Language Loss Phenomenon in Taiwan:
A Narrative Inquiry—Autobiography and Phenomenological Study

By

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Abstract

Taiwan is a country colonized by various regimes over the past four hundred years. The research first adopted the narrative inquiry-an autobiography on my journey to find my Taiwanese identity and mother tongue loss. Secondly, a phenomenological study on three Taiwanese families was conducted to secure an in-depth complex understanding on the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan, of the thoughts and feelings about losing mother tongues, of the role of political power, the colonial history and other sociocultural contexts in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan. Ten features and eleven themes were identified in this study. The political power and colonial history are important factors of mother tongue loss among my three participant families.

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To my dear Grandma, your encouragement to pursue higher education has led me to this path. Your stories and spirit have inspired me to pursue this research. Your perseverance and diligence stored in me, have offered the strength to continue and complete my study. Dear Grandma, I wish you could hear me. I finally have reached my goal and will pass on your words to generations.

To my family, your love and support kept me focus on my study. Your financial sacrifice and support to take over some of my responsibilities made my dream of a master degree became reality. Many thanks to my sister who helped me retrieve the books and articles in Taiwan so I could stay focused on my study without interruption.

To my participants who generously shared their stories and their perspectives with me so I could receive an in-depth, complex, and multi-dimensional understanding of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan and share this research with a broader audience.

To my advisor, Dr. Sandra Kouritzin who patiently led me out of my chaotic writing and guided me through the refinement of my composition step by step. I am grateful too for her accommodations to accelerate the process for me to avoid more financial and emotional stress.

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and accommodation to my plan.

I am in debt to all of you. I would not be who I am today without your contributions. I could not complete this thesis without your assistance. I am surrounded by your love and kindness. There are no words adequate to express my gratitude to you. Let me attribute the completion of my thesis to you and thank you very much!!

Dedication

To the victims and family members of 2.28 Massacre and White Terror,

it is your spirits and sacrifice

inspired me to find my Taiwanese identity

and

sustained me to start, continue, and complete this research.

Note: To kill a language, the first and most effective way is to kill the people who speak this language (Crystal, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The KMT committed the 2.28 Massacre in the first few years of its occupation of Taiwan and caused more deaths in the following 38 years of White Terror. In honor of the victims and family members of the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror, I adapted and included few of their photos and brief stories in Appendix F (p.205). It is their spirits that inspired, motivated, and sustained me to do this research. By doing so, I hoped to bring in more information for the readers to understand the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror, which are still a missing part of Taiwanese textbooks till today and how their biographical stories inspired me to do this research.

Chapter One: Introduction

From my qualitative “messy, uncertain, multivoiced text” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.15), I hoped to incorporate bits and pieces of my everyday life in a semi-autobiographical account that offers my language loss experience and insights to explore an in-depth understanding of the language loss phenomenon in question. Through the micro-perspective understanding of myself and my personal experience, I tried to piece together my participants’ experiences to gain a better understanding of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan from a macro-perspective. It is “an interactive process” as Denzin and Lincoln (1994) described that “shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of people in the setting” (p.3).

This study utilized multiple methodologies to represent my belief, understandings, and interpretations of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan. In this study, I aimed to learn: 1) Who I am? 2) What is our mother tongue? 3) How and why did I lose Taigi? 4) What is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 5) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 6) How do political power, the colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan?

In the first chapter I explain why I came up with my research topic. The second chapter is about the history of Taiwan and lays out the background information for the study. I explain my theoretical framework, methodologies and how I conducted the research in the third chapter. Chapter four is a literature review related to my study interests. In Chapter five, I tried to learn who I am, what my mother tongue should be according to my finding of new identity and in my memory, how I lost Taigi. Chapter six is the data from my participants from whom I tried to connect my personal experience to a broader picture of the society. I intended to learn from my

participants what mother tongue is to them and how they lost their mother tongue. How do they feel and what do they think about their language loss experience? From our language loss experience and my historical research, I learned how the political and colonial history played a role on our mother tongue loss. I analyzed my data in Chapter seven and synthesized my findings in Chapter eight.

Mandarin Research Project

When I began my Master of Education program, I did not expect my thesis research to turn into a journey of self-discovery which both conceptually changed my identity and uncovered the experiences of my own language loss.

