]”

3. “Imagine if there are 10 periods of Language Arts at an elementary school each week,
what language deserves how many classes in your opinion? [假設國小一個星期有十堂
語言課，你個人認為哪個語言該分到幾節課?]”

4. “What is the future of Atayal language? [泰雅語的未來如何?]”

Again with these adult interviewees, I followed up with different questions from one adult to
another depending on the answers of individual adult.

When I asked the adults whether they valued Atayal teaching and education, they
generally replied positively. Mr. Knight, for example, told me that “the parents in general are
positive toward the Atayal teaching and education that deserves attention” [所以整體來說,
其實家長那方面就是對對族語泰雅語的教育其實是很正面的啦，覺得說應該啦鼓勵這
樣]” (Interview, April 12). The Atayal language teacher, Ms. June, also talked about the
importance of Atayal teaching and education in her interview.

Researcher:…How about yourself? Do you think Atayal [language] is important?

Why?

Ms. June: Very important. It’s because we are Atayals ourselves. An Atayal who
doesn’t know Atayal language, this Atayal literally is losing herself or himself. I
personally think so. Now, the government begins valuing this part [of local cultural
education], which is why the schools start [teaching heritage languages]. Like, years
earlier there weren’t such teaching [about heritage languages].

(Interview, March 22)
In the village, the elderly were perhaps the most active proponents of Atayal retention. Consider the experience of Xiao Gong, the Grade 6 boy who was a fluent Atayal speaker among the students.

Researcher: What did your grandfather speak?

Xiao Gong: Atayal.

Researcher: Entirely?

Xiao Gong: With some Chinese.

Researcher: A little bit or half [in Chinese]

Xiao Gong: Only a little.

Researcher: Only a little bit. Is that because he can’t [speak Chinese] or because he wants you to learn [Atayal]

Xiao Gong: He does that on purpose.

Researcher: He wants you to learn [Atayal]?

Xiao Gong: Mm.

(Interview, April 27)

The Dorm Guardian, Ms. Wood, talked about the reason that the elderly in the village wanted to promote Atayal learning to the young children.

The elderly, such as grandparents, would like the younger children to be able to speak their own language. For example, during the holidays I would walk around the
village. I hear the elderly say they feel awkward when their own grandchildren do not understand whatever they say. It’s like the elderly are talking about the oranges but the children are talking about apples. Or the children would reply to the grandparents with irrelevant answers, etc. These elderly still want their descendants know their own language. They don’t want the young generations to forget their origin and their mother tongue.

(Interview, May 3)

Young adults were also supportive of Atayal teaching and education. However, at the same time they revealed their worry. Ms. June might have said it best in her interview.

Researcher: …Overall, do you think the parents value Atayal teaching and education to their children?

Ms. June: You can’t say that they don’t. But, it’s also not like they very much value it. Frankly speaking, a person knows her or his heritage language, how can I put it…like, you know English and so you can teach English. You make a living from it [teaching English]. If you know Atayal, you can only speak to your tribal people in the mountains. You would… you understand what I mean?

Researcher: Take your time. It’s fine if you need some time to think again.

…

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24 Ms. June was referring to me regarding my ability to teach English in Taiwan. She was aware that my major was English literature and TESL when I was in college.
Ms. June: … They [parents] don’t value because a person cannot teach or make a living outside [only] with the ability of Atayal language. This is my point. They care about the learning of their children; they prefer their children to follow the “orthodox education system [正規的教育].” After graduation, the children would be able to function in society [with orthodox education]. Matters such as heritage language are additional. Do you understand what I mean?

Researcher: I understand, you mean…

Ms. June: [Heritage language education] not more important than the studies of the kind of orthodox materials.

(Interview, March 22)

Ms. June revealed a crucial point here. One reason for the parents to send their children to school was for the students to develop skills that could help them survive in the world in the future. To a certain degree, the parents saw the school as a place to prepare their children for future jobs. The parents might have concern that Atayal teaching and education would supplant the learning of subjects deemed more important. After all, being skillful in Atayal seemed not as economically powerful as being skillful in English, Chinese, or math outside the village.

I also surveyed the adults’ observations of their own daily conversations. Their answers matched my observations that, between adults their daily conversations would often
be entirely in Atayal. Ms. Wood who looked after the students in the dorm was a HGG villager herself. She answered this question quite frankly.

Researcher: What about adult to adult? What do you hear from them…

Ms. Wood: Between adults there is some Chinese.

Researcher: Oh, some Chinese, which means that they mostly speak in Atayal?

Ms. Wood: Yes, yes, in Atayal but mixed with a little bit of Chinese.

(Interview, May 3)

However, the adults would switch to Chinese. Ms. Wood in her interview continued stating this situation.

Researcher: In other words, these adults would switch to Chinese when they turn to address the children?

Ms. Wood: Yes, yes.

Researcher: This kind of natural witching [between Chinese and Atayal]… why do you think this would happen? Like, when two adults are speaking to each other in Atayal, but the adults would switch to Chinese when they address to a child who passes by. Not [directly] in Atayal but switch to Chinese, why?

Ms. Wood: I think it’s because of the past. I remember that when I was in elementary school, I graduated from BGES myself.

Researcher: Mm.
Ms. Wood: Yes, BGES was my school. During the time when I studied at BGES, heritage languages were completely forbidden. Heritage language meaning our mother tongues;

Researcher: [Other heritage languages] Like, South Min or Hakka.

Ms. Wood: Yes. And I remember, our school promoted a Chinese only policy. If anyone was heard [of speaking] a sentence [in her or his heritage language], this person would be penalized 10 dollars.

Researcher: Penalized with a fine!

Ms. Wood: That’s right: penalized with a fine. Therefore, every one of us wouldn’t dare speak in our tribal language, like Atayal.

Researcher: You mean, these elementary school students at that time are now the adults?

Ms. Wood: Yes, yes, yes. I feel that should have influence. Gradually, there should be some influence, more or less.

Researcher: It’s like, in their minds, privately, an Atayal adult can speak Atayal to another Atayal adult who is close. But to the younger children, officially these adult Atayals would like to teach the child [the formal way of speaking], [and they] unconsciously like to speak Chinese.

Ms. Wood: Right.
Yata Akin, also as mother of Grade 4 boy Xiao Wu, also spoke of the same experience in her interview. Nana, a local mother of two high school boys, said her punishments for speaking Atayal at school were “to be physically hit, and then be forced to collect garbage something like that” (Interview, May 11). The principal of BGES also experienced this period, and she said:

About the language education, I feel that most of the damages started early during the Chinese-only movement 由政府发起的国語化運動 by the government. It was as early as when I was in elementary school. The killing of heritage languages began when I was in elementary school. I remember at that time, speaking heritage languages in school would either be penalized by standing for a long time or by being physically hit by teachers. Some were punished with fines, and some were hung by their necks with a board that was written, “I will not speak dialects,” for a whole day. It was truly a time of killing heritage languages.

(Interview, April 6)

In short, years of experiences with punishments due to speaking Atayal might have had deep influences on the adults. They would both consciously and unconsciously switch from Atayal to Chinese when they addressed their children.

To understand to what degree the adults valued Atayal teaching and education, I also
asked them to reconsider the number of classes for each language: Atayal, Chinese, and English at an elementary school. Before this interview question, I gave them a general picture of the current situation regarding the number of language classes. In each week, the students at BGES received around 12 classes in Language Arts. Among the 12 classes, 2 were reserved for Atayal, another 2 for English, and the remaining 8 classes for Chinese. I asked them to imagine that if there were 10 classes for Language Arts, how would they rearrange the language classes? The adults in general tended to have a balance of proportion among the three languages. Take Yata Umui from HGG For example, she would like the three languages to have equal attention. Aunt Ma, mother of a Grade 4 girl, said she would arrange the numbers in “3, 3, and 4” (interview, May 11), in which the 4 classes were reserved for Atayal language. However, Xiao Wu’s mother, Yata Akin, had a different viewpoint.

Yata Akin: If, 10 classes for languages

Researcher: Mm

Yata Akin: If there are 10 classes [for 3 languages], 2 for Atayal, and 2 for English.

This is the way I feel, for a week.

Researcher: So the rest 6 classes, 60% of the language classes, are for Chinese

Yata Akin: Yes.

Researcher: The reason that you give a large proportion [to Chinese] is because, I guess, the overall environment [that people mostly use Chinese] in Taiwan. Is it?
Yata Akin: Yes.

Researcher: You feel this is inevitable [to have many Chinese classes]? 

Yata Akin: It’s because the teachers are teaching in Chinese, and also because there are still other subject matters, like science and math, and Ethics.

(Interview, April 27)

Yata Akin felt that, since the school classes were in Chinese, it would be beneficial for the students to learn more Chinese. In sum, the adults generally preferred a balance of three languages’ education for their children. If there was any preference, it was towards Chinese and not towards Atayal.

Adults had different views on the future of Atayal language. A few adults had seen a promising future for it. Mr. Wu, who was a South Min himself, was in his first year teaching at BGES. In his interview he talked about the future of Atayal education.

Researcher: In your observations, what is the future of Atayal education around this neighborhood?

Mr. Wu: This is obvious. It is good, because education of heritage languages has only become popular in recent years.

Researcher: You mean, around here the future looks good

Mr. Wood: That’s for sure. There was none before. And now people are teaching about it. There must be differences. In the past, the students learned in the village.
Now the schools are teaching it, and the students have to learn more or less. Back in the village, [the students] can speak it.

Researcher: Mm

Mr. Wu: But the cultivation of teachers [for heritage language teaching] is important.

(Interview, April 26)

Mr. Wu’s point was that, since there was no official Atayal teaching before, the future of Atayal should be promising because there was more now. Nana, as a mother of two high school boys, held a similar viewpoint with Mr. Wu in that beginning to teach heritage languages at schools was better then before when there was none. In my interviews with two yata in HGG, they also felt the same way that the future of Atayal language should be relatively bright compared to when there was no Atayal teaching in the near past.

There were many adults who held pessimistic views on the future of Atayal, and their viewpoints also deserve lengthy descriptions. One of the reasons that the future of Atayal was not promising was that the damages in the past were too serious, and the revival efforts came too late. The principal talked about this viewpoint in her interview.

Researcher: In other words, there were some damages to the teaching of heritage language

Principal: Very much

Researcher: Till recently; you mean, the commencement of education of heritage
languages from 2000, it’s not enough or is it too late?

Principal: It’s too late.

(Interview, April 6)

The principal continued and evaluated the future of Atayal:

I sometimes feel that [in metaphor] the indigenous language is like a patient in the ICU, Hakka language in the ER, and South Min language in the normal ward. I think language losses may be related to globalization. Modernization of human beings might have made the language losses inevitable. One of the motivations for people today to promote heritage language education is to slow down their dying process, but not to stop them from dying. In this case, for our heritage language education I wouldn’t be conceited to say that the heritage language will be recovered. But we want to slow down the process of heritage language losses. After all, a group of people will lose their culture if they lose their own language. As matter of fact, in Taiwan there are many previous examples of many previous peoples.

(Interview, April 6)

The Dorm Guardian, Ms. Wood, also felt that it’s too late “because [we are] used to it, used to speaking Chinese” (interview, May 3). To these adults, saving Atayal was surely a must, but they also felt it might be too late.