Originally, I wanted to do research on the Mandarin competency among second-generation Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants. While doing a research project on this topic in 2009, I came across the terms “mother tongue” and “first language”. This new learning caused me to ponder the issues of what constitutes mother tongue and first language (L1). Furthermore, I began to question whether Mandarin or Taigi would be deemed my mother tongue. If the language I am most familiar with is not the language my parents or grandparents speak, can it truly be called my mother tongue?

Confusion about My Mother Tongue

The language my parents and other family elders use is Taigi, a language that I am not fully fluent in. I was forced to learn Mandarin upon entering school at the age of six. Mandarin is the language in which I am most adept now, but can it be truly considered my mother tongue? If it is, why am I unable to find the intimacy with Mandarin, a feeling that Kouritzin (2000) describes as mother tongue? Is Taigi therefore my mother tongue? And if it is, why am I unable to speak it fluently? All of this questioning caused me to explore the literature to learn the definitions of mother tongue and the history of Taiwan. I wanted to learn what our mother tongues

are and what possible languages my ancestors used.

From Mandarin to Taigi

Accordingly, I switched my research topic from the loss of Mandarin to solely looking at the loss of Taigi. However, I wondered where I would find participants to interview, since there are very few Taiwanese families in Winnipeg. The Taiwanese parents I have encountered did not seem to care about preserving Taigi. I had no confidence that they would be interested in participating in my study. Moreover, since Taigi is not the only mother tongue to all Taiwanese, I wondered how many Taiwanese immigrants in Winnipeg would be able to assist with my research on Taigi.

In 2010, I visited Taiwan and reconnected with friends, relatives, and families. None of the children I had a chance to converse with understood Taigi nor could they engage in Taigi conversation. This phenomenon alarmed me and made me realize that we are losing our mother tongue even in our own land. The solution to my issue of finding potential participants emerged after the visit. Instead of finding overseas Taiwanese families as my research participants, I decided to focus on the language loss of Taigi in Taiwan.

Taiwan, a Colonized Land

Taiwan is a country that has been colonized by the Netherlands, Spain, China and Japan over its 400 year written history. The identity of the Taiwanese population, therefore, was influenced, altered, set, and impacted by different regimes. The educational system built under the KMT government since 1949 has successfully formed the Chinese ideology among people in Taiwan. How the Chinese ideology and identity that formed by the KMT's political power have influenced the language loss in Taiwan is one of the angles I adopted to look into the language loss phenomenon

in Taiwan[1].

Being educated to be Chinese, I had very little knowledge of Taiwan, where I have lived most of my life. To find out what my mother tongue really is, I recognized the need to investigate into Taiwan's history. This new information has, in turn, shifted the image of my identity, since the question of who I am became clearer with my increased awareness of Taiwan's history. Accordingly, the past became entwined with my experiences of how I lost my Taigi.

Study on the Language Loss in Taiwan

As I am wandering down this path of learning Taiwan's history, I decided to tell the story of my language loss within the context of its historical, ethnocultural, political and sociocultural aspects. Through the unfolding of my lived experience, I disclose my journey of transformation and re-invention of a new identity which lead to the recognition of my mother tongue loss. After I understood my language loss experience, I further studied other Taiwanese participants' mother tongue loss utilizing the phenomenological hermeneutic methodology in order to connect my personal micro-perspective to a broad macro-perspective for a better understanding of other Taiwanese's language loss experience. My study aimed at an in-depth understanding of the Taigi language loss phenomenon in Taiwan from the perspective that how political power and colonial history play a role on oppressed Taiwanese population.

Archival Research

In order to introduce the contextual information of my study, I collected a variety of historical resources to support my study. From the readings of L'Eplattenier (2009), Morris (2006), and Zhou (2008), I first considered archival research to be an

[1] KMT is short for Kuomintang which is sometimes written as Guomindang (or GMD) and is synonymous with the term "Chinese Nationalist Party, Republic of China".

approach for the historians to do first-hand history research. My further readings and communications with my advisor Dr. Kouritzin (October 29, 2011) led me to a broad sense and understanding of the archival materials. Morris (2006) described Davis W. Houck that he “highlights the various ways in which archives are ‘preferred sites of memory’” (p.114), and that is where the archival materials come into my study. The “virtual, historical, and lived experiences intersect” (Kirsch & Rohan, 2008, p.1) when I started the research from the archives. The archival research is not limited to the library archives “but also when the researchers pursue supplementary information and additional perspectives about their data from exiting people and places” (Kirsch & Rohan, 2008, p.1).

Chapter Two: My Discovery- A Different History of Taiwan

To understand the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan, it is important to have a basic understanding of the contextual information of Taiwan. Because the information I collected from my research was very different from what I was taught, I presented the old and new information in two columns: what I recall learning at school and what I was surprised to find out. There were no other kinds of schools besides KMT's education system from 1949 to 2000. Although there might have been a few private schools, all the schools in Taiwan had to use only one version of teaching materials which were published by the National Institute for the Compilation and Translation (國立編譯館) under the control of KMT. I intended to contrast what I was taught under the KMT government and what I found in my research.

I hope from the two sets of information to show the drastic difference in the perspective of KMT government and my interpretation of the history: One is from the Chinese point of view and the other is from a Taiwanese point of view. Moreover, through the carefully designed educational materials by the KMT, many Taiwanese like me were successfully transformed from Taiwanese into Chinese. I, myself, did not realize this transformation and in my research of Taiwan's history, I experienced many times denial of the information I found. It took a long process for me to abandon my skeptical attitude before I would accept what I found could be the facts.

However, to be more balanced on my historical claims, I need to note here that as a novice researcher who is not specialized on the history profession, I have limitations on my historical findings. I have not yet uncovered the real truth of Taiwan's history just like many 2.28 massacre victims' families who still don't know how and why their loved ones died. Moreover, I should acknowledge that by taking

the Taiwanese viewpoint on the history of Taiwan, I am biased like the KMT that have taken a Chinese perspective to treat Taiwan and its people. Although I am presenting history of my experience under the KMT education system and what I found from my research, there can be multiple histories of Taiwan and they are contested. Therefore, I will call my discovery an alternate of Taiwan's history.

Geography

What I recall learning at school. The territory of R.O.C. (Republic of China) includes mainland China, the Mongolian People's Republic, Taiwan and other island groups. For decades, R.O.C equaled KMT. It was believed that the R.O.C. nation and the KMT party were the same body (黨國一體). We should all be loyal to R.O.C. and to KMT. Taiwan has long been a part of China in the history, although it was once **stolen** by Japan.



Figure 1. R.O.C. Map 1.By Li, Hsiao Feng with permission. Retrieved from http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2010/new/apr/18/today-o7.htm

What I was surprised to find out. On the day R.O.C was founded in 1911, Taiwan was not a part of its territory. Taiwan was part of Japan. Japan did not steal Taiwan. The Ching dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan. From 1911 to 1945, Taiwan was not in R.O.C.'s map nor was it in R.O.C.'s constitution.

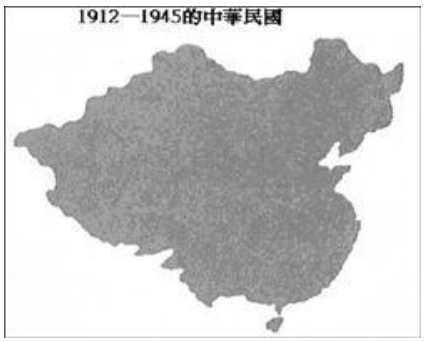


Figure 2. R.O.C. Map 2. With permission from Li, Hsiao Feng. Retrieved from http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2010/new/apr/18/today-o7.htm

In 1949, the KMT fled to Taiwan. Since then, Taiwan, Chinmen, Matsu, Penghu, Lutao, Orchid, and other islands in South China Sea have been the only effective territory under R.O.C.

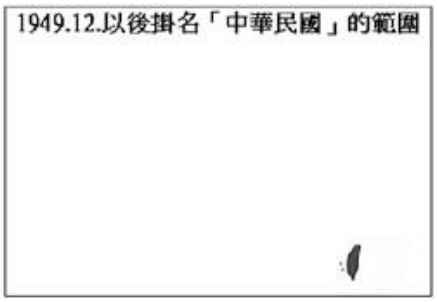


Figure 3. R.O.C. Map 3. With permission from Li, Hsiao Feng. Retrieved from http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2010/new/apr/18/today-o7.htm

Taiwan is located in East Asia. It is a 36,000 square kilometre island in the Pacific Ocean. Taiwan is situated 200 kilometres to the southwest of the Okinawa Islands of Japan and 218 kilometres north of Batanes Island of the Philippines. The Taiwan Strait is 120 kilometres in width between the west coast of Taiwan and the Fujian province of China. The geographical location makes Taiwan an important transportation point to the major cities in Asia and to other continents. Taiwan is a mountainous island. Only one third of its land is plain. The tropic of Cancer lies across the middle of Taiwan. The hot and humid subtropical weather makes Taiwan a land suitable for the growth of rice, sugar, and a variety of vegetables and fruits.