Mr. Yi, with more than 30 years of teaching in this neighborhood, blamed the
mechanism of the educational system as a whole when he said the future of Atayal was not good.

Mr. Yi: If there are not better solutions, in the future our language will die quickly, I personally believe, our children will completely…Very likely only 1% or 2%, [the children would] only recognize a few [Atayal] words. Especially those not polite words that would burst out of mouths…Other daily life language will …

Researcher: In other words, the future [of Atayal] really worries people.

Mr. Yi: Will definitely disappear.

(Interview, April 1)

In his interview, Mr. Yi stressed a lot what could have been done by the government, the school, and the parents in the village. Another young villager, Mick, felt that nothing could be done to reverse this critical situation of Atayal language at all because the job market outside the village was much better. To fulfill his personal life goals, he felt he had to leave the village one day. Mick was in his early twenties. After his service in the Army, he conducted a small vendor business in the nearby city before he returned to the village. His family owned a grocery store and a noodle vendor, in which he helped take care of the business.

Researcher: Felt like, if things remain just the same, we are losing Atayal language gradually.

Mick: We will, definitely we will lose it.
Researcher: Sounds like the overall [lingual] environment is the reason

Mick: On the other hand, take a look of the Hakka [people] in Taiwan, the South
Min [people], whoever they are they think of themselves and their own good first.

You don’t want to be locked in the mountains for the rest of your life; like living in
the village all the time. On the other hand, I mean later, I must leave and find a job
outside. I will get married outside and raise my children outside. … I don’t want to
stay in the village as a vendor owner for the rest of my life. I will have to make
money outside.

(Interview, May 17)

To Mick, his future was not in this village, considering the poor job market around the
neighborhood. He was also convinced that in leaving the village he and his offspring would
lose the connection to their traditional culture and language. The future of Atayal was not
promising if young people would not like to stay in the village.

4.4.2.3 Theme two summary

I have elaborated on the perceptions of the participants. Both the students and the
adults generally held positive attitudes towards Atayal teaching and learning. However, more
students preferred Chinese learning, which was more comfortable to them. As for the adults,
only some of the elderly intuitively spoke Atayal to the children, which made them the Atayal
protagonists in the village. Adults younger than the grandparent’s generation wouldn’t do so for reasons. First, they wished that the teaching and learning of Atayal should not influence the learning of other subject matters that would prepare them for future jobs. Second, these adults usually had experienced punishments for speaking Atayal during their schooling period. They would now automatically switch from Atayal to Chinese when they addressed their children, and Atayal became a private used language between close friends and families.

Third, the adults generally preferred a curriculum with balanced attention to the three languages in terms of Language Arts. If there was a preference, it wouldn’t be towards Atayal. Finally, adults had various viewpoints with respect to the future of Atayal. The majority had a pessimistic view because 1) the previous damages were too extensive, 2) essential interventions were often not done enough, and 3) staying in the village did not have a good outlook toward the future. A few adults held a positive view arguing that it’s better late than never.

It is not an easy task to use only a few sentences to conclude the findings regarding the perceptions of the participants described in the last paragraph. However, when considering the focus of this study, which is the understanding of Atayal learning and education, the task becomes less difficult. From the results concluded through examining the perceptions of the participants, I found Atayal language in a dangerous situation because it was not as competitive as other languages. In my second research question, I was interested
in how the participants perceived their traditional language, Atayal. It seemed to me that
Atayal language was not competitive enough not only because there were other more
competitive languages around them but also because those fluent Atayal speaking adults had
prior harm inflicted upon them, which was too severe for them to feel comfortable passing
Atayal language to the children naturally.

4.4.3 Theme Three: A Multilingual Society without English

The society in Taiwan is generally multilingual as suggested in Huang’s (2007) study.
When I collected data in Taiwan, more than fourteen minority languages were used in
addition to the three major languages spoken by the three major groups\textsuperscript{25}. Moreover, English
as a foreign language began to be taught at elementary schools more than just a decade or so.
I was interested in the status of the multilingual learning of the participating students in this
study. In particular, I wanted to know if they were confused or not while they were learning
Atayal and English, since the two languages’ written forms were both similar and new to
them. Furthermore, I wanted to know if there was any preference to or neglect of any of the
languages while the participating students were learning Atayal and English. I present the
findings in the following paragraphs.

\textsuperscript{25} Please refer to footnote number 7.
4.4.3.1 Multilingual events in the staff office

Taiwanese society's multilingual phenomenon mentioned by Huang (2007) also took place in the research site of this study, where there were fourteen indigenous languages and the three major languages such as Chinese, South Min, and Hakka. At BGES, the students were all Atayal. But the composition of the staff exemplified the multilingual society of Taiwan. There were some Atayal teachers and staff, and there were staff whose heritage languages were South Min, Hakka, or Mandarin Chinese. However, these teachers and staff were usually able to speak more than just Chinese and their own heritage languages. Chinese was primarily used in official circumstances such as public announcements through broadcasts. Staff with the same heritage languages would share secrets in a low voice in their heritage languages. Staff with different heritage languages would use each other’s heritage languages to make jokes and in greetings. In fact, I learned the Atayal term, *ba tin*[^26] (herb), from the teachers whose heritage languages were not Atayal. As an Atayal seasoned teacher and a fluent Atayal speaker, Mr. Lin who taught around this neighborhood for more than twenty years and could speak fluent South Min and Hakka with the other staff. The following observation surprised me when I sat and observed the language uses in the staff office.

In the staff office, I can hear many different languages. Chinese is the major one, but there are others. For example, earlier today I noticed that Mr. Lin approached the

[^26]: It’s a kind of precious herbs that might not be legal to collect in certain area in the neighborhood.
nurse, and begin talking in Hakka. The conversation lasted for around three minutes. When they talked, they also mixed Chinese in their language. But Hakka is the major one used.

(Observation, March 18)

I vividly remember that in the first few weeks of my research activities I could sit in the general staff office hearing different languages used such as Chinese, Hakka, South Min, and Atayal at the same time.

4.4.3.2 Multilingual events in the village

In the village, multilingual events also occurred. During the Da Ali [bamboo shoot collecting] season, there was a newly opened noodle store hosted by Yaki	extsuperscript{27} Lobya. In the early January when the bamboo shoots remained under the earth, this noodle vendor was not busy. Thus, I had chances to talk to Yaki Lobya. She told me that she opened this noodle store only for the Da Ali [bamboo shoot collecting] season when workers and the tourists increased. Like she said, later her vendor was closed just a month before I concluded my data collection activities and left Taiwan. Yet, from late February to late April when bamboo shoots grew rapidly on the ground, her business became so busy that she couldn’t even talk to me. When I began branching out and collecting data beyond the school, I started with the noodle vendor,

\textsuperscript{27} Yaki in Atayal means grandmother. So, Yaki Lobya means "grandmother Lobya."
Yaki Lobya. Here is an excerpt from my observation note.

Yaki Lobya has a rather busy business this noon. Her cat and dog were eating leftovers dropped on the muddy ground by customers. Customers come and leave constantly. The beers in the fridge are already gone. Yaki Lobya and her customers have to wait until the delivery that comes next morning. People are talking about receiving phone calls of frauds\(^{28}\). When people are eating at this vendor, they sometimes see their families, relatives, friends, or co-workers passing by. Some of them are dragged to the vendor to eat and drink together. A few of them literally get drunk before they continue their afternoon shifts. When I am observing all these activities, Mr. Dragon\(^{29}\), who is a friend that I recently make invites me to his house to eat snake soup. …When there are customers, Yaki Lobya usually greets in Chinese first. If the customers continue using Chinese, she will speak Chinese entirely. Otherwise, she will speak in Atayal.

(Observation, April 21)

It’s a usual practice for vendors or store owners to use a greeting to test their customers to decide which language to use. Around this village, almost all vendors and grocery store

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\(^{28}\) In the recent decade, it was popular in Taiwan that people would receive phone calls that gave false information. The purposes of these fraud calls generally was to lead the receivers, if successfully, to the ATM to transfer money to the bank accounts of the callers. An example of a piece of false information would be an emergency of a family member in the hospital and that cash was needed to be transferred for an immediate surgery.

\(^{29}\) Mr. Dragon was not Atayal. He was an Amis, another indigenous people living in the east coast of Taiwan. Amis is matriarchal society where males were married to females. After married to an Atayal woman, Mr. Dragon lived in BGV for several years. Interestingly, he spoke Atayal fluently.
owners could use South Min or Hakka to sell their products. Usually when I ate in the noodle vendor of Yaki Lobya, I could hear not only Chinese and Atayal but also South Min and Hakka. One customer would answer a phone call in South Min. Another might ask a truck driver who passed by about today’s price of bamboo shoots, in Hakka.

There was a wooden cottage where another old Atayal woman lived alone across from the noodle vendor. It was Yaki Yuma [grandmother Yuma] who was one of the few[^30] live facial tattooed Atayals in the world. Yaki Yuma was 101 years old this year. Every time someone asked her of her age, she would gesture with both of her forefingers and said “put a zero in between.” Yaki Yuma also had a small vendor in front of her house: local products placed on a desk that looked like her grandchildren used to study on it. When it was not too cold, she would patrol her vegetable garden and collected some vegetables to put them on the desk for selling. One afternoon as I drove by, I saw Yaki Yuma negotiating the price of her goods, in South Min, with tourists in a van.

The multilingual events that happened in the noodle store of Yaki Lobya and the small vendor of Yaki Yuma with products from her vegetable garden were similar to what happened in the village. Generally, the adults in the village could speak at least some South Min and Hakka for business purposes. As shown above, this multilingual phenomenon occurred in the staff office. In other words, the students were surrounded by this kind of

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[^30]: According to Mr. Knight, a local Atayal cultural worker and a school teacher for 35 years, there were less than 10 facial tattooed Atayals now.
multilingual speech while they were learning Atayal, Chinese, and English. Next, I present the findings about the children's multilingual learning.

4.4.3.3 No obvious confusion in Atayal and English learning

Regarding my interest in the multilingual learning of the children at BGES, my investigation began with whether there was confusion or not when they were learning Atayal, Chinese, and English. Interviews with the students, parents, and school staff revealed that there was no obvious confusion when the students learned Atayal and English at the same time. A Grade 5 boy, Mu Ping, said in his interview:

Researcher: Do you feel that, because Atayal and English spelling, the spellings look similar.; are you feel confused?

Mu Ping: No.

Researcher: No confusion?

Mu Ping: No.

Researcher: So, to you, English is English, Atayal is Atayal.

Mu Ping: {nodding his head}

(Interview, May 11)

Three students stated that they somewhat felt confused because Atayal and English letters were similar in written forms but different in pronunciations. Interestingly, two of the
confused students were fluent Atayal speakers, the Grade 5 boy, Xiao Ming, and the Grade 6 boy, Xiao Gong. Xiao Ming stated that he did not enjoy learning English. He further talked about his experiences in his interview.

Researcher: After you start learning English, have you ever felt that, in English, Chinese, and Atayal, is there a language difficult to learn? Or, maybe it [learning many languages] is fun. Like, the more; the better?

Xiao Ming: No. But, just that I feel the romanization [Atayal] and English letters confuse me.

Researcher: Because they look alike?

Xiao Ming: Mm, all are like a, b, c, type.