Population

What I recall learning at school. All Taiwanese are the descendants of Chinese immigrants except the Aboriginals. The Chinese are the first inhabitants who resided in Taiwan. Currently the population is just over 23 million. The Taiwanese have long been classified as "Han Chinese" which includes about 85% of Minnan or Holo and 13% of Hakka.

What I was surprised to find out. Taiwan's original residents were Austronesian people who migrated to Taiwan thousands of years ago[2]. After being ruled by several different regimes in the most recent 400 years, the plains-dwelling Aboriginals (Ping-Pu 平埔), who had had more contacts with the outsiders, gradually lost their culture, traditions, languages, and identity in the process of assimilation. According to Lin (2010) and Sim (2009), 85% to 95% of Taiwanese should be original inhabitants of Taiwan but were assimilated into Chinese ideology.

The Aboriginals, including plain Aboriginals and mountain Aboriginals in Taiwan, should be the ancestors of Taiwanese. However, under the long assimilation by Ching dynasty and the dictatorship of KMT for decades, the trace of Taiwanese plain Aboriginal ancestors has been lost in history. Many people consider themselves "Chinese" instead of "Taiwanese" or "the Chinese in Taiwan". I was one of them. Not until recently did I come to understand that Taiwanese is not Chinese. I am Taiwanese.

Culture

What I recall learning at school. There is no Taiwanese culture. The culture of Taiwan is from China.

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[2] Many scholars stated that the Chinese were the first inhabitants of this island. (Wachman, 1994, p.6) This is not accurate. According to recent studies by several Taiwanese historians (Hsueh, Tai, Chou, 2005), the Chinese did not reside in Taiwan until after 1624 when the Dutch colonized the southern part of this island and recruited around 10,000 Chinese to farm the land.

What I was surprised to find out. The culture of Taiwan is very different from China's. China is a continent; whereas Taiwan is an island. The intrinsic nature of these two countries is drastically different: the oceanic theme is inevitably embedded in Taiwan's culture and the broad territory of China creates a rudimentarily different genre of culture from Taiwan's. Moreover, the colonial history brought in exotic elements forged in Taiwan's culture. There are many Taiwanese artists, writers and musicians who were unknown to Taiwanese until recent years, such as Lai ho, Chung Chao Cheng, Teng Yu Hsien, Chen Cheng Po, Chiang Wei Shui, Wang Yu Te, Liao Chi Chung, Yang San Lang, Li Shih Chiao, etc.



Figure 4. Yia Yi Street
1927 by Chen Cheng Po, in Wikipedia (Public domain). Retrieved from http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%99%B3%E6%BE%84%E6%B3%A2

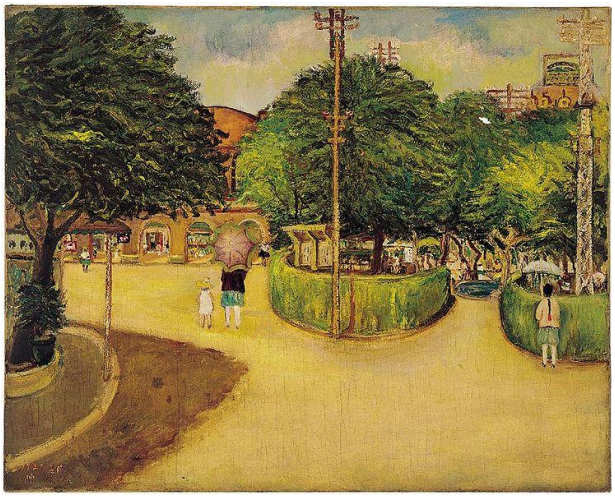


Figure 5. Summer street

Society

What I recall learning at school. Taiwan is a farming society and inherits everything from China.

What I was surprised to find out. Since the 15th century, Taiwan had been a prosperous business trading port due to its location. The Taiwanese were adventurous and enjoyed making profits from oversea trading. Farming had never

been a major activity for making the living until the Chinese immigrants settled in Taiwan in the 17th century. Unlike the Chinese, who were used to staying on one land and to farming for generations, the Taiwanese relied on the resources in the ocean and forest. Making profits from overseas trading was an important daily activity in Taiwanese society. The society of China and Taiwan is fundamentally different (Hsueh, Dai & Chou, 2005).