Researcher: Mm, but they are pronounced in different ways, to my knowledge.

Xiao Ming: Yes, they are [pronounced differently].

(Interview, May 5)

Another boy, Xiao Gong, who was also fluent in Atayal, said that he was confused when learning Atayal and English at the same time. Below is an excerpt of his interview.

Researcher: When you learn the three languages, what do you feel? They are all languages.

Xiao Gong: I would be confused.

Researcher: In what way do you mean being confused?
Xiao Gong: …like, when I see them, I don’t know how to speak it, and then…

Researcher: What and what confused you?

Xiao Gong: English and Atayal classes.

Research: Oh~, [between English and Atayal] what would confuse you?

Xiao Gong: The..; about the pronunciation notes, I would speak Atayal [when I should speak] in English.

(Interview, April 27)

Later when I analyzed the data, I found that most of the students who claimed to have no confusion while they were learning English and Atayal at the same time were those that were not fluent in Atayal. Conversely, the two boys who claimed to have confusions were fluent Atayal speakers. It naturally occurred to me that the leaner's levels of languages that she or he attained might have been one deciding influence before confusion could occur. In other words, most of the students that claimed not having confusion might simply be because their levels of languages were not high enough. Mr. Mu, as a young teacher in his early twenties, might have stated this situation best in his interview. In his interview, Mr. Wu was reflecting whether learning the three languages caused confusions among the students or not. Regarding English learning, he felt that the students did not learn well because “English was the least used language [英文最不常用]” (Interview, April 26). He further commented on the lack of basic ability in the two languages the students were learning, Atayal and
Mr. Wu: Now you ask the students to pronounce the romanized letter [in Atayal], but they can’t even pronounce the real original a, b, c, d [he pronounced the letters in English]

Researcher: The real original pronunciations as in English or in Atayal?

Mr. Wu: No. When we pronounce “a,” right

Researcher: oh

Mr. Wu: In Atayal, it’s pronounced as “a” [like the “a” in large]

Researcher: Yes, yes, yes.

Mr. Wu: Exactly! If confusion is not cleared up you don’t know whether it’s pronounced in the Atayal or the English way. And so there can be confusions, because of the coming of romanization [of its pronunciations].

Researcher:… you think they lack the basic understanding

Mr. Wu: You are right; there is not even one thing [one language] with solid foundation, and here comes a new thing [new language to learn]

(Interview, April 26)

Could it be that the language abilities of the students were too low to have confusion?

In Atayal communicative ability, the finding showed that most of them did not even reach the elementary level of communication. In English, there were not enough data to compare,
partly because the English teacher was not available to participate in this study. Therefore, with the data that I analyzed thus far I can only say that the students generally had no confusion while they were learning Atayal and English at the same time. However, it remains to be seen whether the lack of basic language ability was the reason that these students had no confusion.

4.4.3.4 More multilingual contact

The participating children in this study lived in a multilingual environment where the locals spoke more than Atayal and Chinese, as demonstrated above. Business purposes seemed to be one powerful reason for the locals to learn to speak other heritage languages such as South Min and Hakka. Natural contact of people who spoke different heritage languages might be another reason for the villagers to pick up other heritage languages. In my observations, the children did have contact in these multilingual events at BGES or in the village. Furthermore, the data I collected that the children had more multilingual contact than those at BGES and at home, thank to the advancement of technology. I present the findings in the following paragraphs.

After school, the students living at home usually had the luxury to watch TV for a few hours, much more than those stayed in the dorm. A few of the students living at home said they had the Internet at home. These students would also surf on the Internet for
homework and for FaceBook, MSN, YouTube, MSN, games, or emails. The eleven students living in the dorm also had chances to access Internet and to watch TV in the dorm, but they were usually monitored by the teachers or Ms. Wood. In these chances when they had access to Internet or TV programs, they had contacts to languages other than Chinese or Atayal. However, these opportunities were limited, generally speaking. First, only a few students reported that they had the Internet at home. Second, their adults at home would not allow them to watch TV or use computer for too long. Students in the dorm had even fewer hours of access to Internet and TV. As a result, regarding the students’ daily activities after school they had not many choices and their access to TV and Internet were limited.

Although limited, these students still had some contact with different languages through Internet and TV. A Grade 4 girl, Sha Sha, in her interview told me that when she surfed on the Internet she liked to listen to Bon Jovi’s song, “It’s my life” (Interview, May 10). Another Grade 3 girl, Xiao Qi, told me she used the Internet to listen to Justin Bieber’s “Baby” (Interview, May 11), and she knew her friend, Xiao Ru who was a Grade 5 girl, was also able to sing this song. In fact, on a chance when I gave a ride to Xiao Ming, the fluent Atayal speaking boy, he followed the radio and sang Justin Bieber’s “Baby” on my car. Surprised by this, I asked him who else at the school was able to sing this song. Xiao Ming told me that perhaps everybody could sing part of this song, even some of the adults. Two of the Grade 5 girls, Xiao Ru and An An, agreed to be interviewed only at the same time
together. In their interview, they told me that they would play online games that were in Japanese, and listen to Korean songs by Korean idols (Interview, May 13) although they did not understand the languages. Jia Jia, also a Grade 5 girl, told me she watched a TV series\textsuperscript{31} that was in South Min (Interview, May 4). In sum, these students did have some contact to information from the world outside the village through Internet and TV, and hence they would have contact to other heritage languages, English, Japanese, and even Korean. However, these students spent much more time listening to popular songs in Chinese, watching movies in Chinese, playing online games in Chinese, and reading and writing messages in Chinese.

4.4.3.5 Where is English?

The presentation of the findings in this part thus far reveals a few things. First, the BGES and the village of the research site was overall a multilingual society where heritage languages, such as South Min, Hakka, and Atayal, were used on top of Chinese. Second, reasons for this multilingual phenomenon seemed to be business purposes and natural contact of people of different heritage languages around the research site. Furthermore, the participating children lived in this multilingual environment. Third, these children had access and contact to the information worldwide through Internet and TV, but the length was limited.

\textsuperscript{31} Harmony in the Family [家和萬事興] was a local television series in Taiwan.
As a matter of fact, the multimedia contact of the children in terms of language events still was mostly in Chinese. As a result, I found English seemed to not have a role in this picture of multilingual society. In this study, my purpose was not only to examine the phenomena that I captured, but I also hoped to bring attention to what might be missing. Throughout the process of data analysis, the neglect of English contact became a concern to me as a researcher for at least two reasons. First, English as a subject matter taught in school of all levels was before the education of heritage languages. The missing of English in a multilingual society can be seen as a warning sign of problematic multilingual education in Taiwan. Furthermore, the adults in the village seemed to prefer a balance of education of the three languages to their children. In other words, the locals wanted that their children could have equal opportunity to learn English that was economically competitive.

When English language events were rarely observed, my attention was directed to find out the possible explanations. I returned to the scarce data that I collected with regard to the English learning and contacts, there were very few things to present. To begin with the English classes, at BGES, English was taught as a subject matter for Grade 3 students and above. Each week, the students received two English classes. At BGES, there were signs with English next to Chinese (Appendix I), which was part of the English literacy event of the students. On the fieldtrip to the “Taipei International Floral Exposition,” the students saw Chinese, English, and Japanese explanations to the flowers (Appendix H), which was another
English literacy event. In sum, the English contact was scarce. In an interview, a mother of two high school boys mentioned the lack of contact in English.

Nana: English…because we don’t speak English around here; really not understand; [people] don’t have English ability

Researcher: The contacts to English seemed limited.

Nana: Not even a little. You see how remote we are…

(Interview, May 11)

To compare the children's contact and learning in English and Atayal, I found that English seemed to be even more ignored than Atayal in the research site. To begin, the students at BGES received equally two classes in Atayal and English. But English was taught in Grade 3 and above while Atayal was taught in Grade 1 and above. Thus, the students received two more years of Atayal language education in school. Outside the school, the students had much more contact with Atayal than with English, since between adults they still spoke Atayal. No one was spoke English in the village. For the students themselves, they had limited contact in English through Internet and TV, but these were for entertainment rather than for communication. Therefore, in the multilingual society where many heritage languages were spoken the English learning and contact was pathetic.

4.4.3.6 Theme three summary
The multilingual events that surrounded the participating children were found in the staff office and in the village. Regarding the learning of Atayal and English, there seemed to be no obvious confusion. However, considering the scarce contact of English and the low level of Atayal communication ability, it was also possible the children had not yet reached the level to have confusion. These findings correspond to my third research question about the multilingual learning status of the participating children and whether there was confusion in learning languages at the same time. Furthermore in the village that the children lived, South Min and Hakka seemed to be economically powerful languages. Finally, the children's English learning became an issue since the adults wanted their children to develop English ability.

4.4.4 Theme Four: Atayal as Living Culture or Language?

When I collected data for this study, some of it did not fit in the research questions. These were usually Atayal culture related elements, such as traditional crafts or facial tattoos. Glancing at this type of data seemed to indicate that there was no Atayal language event for analysis. Data about Atayal crafts or images were usually obtained by visits to experts in workshops about Atayal culture. Moreover, these Atayal cultural elements were not regularly seen, or practiced in the daily life of the participants. Although Atayal facial tattoos and the traditional preserved meats were regularly seen, they seemed to be irrelevant to Atayal
language. Therefore, in my initial analysis it was hard to organize and analyze these data. In the later phase of my data analysis, there was a turning point when I considered the missing connection between Atayal language and Atayal cultural events. By thinking this way, I was able to answer my fourth research question in which I wished to know what the relevant Atayal culture were and their relationships to the learning and education of Atayal language. I present my findings in the next paragraphs.

4.4.4.1 Atayal cultural events

In the data that I collected, a straightforward way to categorize the Atayal cultural events was to separate them into regularly seen activities and not. The traditional Atayal culture that were regularly seen while I lived in the village were *tminun* [weaving], *tamamiyn* [preserved meat], and the teaching of *gaga* [traditional ethics]. *Tminun* as clothes making activities were not always seen around the village, but the products of such activity were seen as part of the daily clothes worn by the locals. Take the principal for example; she had an Atayal vest that she sometimes wore. In an occasion, the vest was just one piece of clothing that she wore, while her other clothes were not Atayal. She explained the differences in Atayal clothes in her interview (also refer to Appendix J as an example of Atayal clothes.)

This is our Atayal style, and it’s a reformed style. Its pattern is re-designed. The

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This picture was from a photo album, *Fading Faces: Atayal Facial Tattooed Elderly as a National Treasure*[^32]. I have a copy of this photo album as a gift from Mr. Night.

[^32]: This picture was from a photo album, *Fading Faces: Atayal Facial Tattooed Elderly as a National Treasure*. I have a copy of this photo album as a gift from Mr. Night.
traditional Atayal pattern for clothes, like this, is called paralleled weaving, the most fundamental pattern. To make it more complicated, or say to make the modernized style, there is oblique weaving [in which the colorful lines] looks three-dimensional. These are the Atayal patterns of clothes. In colors, Atayal mostly use black, red, and white. The redesigned or modern pattern should have been infused with the Paiwan\textsuperscript{33} preference. For the Paiwan style, this pattern [of oblique pattern] resembles the scales of a snake, which is one of Paiwan’s idol. But for Atayals, these diamond shapes resemble the eyes of the ancestral spirits.

(Interview, June 2)

Mr. Knight, a self-supported Atayal culture worker and a seasoned teacher at BGES, told me many stories that he heard or experienced during the past decades regarding Atayal cultural work. Related to the weaving equipment was a wooden box (Appendix K). As Mr. Knight reminisced, he also showed me his collections of pictures with all the Yutas and Yaki [grandfathers and grandmothers]. In one of his pictures, there was a very short Yaki [grandmother] (Appendix L) who passed away many years ago. Mr. Knight told me that this Yaki was not born hunchbacked. It was caused by an accident when she was very young. One day she managed to crawl into the box when was playing around the house, but she couldn’t escape from it. When the adults tried to pull her out, they cared about the box more than the

\textsuperscript{33} Paiwan was one of the 14 indigenous peoples of Taiwan.
girl. This hurt her permanently. Mr. Knight told me that traditionally the Atayals valued boys much more than girls. And the box, as part of the weaving equipment, must have been very valuable in the past. These were probably the reasons that this Yaki was hurt but not the box.

*Tamamiyn* as an Atayal food was regularly seen on the table of Atayal households. It could be made of diced pork, fish, monkeys, or other animals that the Atayals traditionally hunted in the mountains. In each bottle of *tamamiyn*, only one kind of meats was preserved each time. The meats would be preserved with lots of salt and almost-cooked rice for around a month, without letting the air in the bottle. Through fermentation of the rice, the meats became cooked. “*Tamamiyn* could be one dish on the table everyday traditionally, but this happened to the households where the Atayals worked very hard” (Interview, June 10), said Yaki Amui[34] [grandmother Amui] who demonstrated the making of *tamamiyn* before I left Taiwan. It was just natural that the Atayals had to be hard-working in order to hunt so many animals in order to have extra ones for preservation. Also, the complicated details and the long waiting time required the makers to be careful and patient. Regarding *gaga* [ethics], it was heard for many times while I lived in the village. However, it was usually in the context of the elderly teaching young people. On one of the Atayal Day that happened only on Wednesdays, Mr. Lin spent around 30 minutes explaining to all the students what *gaga* was and how important it was that the Atayal children should keep it in mind. Mr. Knight used his

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[34] Yaki Amui was famous in making *tamamiyn* in another village nearby BGV. I found Yaki Amui available to demonstrate for me to videotape a few days before I left Taiwan. She was in her eighties now, and she was also my mother’s oldest sister. She told me she did not have facial tattoos because the ruling Japanese had forbidden the practice of Atayal facial tattoos, although the villagers secretly practiced it at home.
examples to explain to me what *gaga* [ethics] was.

    Researcher: There are many so-called Atayal culture; what are those that are still
seen or done in daily life? I know there are some that do not have strong influence.

    …

    Mr. Knight: One of them is, to start with eating. Of course we now use chopsticks,
but when we start [eating], the young people would not start. Nowadays, the children
would reach for the chicken legs; it is impolite. What should be done is for the
elderly to begin eating first. Therefore, today the children are not taught well. In the
past [when Mr. Knight and his peers were very young], we wouldn’t even touch the
chopsticks on the table, until the elderly started.

    Researcher: In a word, it’s *gaga*.

    Mr. Knight: Yes, yes. It’s still…

    Researcher: To honor the elderly

    Mr. Knight: Yes. …

    (Interview, June 9)

In other words, *gaga* [ethics] was the traditional ethics of Atayals. Now Atayal adults still
talked about it. But, according to Mr. Knight, its use seemed not to have passed to the young
children, except for the preaching of it.

    The above three Atayal cultural elements were regularly seen in students’ daily lives.
In the data that I collected, Atayal culture that were not regularly seen in daily life included *patas* [facial tattoo], *maho* [ritual], *mwas* [singing], and *myugi* [dance]. In this part, I use *patas* [facial tattoos] as an example of the rarely seen Atayal culture. During my research activities, I only saw one facial tattooed Atayal around the village, which was the 101-year-old *Yaki Yuma*. In the photo album that Mr. Knight gave me, there were more than 60 facial tattooed elderly. Mr. Knight told me that now there were fewer than 10 of them living in the world. In his career of documenting Atayal culture, he was very eager to capture the faces of these facial tattooed elderly, especially their life stories. As a joke, a very old facial tattooed Atayal told Mr. Knight to stop taking pictures of them, because some of those that Mr. Knight took pictures of died right after. Mr. Knight told me that he was racing against the God of Death in this regard. Mr. Knight could tell a story or two about each of the faces in the pictures. In one picture, a *Yutas* [grandfather] did not have very clear facial tattoos on his face. Instead, he had scars where the facial tattoos should be. Mr. Knight told me that this *Yutas* had his facial tattoos removed without using anesthetic, by a Japanese soldier when he was forced to serve in the Japanese Army.

As to the meanings of facial tattoos to the Atayals, in my literature review of the Atayal facial tattoos (Chen, 2002) I discuss three meaningful aspects: maturity, social status, and ability. In fact, these three meanings all pointed to one thing: the ability of an Atayal.

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35 It was a magazine article, in which I was invited to write something about the cultures of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. I chose to write Atayal facial tattoos.
Traditionally, facial tattoos on the face of an Atayal indicated that this Atayal was able to hunt (male), weave (male), or protect their tribe. Thus, facial tattoos on the face of an Atayal indicated that she or he was a functional member of the society. In a sense, the different patterns or marks on the face could tell different stories about this Atayal. In a nearby village, *Mama Vauni* [uncle *Vauni*] was an Atayal culture worker who I visited. With regard to Atayal facial tattoos, he said in his interview:

> The lines of Atayal facial tattooed should only be in horizontal, vertical or something like a box with several horizontal lines in between for males. There was no diamond shapes on the faces for Atayals. The degree of complicated patterns was related to the ability of this Atayal. The more complicated; the stronger this Atayal was.

(Interview, May 30)

Note that the more complicated patterns usually indicated that this Atayal had suffered longer and greater pain when the facial tattoos were practiced. For Atayal men in the past, their facial tattoos were the two vertical lines; one of which one was on the middle of the forehead and another in the middle of the chins (Appendix T). For Atayal women, the facial tattoos were wave-like lines on both cheeks, as well as the two vertical lines on the forehead and chin (Appendix K). The elderly practiced facial tattooing beginning when an Atayal reached teenage years. It was the same age when an Atayal was trained of her or his abilities such as hunting or weaving. Today in Taiwan, the Atayals haven't practiced facial tattooing for many
decades. At the same time, the Atayals are losing the remaining facial tattooed Atayals.

For the other Atayal cultural activities that I found were *maho* [ritual], *mwas* [singing], and *myugi* [dance]. Not only they were seldom seen, but they were also not easy to find around the village. I heard about *maho* [ritual] in a story Mr. Knight told, and pictures of Atayals doing it (Appendix M). For *mwas* [singing] and *myugi* [dance], I found elderly singing and dancing in the videos that Mr. Knight filmed. However, there was an Atayal hotel in the next village where they provided entertainment in the form of Atayal songs and dances to their customers. On one day I had a chance to visit the hotel. They happened to have customers to entertain with Atayal songs and dances. This hotel was only partly owned by an Atayal couple. The hotel was also owned by a businessman from a nearby city. The Atayal songs and dances were choreographed by a professional dancer, *Mama Kagi* [uncle *Kagi*], who also taught traditional dances at BGES. As a local of HGG, *Mama Kagi* was in his mid thirties with two children who went to school at BGES. When *Mama Kagi* was around eighteen or nineteen years old, he started dancing in a theme park where the cultures of nine of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan were showed. *Mama Kagi* [uncle *Kagi*] told me that he learned more than 60 dances between the nine indigenous groups. But in the hotel he only needed to perform the Atayal style, for which he knew around a dozen dances. On the night when I visited the hotel and observed their entertainment programs, he told me that what really annoyed him at preparing these programs were the dancers that were unmanageable.
Most of his dancers did not have years of dancing training. Some of them were the local young people who attended a high school or a college. Practices and rehearsals were difficult because these dancers did not always show up. Also, some of these young people could disappear for days without any notice in advance. But, these young people were currently the only ones that he could possibly recruit around the village. On the night when I observed their Atayal songs and dances, throughout their entertaining program the Master of Ceremony as an Atayal himself spoke South Min in order to entertain his customers. Sitting next to the customers, I personally heard them saying, “hua na” [“barbarians” in South Min], to refer to the dancers. I had not heard this expression for more than a decade, and so I was surprised when I heard it.

4.4.4.2 Rich Atayal speech events in Atayal culture

During the data analysis when I was back in the United States I returned to the data over and over again. Throughout the process of reading my observation notes, interviews, and watching the videos, it occurred to me that I should not consider Atayal culture solely in terms of productive segments in their life. Instead, I should consider Atayal culture in terms of a way of living where several life activities took place at the same time. By thinking this way, Atayal speech was one activity that could take place while another Atayal cultural event took place. In fact, in the final phase of data analysis I started to see rich Atayal speech in
Atayal cultural events, in which I had failed to see earlier. I then realized that the reason that I failed to see rich Atayal speech in Atayal cultural events was because I did not observe many Atayal cultural events that were performed thoroughly. I was lucky to secure some data about an Atayal cultural event that was documented thoroughly, in which I was able to see the rich Atayal speech taking place at the same time. In the next paragraphs, I present my findings in this regard.

While I lived in the village in the research site, I sometimes saw pieces of traditional Atayal clothes on the villagers. Also, there was Atayal traditional weaving equipment in the resource room at BGES. In fact, there was a workshop for traditional Atayal weaving in the next village. This brought to me the impression that Atayal weaving should be considered a unique feature of Atayal culture and deserved further investigation. During my interview with Mr. Knight, I was shown a video that he personally filmed many years ago. It was a complete documentation of traditional Atayal weaving procedures. Mr. Knight used the videotaping equipment that he was able to secure at that time and filmed two Atayal weaving experts as they demonstrated the thorough procedures of clothes weaving. Mr. Knight told me that the whole process of video making took them more than six months. Now that these two Atayal weaving experts had passed away, he was glad that he had documented these traditional weaving skills of Atayals with two experts who had learned from their ancestors.

Many local informants told me that Atayal weaving and clothing were unique among
the 14 Taiwanese indigenous people because of the red color and the complex patterns. As shown in the film made by Mr. Knight, traditional Atayal weaving began with locating the right plants, “kmagi” [ramie] (Appendix P). To peel the kmagi, it was called *kumkaggi*\(^\text{36}\). This was done to remove everything except for the stems. In this step the stems were ripped and became thinner strings. Then the thin strings were *MaBahu*’ [washed], *kahaggu* [rubbed], and *maugi* [dry in the sun]. When the strings were dried, the next step was to *manuka*, in which the women broke the strings and connected them. In this way the pieces of strings were connected and become long and tight ones. The women in the video circled some strings around their necks and used their teeth to separate the other strings. Right after this step was *matisa*, in which the women rolled the long and tight strings onto a spindle. The spun strings then were organized and rolled onto big spin-like wood (Appendix O), a process called *maraus*. During this step, the demonstrating woman constantly knotted the strings. Mr. Knight told me that her organization of the strings looked messy, but she was very confident that the strings would never became messy, and she was always aware of where to find the starting knots (Appendix O). When the final knot was made, she took the whole bundle of strings and folded them into a ball. Meanwhile, another woman was doing *hairin*, meaning to cut the pine woods for fire. She also cut small pieces of pine wood to set on fire. On top of these pieces of firing pine wood, there were small pieces of dried bamboos used as fire woods.