Education

What I recall learning at school. Taiwanese were uneducated barbarians, until the Ching dynasty ruled and started to build schools for the Taiwanese.

What I was surprised to find out. Since 1624, the Dutch missionaries had come to Taiwan and set up schools to educate the Taiwanese (Campbell, 1967). At the end of the Japan era, 70% of Taiwanese had at least elementary school education (Guo, 2003). The Japanese government built schools in every county and town by the first decade they occupied Taiwan. In 1945, when the KMT troops took over Taiwan, the rate of illiteracy in China was 97 % (Guo, 2003). The Taiwanese were not the barbarians as the KMT has portrayed them as being, and the Ching dynasty did not do much to educate the Taiwanese. Instead, the Japanese government's efforts in educating the Taiwanese were much more successful than the Ching's occupation.

Economy

What I recall learning at school. Taiwan is a poor island with no resources. KMT brought tons of gold to Taiwan and built Taiwan into a modernized society.

What I was surprised to find out. No one saw or knew anything about the gold. It might be a rumor. If Chiang Kei-Shek did bring gold to Taiwan, he probably kept the fortune to himself or used the gold for his army (Kerr, 1965).

By the 3rd decade of Japan's occupation, Taiwan was the 2nd richest and modernized state in Asia. The KMT came to Taiwan, robbed the Taiwanese people,

and kept all the public or private owned properties as its own assets. This made the KMT the wealthiest political party in the world (Chang, 1999).

The Colonization of Taiwan

What I recall learning at school. There was no colonization in Taiwan. The Taiwanese are Chinese and Taiwan has always been ruled by China. The period when Taiwan was part of Japan was only mentioned lightly or disappeared from KMT's educational materials.

What I was surprised to find out. In Taiwan's four hundred years of written history, it was colonized by many countries including the Netherlands, Spain, China and Japan. Among them, the Ching dynasty of China put part of Taiwan into its territory over 200 years but did not appear to have sovereignty over the whole island, according to the Mu-Tan records of Japan (Sim, 2009). In the Ching dynasty, most of the Taiwanese residents were assimilated by the Han Chinese. There were once more than 20 different tribes of Aboriginal Taiwanese (Chen, n.d.) before the 16th century when the Dutch occupied Taiwan and started to recruit Fujian residents from southeast China to Taiwan (Blust, 1999). Today, many of these Aboriginal groups have been rendered culturally and linguistically extinct. According to Li (2010), in the 1830s almost all of the Taiwanese Aboriginal tribes on the southwest plain lost their languages as well as their cultures and traditions.

The Stolen Taiwan

What I recall learning at school. The R.O.C. was formed in 1911 and Taiwan was part of the R.O.C.

What I was surprised to find out. Taiwan was a part of Japan when the KMT established the R.O.C. in mainland China in 1911. After losing the civil war with the Chinese communists, Chiang Kai-Shek fled to Taiwan with the KMT and went against international law to make Taiwan part of the Republic of China (R.O.C.). In 1945,

General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, formally accepted the surrender of Japan and authorized Chiang Kai-Shek to accept Japan's surrender in Taiwan (Taiwan Document Project, n.d.). Chiang Kai-Shek's military has since occupied Taiwan and never returned Taiwan to its neutral status, which would allow the people of this land to determine their future by referendum. Although Chiang Kai-Shek and his KMT party claimed both Taiwan and Penghu as its "state territories" (Chiautong, 1972) of R.O.C., neither the San Francisco Peace Treaty nor the Treaty of Peace between the R.O.C. and Japan had clearly defined the status of Taiwan (Chiautong, 1972). An article on the website of RefWorld (2011) states:

> [w]hile the Republic of China forces in Taihoku (today's Taipei) accepted the surrender of Japanese troops in Taiwan, the province was put under the administrative control of the Republic of China in 1945 by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. No treaty made specific references to Taiwanese sovereignty. The position of the People's Republic of China is that its sovereignty was transferred to China under the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. (para.10)

In the articles I have read, none showed evidence that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration granted the R.O.C. the right to control Taiwan as its province after three months of trusteeship. China and the KMT have always asserted that Taiwan belongs to China according to the Potsdam Declaration. However, the Potsdam Declaration is not a signed treaty which could formally determine Taiwan's future. Moreover, according to the international law, the military occupation does not automatically transfer the sovereignty. In General Order No. 1 #a (Taiwan Document Project, n.d.), MacArthur ordered Chiang Kai-Shek to accept