\(^{36}\) Atayals in different places had different pronunciations of a word. In this theme, the Atayal words or phrases of the procedures followed what were presented in the video that Mr. Knight gave me.
Geographically, Atayal lived in the areas where there were lots of bamboo forests. Therefore, the traditional life activities of Atayals often involved lots of bamboos such as for foods, equipment, or firing materials. Boiling the strings in Atayal was called *tamahuk wayai*. After the strings were boiled, the women brought the hot strings and added the powder of *kamti*\(^{37}\) roots for dying the color in a process called *umimau kamti*. Then they boiled the dyed strings again. When they felt the second boiling was completed, they took out the strings and washed the strings again with cold water. Meanwhile, they checked to make sure the tied knots were still there. Next, they dried the strings in the sun, which was called *maugi wayai* (Appendix Q).

When the strings were dried the next step was to reorganize the strings, or *humulut*. Throughout the process thus far the two women managed to organize the strings and to make sure they were manageable, whether the strings were being cooked or dried in the sun. Next, one of the women used a few sticks that were fixed on a long piece of wood to *humalup* which was to circle the strings across the sticks several times to make a plain face for next step (Appendix R). This step was followed by another complicated step, *sumku qagungu*, in which the plain faces made by the strings were removed from the original sticks to another set of woodened equipment with several sticks in various shapes. This process was complicated because each individual stick had a specific place to go. In the video one of the

\(^{37}\) In a website that introduces a nearby national park, I found the official name of this plant: *Dioscorea matsudai* Hayata. Here is the website: [http://w3.spnp.gov.tw/tayal/tayal-en.html](http://w3.spnp.gov.tw/tayal/tayal-en.html)
women was asked to explain in Atayal the names for each stick, and its function. The process to this point was only the preparation for *taminu* [weaving] (Appendix S). What happened in *taminu* [weaving] was for the weaving woman to sit on the floor and to use several sticks to go through the string-face from one side to the other over and over again. Part of an article of clothing might take several weeks to weave. And a whole article might require three months of period in which an Atayal woman worked everyday. Traditionally, the clothes were evidence used for Atayal women to show her abilities to her future husband and parent-in-law.

Later Mr. Knight told me that the taller woman in the film was actually the weaving teacher of the other woman. In the video, the teacher was not only demonstrating traditional Atayal weaving for videotape, but she was also teaching her student. Throughout the whole process, the women were constantly singing songs, smoking, dancing or explaining the process. When Mr. Knight first showed me this film, he told me that the women would murmur some of the process in Atayal. Namely, they were doing what they were saying, or they were saying what they were doing. It was through reviewing this film that I found rich Atayal language events embedded in the process of one traditional Atayal cultural event, *taminu* [weaving]. To reconsider the process and to focus on the Atayal speech, in almost every single step there was an Atayal name to it. Second, in each of the steps there were extra materials with Atayal names. Next, in each individual step there were detailed actions that the
women would murmur in Atayal so that they could remember. When they murmured the procedures in Atayal, the learner listened to and watched. Later in the video, the apprentice was singing and dancing in front of her weaving teaching who was weaving. The song she sang was a traditional Atayal melody and she also was dancing some traditional steps. The lyrics were not fixed. Instead, the Atayal woman improvised the lyrics. In her song, the singing and dancing woman as an apprentice was praising her teacher’s extraordinary skills and she wanted to learn with her teacher. By singing the song this way, the apprentice was showing Atayal gaga [ethics] of being humble and honoring the skilled Atayal. It was in this way that I found Atayal language lived within Atayal culture. In sum, in an Atayal cultural event there was always Atayal speech. The Atayal speech and the steps of the Atayal cultural activity were equally important. When an Atayal was speaking the step in Atayal sentences, she or he acted on it. Therefore, when the action of Atayal cultural activities were not performed, it became difficult for the Atayal language to live alone.

4.4.4.3 Theme four summary

To sum up this theme, in the data that I collected I was at first unable to continue and analyze anything related to Atayal culture because I only looked at these Atayal culture in terms of productive segments such as traditional Atayal clothes, foods, or images. Glancing at these products, naturally there were no language events of concerned. However, as I went
deeper I realized I needed to view these data with a broader perspective. When I failed to holistically see Atayal culture as groups of life activities that were running simultaneously, I couldn't see the cultural activities that functioned together and simultaneously. Experiencing this turning of perspective, I found the process of taminu [weaving] rich with Atayal language events as well as Atayal musical events. To consider the connection of these cultural events to the learning and education of Atayal language, in which my fourth research question was about, apparently there was a gap between these cultural activities performed by these elderly and the Atayal language learning activities of the children. This may be regarded as an emerging research question beyond the scope of this study.

4.5 A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this section of findings, I have presented four themes that individually answer my research questions. To begin with, the current status of Atayal learning and education of the children that participated in this study was dire. The data clearly showed that the participating children did not inherit Atayal language as their foremost communication tool. Their lingual environment was not Atayal friendly. Furthermore, the two Atayal classes at school became their only major contact with and practices in Atayal. However, the written romanized-Atayal that was traditionally inexistent was found as an improvement in this study. Sadly, this improvement was comparatively little considering that Atayal was still dying. In my second
research question, I wanted to investigate the perceptions of the participants regarding the learning and education of Atayal. How did they value their traditional language and how did they see the future of Atayal language? In the findings, they generally held positive attitudes, but Chinese was preferred by most of the students. The few elderly were the only proponents of speaking Atayal to the children in daily life in the village. Perceptions of the young adults were different in this regard. They wanted their children to have equal opportunities to learn Atayal, Chinese, and English at BGES. Consciously and unconsciously, they would switch from Atayal to Chinese when they addressed their children, potentially because of previous long-term influence of a Chinese-only policy. Last, the majority of participating adults did not see a promising future of Atayal.

My third research question addressed the children’s current status regarding multilingual learning and whether there was confusion in learning many languages. In the related findings, I have shown that the children did live in a multilingual environment and the languages they were surrounded were Atayal, Chinese, South Min, and Hakka. However, the attention that was given to English learning and education was scarce. As a result, a general picture of the multilingual society of the participants was one without English. In my last research question I was interested in knowing the connection between Atayal culture and Atayal language. As I contemplated the data in depth, I found that Atayal culture were actually rich in Atayal language. By a presentation of a whole process of *taminu* [weaving], I
have shown that Atayal speech events were abundant in the cultural activities of *taminu* [weaving]. However, this realization also points to a gap between Atayal culture and the learning and education of Atayal language for the children. To extend this point, I am convinced that the retrieval and development of Atayal language cannot be separated from Atayal culture in daily life, because they are originally one matter. One such example may be the bamboo season activities. This is an extremely important economic activity in the village, and there are rich Atayal language events throughout the process it. It can be a place for the Atayals in the BGV to initiate interventions of retrieving their HL in daily life.

Currently in Taiwan, the major interventions regarding the retrieval and development of indigenous peoples' languages are 1) the curriculum of indigenous peoples' heritage language education, 2) “Preferential Treatment [加分優待],” 3) and the “Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試].” Considering the findings in chapter four, there are a few things that need to be done in the three interventions. First, multilingual education must be considered. In this case, it is a concern about how to balance the teaching of Atayal, Chinese, and English in a curriculum for languages. Second, the goals of these intervention must include the empowerment of the local people and the honoring of tribal cultures. As is shown in the findings, there are still many fluent Atayal speakers and many tribal cultures preserved by concerned people in the village. Their skills in Atayal communication were once devalued, but now they need to be empowered to use it. Also,
when the tribal cultures are honored in occasions like school lessons, the authentic cultural
activities may be thoroughly performed, in which their heritage languages will be frequently
used. The more these kinds of cultural activities are; the more contact the young generations
will have. In the next chapter, I will begin with reviews of a few related studies that are
published recently. Referencing these studies, my findings, and literature reviewed in chapter
two, I will suggest two educational implications that can be done in the current interventions
of the heritage languages of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. These educational implications
shall be able to help create a multilingual curriculum, empower the fluent HL speaking locals,
and honor the tribal cultures.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

In this section, I discuss a few related studies that shed the light on my educational implications. Four of them were conducted in English speaking countries and one was in Taiwan. The findings of these studies are then discussed in relation to the current study about the learning and education of Atayal language for young Atayals. Next, I give one suggestion and two educational implications in this regard. Regarding the suggestion, I argue that daily life experience of the Atayal children in this study should be integrated with activity like Da ali [bamboo shoots collection] where Atayal language are abundant. With regard to the two educational implications, I first suggest that in the “Preferential Treatment [加分優待]” and the “Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試]” in Taiwan should be revised. I suggest that they should be redesigned to include a collaborative process, in which the local tribal cultures can be honored, and that the related activities should be done in their villages. Second, I suggest that for indigenous education in Taiwan the heritage language and Chinese may be taught from K to Grade 2, and English education should be added from Grade 3 just as it currently is. Specifically, I suggest that from K to Grade 2 the indigenous children should receive bilingual and bi-cultural education that is collaborated by the locals and the school teachers. It is hoped that the very young indigenous children can consolidate their heritage language and Chinese before they start learning
English. And the locals will be empowered since their local knowledge and HL skills are honored.

5.1 FOUR RELATED STUDIES OF HL PHENOMENON IN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES

Published in recent years, I found a few studies related to the current study. To begin, Peter (2007) reports his case study of Cherokee Nation preschool immersion program called Tsalagi Ageyui, or “Our Beloved Cherokee.” According to Peter (2007), this immersion program was “Cherokee Nation’s first attempt at RLS [Reversing Language Shift\(^{38}\)]” (p. 2). By adopting naturalistic inquiry, he prolonged his engagement in the research site for more than 20 months. His research scope included micro and macro dimensions of the effects of Tsalagi Ageyui. I find two of Peter’s (2007) themes related to the current study. First, there was an immediate and encouraging result that “the children were, indeed developing a growing comprehension of Cherokee language” (Peter, 2007, p. 9), although “[c]hildren’s verbal skills in Cherokee lagged far behind their comprehension” (p. 9). Second, Peter (2007) gives credit to the teachers who were “staying in Cherokee throughout the course of the day” because of “their strength as Cherokee speakers” (p. 10). This encouraging finding was accompanied with a challenge that “the teachers faced due to their limited exposure to the

\(^{38}\) RLS was first argued by Fishman (1991) as a model to consider reversing the situation of language loss. Early in the literature review in this paper, I have also discussed it.
principles and practices of language teaching through immersion and time” (p. 10). It was also observed that “although their teachers spoke only Cherokee, children communicated almost entirely in English” (p. 11). In conclusion for these findings, Peter (2007) says:

[S]imply immersing children in the Cherokee language may not have been sufficient for them to become confident speakers, and the teachers needed more guidance on how balance natural, comprehensible input with planned opportunities for the children to use and practice the language in meaningful, communicative ways.

(p. 11)

In other words, to simply soak the language learners in the target languages does not necessarily help them acquire them.

What happened in Tsalagi Ageyui in Peter’s (2007) evaluation can be a lesson to the Atayals in the current study. First, early education for the preschoolers may be a way to consider in terms of retrieving Atayal language. In HGG of the current study about Atayal, a mother also revealed this idea in her interview.

Researcher: Is it possible that one day everybody can speak [Atayal]?

Nana: Yes.

Researcher: If the current lingual environment…

Nana: Then, [the Atayal teaching] should start with the preschoolers.

Researcher: To reinforce…
Nana: Yes, yes. It is to consolidate the [Atayal] education of the children at very young ages.

(Interview, May 11)

Nana had two high school sons who attended BGES a few years ago. When she told me this idea to begin teaching Atayal to preschoolers in her interview, she seemed very certain about this idea. To my knowledge, in the kindergarten at BGES there were Atayal classes, too. But it wasn’t an immersion program. Their Atayal teacher, Mama Hayung, came to teach a few classes each week. Second, around the research site of the current study there were still many Atayal fluent speakers available for offering Atayal language help. This advantageous situation happened in the observation of Peter's (2007). Yet, as warned in Peter’s (2007) findings, the Cherokee teachers in his study seemed lack of knowledge and skills in bilingual education or skills of Second Language Acquisition. In the current study about Atayal, Yata Akin [auntie Akin] as a mother of a Grade 5 boy and Mr. Wu as a young teacher both revealed this concern. In his interview, Mr. Wu acknowledged the communication ability of a HL teacher, but he concerned that “the HL teacher may not know pedagogy [只是他教學法他可能不太清楚]” (Interview, April 26).

Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011) present their study about the use of home language of three informal playgroups involving 30 families and their very young children from the Mori and Tongan communities, or the Pacific Communities, in south-eastern metropolitan
Sydney, Australia. Using mixed methods of data collection and analysis, the researchers highlight “the need for structured support of home language and literacy practice in the informal playgroup sector”, and “the need for adults to be actively involved in the child’s language learning, even though adults often need to learn techniques such as eliciting extended talk” (92). Second, the researchers suggest that “the best way to support parents is to provide bilingual, bicultural early childhood trained workers who are able to on the home practices and culture in the playgroups” (92). In their findings, there are a few implications to the case of Atayal. First, home language and literacy practice are emphasized. Second, the language used is in informal situation, rather than school class. Third, the researchers highlight a need of structured supports such as techniques or skills in inducing prolonged speeches in target language. Finally, immediate helps with trained hands are recommended.

To think of the case of the Atayals in the current study, the importance of home language and literacy practice were actually mentioned by several adults.

Mr. Knight: To teach Atayal [in school] is like to put the cart before the horse.

Researcher: I heard the same argument discussed by a principal before.

Mr. Knight: The mother tongue is supposed to be acquired at home. Now it’s at the schools; it’s awkward.

Researcher: What about the parents? How do they see the official teaching of

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In Taiwan, before the teaching of heritage languages was made laws, the schools had the option to teach them or not.
Atayal in school?

Mr. Knight: Mm…

Researcher: Do they hold positive attitudes? Or, do they encourage it? Maybe they have different ideas? What have you observed?

Mr. Knight: Some of them think that Atayal should be taught at home, but they actually can’t communicate with their children. In the beginning [of Atayal teaching at the school], they felt awkward. But, later on, they become feeling good about it.

(Interview, April 12)

Some of the Atayal parents were actually aware that they should be the one to pass Atayal to their children. But they too faced the difficulty of communicating entirely in Atayal with children. In this case, the suggestion by Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011) to provide training of language teaching and professional helps may be viable to the Atayals in the current study.

The third study that I would like to present is about the teacher education of the bilingual programs of Yugtun (Yup’ik) and English. Coles-Ritchie and Charles (2011) report a Critical Action Research where a group of course participants who were English or Yugtun teachers collaborated and constructed ways of assessing language developments in Yugtun and English based on practices in indigenous community. In this study, Marilee Coles-Ritchie who was an associate Professor at Westminster College designed a course, Linguistics 612: Assessment for Language Learners, with the help of a Yup’ik, Walkie Charles who was an
assistant Professor at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks. As to the seven course participants, there were Yuktun teachers, English teachers, and a curriculum specialist. These course participants met for six hours biweekly during a four-week time period in a summer. The researchers report their achievement to have developed culturally congruent assessments for bilingual learners of Yuktun. In other words, the indigenous participants who were language educators themselves have succeeded in including their local knowledge, or funds of knowledge by Gonzalez, Moll, and Amanti (2005), in their language assessments. They managed to develop ways of challenging the dominant standardized assessment practice, or “the unfortunate outcome of NCLB” by Nelson-Barber & Trumbull (2007, p. 134). In their course they read relevant articles and studies, and then they reflected and shared their thoughts. This strategy seemed successful because they had established a community of learners who “trusted and respected each other through interaction and construction of the course” (Coles-Ritchie and Charles, 2011, p. 34). Furthermore, they developed a handout titled as “The Choice to Raise a Child” with the purpose to communicate with parents who might worry that the test scores of their children would be lowered in Yuktun immersion program. Later, the course participants “worked in collaboration as a community learners, drawing their Yup’ik knowledge and values to construct a material artifact that could be used against this testing system that they believed was interfering with practices that would better serve their students” (p. 36). This was perhaps the most significant contribution of their
Concerned about the Atayals in the current study, in reality the heritage language ability of an indigenous student in Taiwan is related to the “Preferential Treatment [加分優待].” What happens is, if an indigenous student passes the “Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試],” this student can be raised up to 35% of her or his total test scores for entering a high school or college. Without passing this test, this student is still able to be raised up to 25% of her or his total test scores. About this “Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試],” the recent test was deployed and executed in 2011 by the School of Continuing Education at National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei. It was commissioned by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, in which they followed the Act of Indigenous Education [原住民教育法] to do so. Described in the application form of the test in 2011, there were basically two parts in the test. The multiple choices took 80 points of the total of 200 points. And, an oral exam that took 120 points. This test aimed at examining the four abilities, such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing, in the heritage language of the test takers. Testers with a combined score of 140 points or above would be licensed, and the licensed students could therefore apply for the “Preferential Treatment [加分優待]” for the additional 35% raises in their overall test scores. One advantage of this “Preferential Treatment [加分優待]”

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40 Chinese version of such act is available through the link: [http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/33361/12/55500612.pdf](http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/33361/12/55500612.pdf)

41 [http://ipt.sce.ntnu.edu.tw/100ipt/download/100Regulation.pdf](http://ipt.sce.ntnu.edu.tw/100ipt/download/100Regulation.pdf) There was only Chinese version.
is that it connects to the test scores of other subject matters, a concern shared by many indigenous parents. The parents would therefore think that spending time on learning their heritage languages would also help raise their children’s scores for entering high schools and colleges.

Considering the Yup’ik experience reported by Coles-Ritchie and Charles (2011), to the Taiwanese indigenous peoples it is a matter of how the Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試] is constructed. In Taiwan, the government commissions a group of professionals at a university to work with a group of tribal representatives and collaborate in designing tests for indigenous peoples to take. The representatives are to leave their villages and to meet other representatives coming from different villages. The contents of in the test items are decided by the representatives from each of the 14 tribes. In each test for each tribe, the representatives from different villages are to collaborate and design one unified test for the tests takers of the same tribe to take. These test takers, too, are coming from different places with different living experiences. But, they are to take a unified test. In a sense, the indigenous people are forced to leave their villages. And the indigenous test takers do not have to have any relationship to their individual village to be successful in their heritage language tests. There is no guarantee that

42 A reported evaluation was available on-line, but it was only in Chinese. http://www.ntcu.edu.tw/taiwanese/ogawa100/a/tsuliu/9%E9%BB%83%E7%BE%8E%E9%87%91.pdf
43 In each tribe, there were sub-categories in terms of language groups. Take Atayals For example, there were 6 language groups of test takers: Squiq Atayal [賽考利克泰雅語], C’uli Atayal [澤敖利泰雅語], Mayrinax Atayal [汶水泰雅語], Pingawan Atayal [萬大泰雅語], Skikun Atayal [四季泰雅語], and Yi-Lan C’uli Atayal [宜蘭澤敖利泰雅語]. In the current study, the Atayal participants belonged to C’uli Atayal [澤敖利泰雅語].
the contents in the tests will be congruent with individual test taker’s cultures. In short, this current HL intervention in Taiwan for indigenous to take their individual heritage language test is irrelevant to the local funds of knowledge.

The last related study was about educators of Hawaiian Language immersion and cultural-based (HLIC) programs described by Schonleber (2011). By using grounded theory methods, Schonleber (2011) studied 40 participants from 15 schools that were private, public, and charter schools with K to 12 programs. These schools were located in urban, rural, and suburban areas on the three island of Hawaii. 15 of the 40 participants received more than 225 hours of training about Montessori approach. Schonleber (2011) was interested in why the Montessori approaches as an educational model similar to the values, beliefs, and teaching strategies of the educators who participated in his exploratory case study. About the HLIC programs, “[t]hese alternative systems are focused on supporting the maintenance of the Hawaiian language, epistemology and cultural goals” (Schonleber, 2011, p.6). While “culturally relevant teaching and schooling strategies” were considered, “high academic outcomes that support their students” were taken into considerations (Schonleber, 2011, p.6). By comparing and contrasting the findings and the Montessori approaches, Schonleber (2011) reports that there is “an overlapping in methods of teaching… that was directly related to a corresponding overlap in the underlying worldview and beliefs of the participants” (p. 19). As a result in his study, to both Montessori and the indigenous educators “teaching strategies or
pedagogical practices and the structure of schooling experience are functions of cultural beliefs and deeply held worldviews” (p. 19).

To consider Schonleber’s (2011) findings in the current study about Atayals, whether Montessori approach is a good fit remains to be seen. First, whether the Montessori approach is compatible with the Atayal teaching approach is unknown. Second, in the data I collected for the current study I did not have information regarding what it meant by Atayal teaching approaches. Such Atayal teaching approaches, if they existed, should be strongly related Atayal ways of knowing and believing. In other words, currently I do not have enough information with regard to Atayal worldview. Finally, in the end of my fourth theme, I conclude that there seemed to be a gap between Atayal culture and Atayal learning of the children. In the research site, the children were not connected to Atayal culture that was rich in Atayal speech. If the Atayal children were not attached to Atayal culture, or if they were not living Atayal ways, it could problematic for their Atayal language teachers to consider Atayal teaching as suggested by Montessori approach.

5.2 HL PHENOMENON IN TAIWAN

In a magazine article publish in the February of 2012, Nga-ping Ong [王雅萍] who is currently an associate professor in the Department of Ethnology at National Cheng Chi University gives her suggestions to the newly commissioned Minister of Education in Taiwan
in Lihpao Daily [台灣立報]44. In her article she begins by describing her recent traveling experience on a train of east coast in Taiwan.

On the train where there are several Hakka passengers who are speaking Hakka while I am snoozing. I also notice that there are several indigenous Taiwanese, but I don’t recall hearing any indigenous language. I wonder if that’s because these indigenous people are not used to speak their language in public.

She continues describing her trip where she observed Bunun45 children having fun in the playground. Without hearing the children speaking Bunun, she states that even the Bunun people who were the most competent heritage language speaking natives in Taiwan in 1996 are now faced with the situation of heritage language loss. In her observations, the Bunun teachers also were not fluent Bunun speakers at the school she visited. The above article by Professor Ong is short but insightful. Her purpose is to spur the new administrative regarding indigenous education in Taiwan to see the next ten years as the more crucial period in terms of saving indigenous peoples’ languages and cultures, since in the past ten years the improvements seems little. Next, I present a related study about Pangcah people in Taiwan, in which the findings are strongly relevant to the current study about Atayals.

Recently, a study about Pangcah, as one of the 14 indigenous peoples in Taiwan, is reported by Chang (2011). By using discourse analysis methods, Chang (2011) examines the

44 There is only Chinese version: http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-115099
45 Bunun was one of the 14 Taiwanese indigenous peoples.
incongruent language ideologies of Pangcah parents, grandparents, and community members in Taiwan. She concludes that “various language ideologies index language values” (Chang, 2011, p. 31). Significantly, Chang’s (2011) findings resemble the findings of the current study about Atayals. First, Chang (2011) reports that the Pangcah parents’ experiences being punished during their schooling time, which also happened to the parents and the villagers in the current study. In the conclusion, Chang (2011) states:

Having undergone various degrees of punishments for speaking Pangcah at school, the villagers have adopted Mandarin as the route to higher social and economic status; …As economic considerations are held to be the sole key to survival, and people’s language and identity have shifted to the state and dominant languages, Mandarin and South Min, to enable them to find work. Consequently, the value of the heritage language and efforts to preserve it have been diminished in favor of the dominant code…

(p. 32)

She continues blaming that this situation “sustains the interests of the dominant group” and the “linguistic and social inequalities are produced and reproduced” (p. 32). In the case of Atayals in the current study, I had observed similar situation. When I discuss the perceptions of the adults with regard to what language they used with the children as the second theme in chapter four, I present the observations that the Atayal adults would speak Atayal with each
other but they would switch to Chinese when addressing to the children. When I asked why they did so, most of them referred to their previous experiences of being punished because of speaking Atayal during their schooling time.

There is another similarity in Chang’s (2011) study and the current Atayal one, as the fourth theme in chapter four I present a multilingual phenomenon that the Atayal children were surrounded by Atayal, Chinese, South Min, and Hakka. One of my findings was that English seemed to be ignored in which the observations and interviews all point out that English contact and learning seemed to be scarce. This phenomenon is mentioned in Chang’s (2011) Pangcah study in which “English is not viable as an international language in this context” (p. 32). In her words, “qualified teachers often are not available,” and “[p]rivate English instruction is available but not accessible” (p. 32). The families simply couldn’t afford the private tutors. Like the Atayal parents who did not want to sacrifice English learning of their children, the Pangcah “parents and grandparents consider it [English instruction] a long-term linguistic investment” (32).

5.3 A SUGGESTION AND TWO EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Considering the findings in chapter four and the lessons learned through the recent studies around the world, I provide one suggestion and two educational implications that I conceptualize for the Atayal learning and education in Taiwan. In the next paragraphs, I begin
with a discussion about a collaborative process implied in social theories and relevant
literatures. Followed by this discussion is a suggestion of bilingual/bi-cultural education, in
which Atayal and Chinese are taught from K to 2, and English is an additive subject from
Grade 3 and above. While I propose these two educational implications, I am aware that my
findings in the current study are based on the data from a research site at a specific period of
time. In other words, I do not intend to generalize my findings and synthesize a social theory.
Instead, the findings and the educational implication, if precise and insightful, can be
considered by concerned people in Taiwan and around the world but they should take the
contextual differences into considerations.

5.3.1 Integrate Daily Life Experience with Da ali

As I present the activities during Da ali [bamboo shoots collection] season, it is
evident that there are abundant Atayal language events. However, the children are not always
with the adults during the activities because they are at the school. The children would
therefore lose the chance to have contact to a real life experience, in which they could as well
learn Atayal in situ. In this case, I suggest that the curriculum of Atayal language of the
school should take into account of the activities of Da ali. Since the Da ali activities is
everywhere in the village, the curriculum can include these activities. For example; there can
be field trips to the mountains to collect bamboo shoots. There can be classes of boiling the
bamboo shoots where adults use Atayal throughout the process. Still, there can be classes about the sales of bamboo shoots.

These considerations in their curriculum for Atayal language are significant at least in two ways. First, the children will have chances to learn Atayal in real life activities rather than two 45-minutes classes each week. During the process, the children can learn their traditional language as well as the embedded cultures such as the songs and dances. Second, it connects the learning experiences of the children with the most important economic activity in the village. In this paper, I can only give suggestion to the curriculum of Atayal language. But further details should be planned with more thoughts by the locals if they have a chance to follow this suggestion.

5.3.2 A Collaborative Process

Before I suggest my first educational implication, I want to mention a few literature that I discuss in chapter two. Previously, I present the observation that the participating children in the current study did not have authentic contacts to Atayal at home and in the village. In this regard, there were adult informants who suggested that the parents and the villagers should support by speaking Atayal as a support to their children. This idea is supported by social theories. First, in language learning through socialization Ochs (1986) contends that children socialize through language, and hence they learn that language. One
important element in this process is the “exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction” (pp. 2). In similar voice, Schieffelin (1990) in a study about Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea states that “acquisition of language and acquisition of culture are natural context for each other” (pp. 14). Similarly with Mehan (1982), their theory of language socialization claims that authentic language events are essential for language learners to acquire a language through their participations. Another strongly related theory is Fishman’s (1990, 1991, 2001) Reversing Language Shift (RLS). In Fishman’s RLS, it “realises that multiculturalism, though welcome as an atmosphere effect, is not enough” (Fishman, 2001, p. 465). Fishman (2001) argues that RLS should be “firmly grounded in democratic processes” (p. 463), and should be “directive or implicational vis-à-vis social action” (p. 464). He further argues that there will be constant need to the reform of the school, and “they will need to be carried on primarily by the minorities themselves” (p.3). To consider the above theories to the Atayals in the current study, I argue to actively retrieve Atayal through actions of the Atayals themselves. And the school with the homes in the village should work together to create authentic Atayal language events for young Atayal learners to socialize in them.

Cummins (2000) provides a relevant framework, Transformative/Intercultural Pedagogy, which “attempts to foster collaborative relations of power in the classroom” (p. 253). In his explanation, collaborative relations “reflect the sense of the term ‘power’ that refers to ‘being enabled’ or ‘empowered’ (p. 44). Cummins (2000) argues that, “within
collaborative relations, ‘power’ is not a fixed quantity but is generated through interaction with others” (p. 44). Namely, it is argued that to empower students from minority groups in a classroom, collaborative relations that invites community and family members during the educational process is necessary. In further applications, collaborations can be such as the whole-language classroom argued by Goodman & Goodman (1990). It can be between teachers and parents argued by C. A. M. Banks (2007). And, it can be “the necessary coalition of contributing groups” such as the community cultural workshops (Goodlad, 1984, 293).

In the resent studies, collaborative process is highlighted. In Peter’s (2007) Cherokee study, it is stated in the finding that “[t]he enthusiasm the children demonstrated for learning Cherokee both in and outside the classroom was bolstered by the administration and respect they receive from people in the community on learning that a small child could understand and speak some Cherokee” (11). Moreover, in the Critical Action Research study about Yugtun, Coles-Ritchie and Charles (2011) collaborated with the course participants and created assessments that were congruent to the practices in indigenous community. In the study about Hawaiian communities, Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011) also highlight “the need for structured support of home language and literacy practices in the informal playground sector” and “the need for adults to actively involved in the child’s language learning” (92). Finally, in the discussion of a proposal for planning indigenous early childhood education program, Romero-Little (2010) reports two transformative models of
early education about New Zealand’s Te Kohanga and Hawaii’s Aha Punana Leo. “The eventual success of the Punana Leo program, like the Mori language nests,” contended by Romero-Little (2012), “can be attributed to participation and support of the community” (22).

As shown in the studies above, there are people fighting the heritage language losses through establishing collaborative process or relations around the world. To think of the Atayals in the current study, it seems a good approach to consider because in the village there are still many fluent Atayal speakers as resources. Also, there are many Atayal cultural workshops with Atayal culture reserved by experts. In short, there are the resource outside and available. But, what kind of mechanism can bring the parents, villagers, and school teachers to collaborate and create authentic Atayal speech events for their children to participate in?

A convenient approach is to start with what intervention is already there, and I find the Preferential Treatment [加分優待] to the indigenous students if they pass the Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試] with potential. To consider the collaborative process in these interventions, I propose that this testing for preferential treatment system should be reformed to make it a collaborative one. Rather than asking the tribal representatives to leave the villages for creating a unified test for all, they should stay in their individual village. Together with other locals, they should develop their individual test of heritage language for their young people. In this case, the state’s Test of
Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試] becomes more than just a language test, because the contents of the tests are about a cumulative “repositories of knowledge” decided collectively by the locals (Coles-Ritchie and Charles, 2011, 28). In this case, wherever the young indigenous people currently live they will have to return to the village to understand their cultures and the language in the village. Considering the convenient transportation now in Taiwan, this is feasible. In this suggestion of revising the preferential-treatment testing system for indigenous students in Taiwan, the collaborative process is considered along with the concept of “funds of knowledge” (Gonzales, Moll, and Amanti, 2005). When this local “fund of knowledge” is honored, it may as well empower the locals and bridge the gap between cultures and daily life.

5.3.3 Additive Multilingual Education

In my second educational implication, I want to begin with Cummins’ (2000) additive bilingualism which is “the form of bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing develop conceptually and academically in their first language” (p.37). With examinations of hundreds of studies spanned over three decades, he contends that there is a positive relationship between students’s “linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth” and additive bilingualism (p. 37). What Cummins (2000) argues is that children would have advantages in both linguistic and
intellectual ability if they continually develop their learning of different languages, although it takes a few years. Bilingual early childhood education as a model of maintaining the heritage languages of indigenous people are popular. For example, in Romero-Little’s (2012) proposal it is reported that “[i]ndigenous educators from several New Mexico Pueblo communities … have begun to look at various early education approaches” (23). Moreover, in his article, “Learning other languages: The case for promoting bilingualism within our educational system,” Tucker (2011) concludes:

The cumulative evidence from research conducted over the last three decades at sites around the world demonstrate conclusively that cognitive, social, personal and economic benefits accrue to the individual who has an opportunity to develop a high degree of bilingual proficiency when compared with monolingual counterpart. The message for education is clear: …and begin innovative language education programs that will lead to bilingual or multilingual proficiency for participants as early as possible.

(pp. 48)

I have also found recently published studies involved in implements of bilingual early childhood education to help maintain and develop heritage languages. In the study about immersion programs in Hawaii communities, Morgan and Chodkiewicz (2011) in conclusion recommend that “the best way to support parents is to provide bilingual,
bi-cultural early childhood trained workers who are able to build on the home practices and culture in the playgroups” (p. 92). Moreover, Peter (2007) in his study about a Cherokee preschool immersion language program reports that “children were following their teachers’ instructions and demonstrating their comprehension of Cherokee as early as the first week in the preschool” (8).

Considering the related social theories and recent studies above, I suggest that the indigenous peoples including the Atayals in Taiwan to implement bilingual and bi-cultural education from K to Grade 2, while English is added from Grade 3. It is hoped that the very young children will consolidate both languages as early as possible. Also, the bilingual and bi-cultural education should be through a collaborative process as just discussed above. In other words, the parents, school teachers, and also the trained social workers contribute to curriculum and to the execution of their bilingual and bi-cultural education.

To sum up this chapter thus far, I have presented five related studies that are recently published. I compare their findings and the findings in the current study about Atayals. Then, I synthesize ideas considering the findings of the current study, findings of recent studies, and related social theories. Next, I suggest two educational implications to the heritage language education of the indigenous peoples in general in Taiwan. I first argue that the current the “Preferential Treatment System (PTS)” through the “Test of Indigenous Languages for Indigenous Students [原住民學生族語認證考試] (TILIS)” should be revised. I suggest that
this whole intervention process to be collaborative by the indigenous peoples themselves, supported by the government that is holding an auxiliary role. Namely, the representatives of the villages should stay in their individual village, in which it holds the responsibility to design the language tests for their young people. And their test contents should honor their local cultures, which will be easier if they are decided by the locals in their own village. It is hoped that those young people would return to their villages to learn their heritage language through socializing with the villagers. Last, I suggest that the early childhood education for the indigenous peoples in Taiwan should begin with kindergarten, while English is additive from Grade 3. Therefore, in very young age the indigenous children learn their HL and Chinese at the same time. Ideally, they will have consolidated their basic language abilities in two languages when they encounter the third language, English.

5.4 LIMITATIONS AND PERSPECTIVE CHANGE OF RESEARCHER HIMSELF

There were basically two limitations that I wish to mention in the end of the discussion. First, there was a challenge that I never expected before I began collecting the data in the research site. Since my hometown was not far away from the research site, in many times I had to attend to family issues. In many of these distractions, it turned out that I did not have sufficient sleeping and would have to sleep in my car on the road of the mountains. But close to my family was also advantageous considering that my father was
seriously sick and was hospitalized. In this particular situation I felt it was good for me to be
able to provide immediate helps. However, family issues overall became part of my burden
while I was collecting data.

The second challenge that I faced was related to my identity. As an Atayal, I
sometimes felt that I could easily connect to the locals in the village. As an outsider, I would
occasionally feel that I did not belong to the village. When the adults spoke entirely in Atayal,
I would feel alienated. This unstable identity would have influence in terms of earning trust
with the locals. When I felt I did not fully understand certain messages, I would have to make
more efforts in guessing what was going on. However, I believe that I am already lucky that I
could somehow connect to the locals with my Atayal identity and backgrounds. Without these
prior knowledge and experiences as an Atayal, an ethnographic study like this might as well
require me to stay much longer before I was confident that my data could answer my research
questions. Furthermore, in this regard I feel also fortunate that I have a colleague who
conducted another study in the same research site would like to serve as a member to check
my findings. Therefore, the limitation of this study should have been minimized.

As a researcher of ethnography, I notice that I have changed my own perspective
throughout this project. Before I started my investigations in the research site, I had a vague
impression about the research site. For example; I thought that it was so remote that people in
the village would live more traditionally and primitive. I thought the children would largely
speak in Atayal since they had less influence coming from beyond the village. When I was there, I found that their life was both modern and traditional in many ways. They had access to Internet, hence to the outside world beyond the village. Yet, the locals would emphasize on gaga [traditional Atayal ethics] when they talked about Atayal cultures. Their clothing would be mixed with modern suit and Atayal patterned vest or bag. Next to a cottage made of bamboos was a Catholic church. In a church ceremony, the Atayal speaking priest would have an interpreter translating his speeches to Chinese. Last, the children in the village did not speak Atayal as much as I originally imagined. In sum, this research experience has changed my perspective that I had before.

5.5 CONCLUSION OF THE CURRENT STUDY

I began this research project with the motivation to understand the circumstances that surrounded a group of Atayal students who lived in the deep mountain areas in Taiwan. Using ethnographic methods, I managed to collect more data than I needed. However, reflecting this whole experience I am aware that this dissertation wouldn’t be possible within six months if I were in another research site and if I were not familiar with its cultures and people. By inductively analyzing the data, I present four descriptive themes, which are the major body of this dissertation. As are presented in the chapter of findings, the learning and education of Atayal seems to have only improvement a little. The Atayal children in this
study could barely communicate their adults in Atayal fluently. Also, compared to Chinese, Atayal seems to be less competitive and preferred. Considering that many speakers of South Min or Hakka were around the Atayal children, the learning of Atayal seemed to be dire. While the parents of these Atayal children believed that learning English should help their children become successful in the future, and that they didn't want to lose Atayal as their traditional language, a multilingual education seemed to be a good choice. However, as Li (2007) warns, without consolidating the heritage languages of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the multilingual circumstances may threat the maintenance and development of their heritage languages.

Through examining the recent studies and the related social theories, I have provided two educational implications to the indigenous peoples and the Atayals in Taiwan. First, I suggest that the current policy of heritage language testing system along with the preferential treatment system should be revised. It should not be in a top down model in which the local funds of knowledge is not honored. Instead, I suggest the bottom up approach in which the villagers stay in the villages to create culture congruent HL tests. It is hoped that the young indigenous test takers will involve in local activities in their villages if they want to pass their HL tests. Theoretically, this collaborative process will empower the locals and will bridge the gap between indigenous cultural activities and their heritage languages. Second, I suggest that the teaching and education of indigenous peoples’ heritage languages should begin from
Kindergarten, and English should be added from Grade 3. In other words, I suggest a bilingual and bi-cultural education to the very young indigenous children. Again, this process should be collaborative in which the locals and their funds of knowledge may be honored.

For further research, I wish to continue similar studies, where ethnographic methods or other qualitative methods are used to investigate similar issues. Particularly, I am interested in conducting Action Research of employing bilingual/bi-cultural education to K to Grade 2 indigenous students. Last, I also want to investigate the English learning of indigenous students who are not in English speaking countries. In short, I will continue contribute to this field of research and teaching after I graduate.
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Associates.


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Group.


**Appendix A: Table of Data Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Forms</th>
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<th>Research Questions</th>
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<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>Atayal Speech Events (School, Homes, Villages)</td>
<td>Preference of Language Use</td>
<td>Contacts of Other Languages (than Atayal)</td>
<td>Contacts of Other Languages (than Atayal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Frequency of Atayal Contacts</td>
<td>Willingness to Learn Atayal</td>
<td>Values toward 3 Languages</td>
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<td>Documents</td>
<td>Materials of Atayal Instruction</td>
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### Observations
- Atayal Speech Events (School, Homes, Villages)
- Preference of Language Use
- Language Switch Timing
- Contacts of Other Languages (than Atayal)

### Interviews
- Frequency of Atayal Contacts
- Willingness to Learn Atayal
- Values toward 3 Languages
- Atayal Cultural Elements

### Documents
- Materials of Atayal Instruction
- Videos, pictures, and sound tracks.

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46 The analysis of “Quick Oral Tests of Atayal” is separated from this chart because it was not in any of the qualitative data form. For details, please refer directly to the finding of “Quick Oral Test of Atayal.”
## Appendix B

### Participant Atayal Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls (t/p/T)</th>
<th>Boys (t/p/T)</th>
<th>Total (t/p/T)</th>
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47 In Girls (t/p/T), “t” indicates the number of girls participated in a quick oral test of Atayal. “p” indicates the number of girl participated in the research. “T” indicates the total number of girls in that grade. And this indication system applies to B(t/p/T) except that it is the number of boys.
Appendix C

Week View of Daily Schedule: Bamboo Garden Elementary School

Spring 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Minutes</th>
<th>Special Notes</th>
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<td><strong>Wake up</strong></td>
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**48 Bold** schedules were for children living in the dorm only.

**49** The 9<sup>th</sup> period was externally funded for further supports of indigenous children academically. It was basically flexible for teachers to reinforce related knowledge or skills subject matters. It was taught by the school teachers who stayed in the dorm.
Appendix D

國民中小學 九年一個課程
原住民族語

泰雅族澤敖利語
學習手冊 第 1 階
### Appendix E

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一如往常，博物館志工雅奇（Yaki，泰雅族語阿嘎長吉呼稱）
正來來回回往返在街上的博物館緩步前進。她見到鄰家從台北回來的小女孩吉娃斯還在街上漫無目的地閒晃。
這天，雅奇終於忍不住叫著：「吉娃斯要不要跟我到博物館逛逛？」
「博物館？」吉娃斯疑惑的問。
雅奇回答：「是呀！到那裡看我做布呀」
「做工有什麼好玩？」吉娃斯很不耐煩的說。
「呵呵！跟我來就是了，就知道我沒有騙你了。」
森林裡的泰雅故事
在清泉的部落裡，住著執戶泰雅族人家，
其中有一個小男孩叫尤帕斯，他一直夢想着有一天
能離開家鄉到遠方探險，去看看外面的世界。

一天，太陽才剛剛升起，尤帕斯告別了家人，
背起行囊，出發了。在路上，他遇到了部落裡的一位大哥——瓦旦。

「嘿！你不是尤帕斯嗎？你要去哪？」瓦旦大哥問道。

「我想去旅行，瓦旦大哥可以告訴我哪裡的地方
值得去探險嗎？」

「嗯！我帶你去個可以了解我們祖先的地方，
那裡也是我工作的地方。」

「好啊！」尤帕斯滿懷期待的說。
跟着瓦旦大哥，尤柏斯来到了一个迷雾白露的世界，他发现这里的空气好清凉，
山特别的绿，天特别的蓝。突然尤柏斯看见一座
写着「雪霸國家公園」的界址碑。
「國家公園」

是指具有國家代表性的自然區域或景點。

從西元1980年美國設立世界上第一座國家公園——黃石國家公園以後，
全世界大約已經有一百餘個國家或地區
設立了將近1,000座的國家公園。

台灣在西元1980年始於阿勃勒國家公園
創立了玉山、阿里山、太魯閣、雲霧、金門等六座國家公園。
國家公園不同於都市公園，遊樂園，
一定要有國家級的景觀和生態才能成立。
因此台灣最鄰近好山好水，
都在國家公園中。
Appendix G

Sample Questions of QTOAC

1. *loka su*? [How are you?]
2. *ina lalu su*? [What is your name?]
3. *ina lalu yaha su*? [What is your father’s name?]
4. *nunu ka hani*? [What is this?]
5. *bina gayan suila* [How old are you?]
6. *kyan suyan su*? [Do you have siblings?]
7. *many su alian la* [Have you ate lunch?]
8. *wa inu yutas su*? [Where did/do your grandfather go?]
9. *aby su inu hesa*? [Where did you sleep last night?]
10. *lay su mabi keku*? [Do you like to sleep/live in the dorm?]
11. *kmasu su biru lgo musa su inula*? [When you finish school, where are you going?]
Appendix H
Appendix I
Appendix J

在滕玉波（zhang yuang）的部落kary（瑤寨）

 nuevos 沃爾是（1912.07.12 七月廿八)

在滕玉波部落的楊家莊有一首歌（瑤族的酒歌），不管是從楊家莊的楊家

大樹聲，尤其的豪邁，無比的熱情，熱情的風，那聲音自然產生，由在

圖中的楊家莊人tarry（楊家莊），就是這位楊家莊人的兒子。
Appendix L
Appendix M
Appendix Q