Japan's surrender within China (excluding Manchuria), Formosa (Taiwan) and French Indo-China north of the sixteenth latitude north. If Chiang Kai-Shek had the right to occupy Taiwan, he should have also had the right to occupy Vietnam. Following this logic, the Soviet Union would have had Korea and Manchuria as its territories. The rightful and legal status of Taiwan requires the recognition from the people of Taiwan and attention of the world. Neither the R.O.C. nor P.R.C. has legitimate rights over Taiwan. Taiwan belongs to the people of this land and its future should be decided by its citizens, instead of outsiders.

R.O.C. and KMT

What I recall learning at school. KMT troops bravely fought with Japan to get Taiwan back to China and there was no doubt that Taiwan belongs to the R.O.C. Since then, KMT has built Taiwan into a modernized country.

What I was surprised to find out. KMT troops did not fight with Japan for Taiwan and the KMT threw the Taiwanese into hell after its occupation. For 50 years, Taiwanese lived terrible lives under the Chiang family's dictatorship.

Taiwan and the Penghu islands were ceded by the Ching Dynasty to Japan through the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. Decades later, in 1945, after War World II, the Japanese were made to surrender their colonial territories of Taiwan, Penghu and other island groups. In 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) fled to Taiwan after losing the civil war against the communist party. At first the *sinicized* (Chinese assimilated) Taiwanese welcomed the troops of Chiang Kai-Shek to Taiwan but soon the corrupted government and military exploited the Taiwanese people to such a degree that an uprising exploded into the 2.28 Massacre[3] in 1947. It was estimated that between

[3] Please see a series of films on 2.28 Massacre: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m7MA1nnh7UE
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AW4QxSDDgUc&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAjIVFtp9lY&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXntlFGmhlo&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ylaf6x0jGMQ&feature=channel&list=UL

40,000 to 120,000 people were killed and injured. There was no official record available of the death toll. However, the KMT record showed that by the end of March 200,709 bullets were used. From March to May, a total of 622,810 bullets were used in the 2.28 Massacre[4]. How many people can 622,810 bullets kill? Compared to the number of bullets used in the 2.28 Massacre, the death of 120,000 persons might still be an underestimation. After the 2.28 Massacre, the Taiwanese had to live under extreme control of the world's second longest martial law. The KMT government avoided mention of the 2.28 Massacre in the history textbooks until today. Many families still do not know how and why their parents or siblings died[5]. To secure its sovereignty, the KMT announced martial law on May 19, 1949 and did not remove it until July 15, 1987. The martial law lasted 38 years and 57 days. This was the epoch better known as the "White Terror" era in Taiwan. During this time, the KMT government could arrest, imprison or execute anyone as long as they WANTED.

During the KMT's rule, the residents of Taiwan were implicitly classified as low hierarchy. Only the mainlander refugees who followed Chiang Kai-Shek to Taiwan had the chance to be on the top. The rest of the people were deemed inferior. The KMT government prohibited all languages besides Mandarin. The mass media, including newspapers, books, songs, and private speeches, were under the KMT's extreme scrutiny. KMT stripped the Taiwanese and exploited the land for over 20 years and it

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http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ebzuim9kdC4&feature=channel&list=UL
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rez3CmMQW7I&feature=channel&list=UL
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SIZtV1OGivk&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzUQ2k6Sovo&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Se4C2xxjWns&feature=relmfu
(All above films are pronounced in Mandarin and Chinese subtitle.)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=asGKt2RcVDU&feature=related (English subtitle)

[4] Please see the KMT government documents of the bullets used in the month of March (220,709 bullets) and from March to May (622,810 bullets) at Taiwan National Federation of 228 Massacre Care Association. http://www.wretch.cc/blog/twn228care/21885826

[5] Please see links on Huang We Kung http://www.taiwantribune.com/op-ed/2011/09/16/2355p01-2/
A 60-year belated letter http://taiwanus.net/news/press/2012/20120714221804 1087.htm
And My Uncle Yen Shih Hung http://blog.roodo.com/chensumi/archives/ 19799424.html)

did not build Taiwan for the benefits and welfare of Taiwanese. By the 1970's, KMT realized it would never recover China. It then started to rebuild the infrastructure which the Japanese government had built but was destroyed by the KMT troops when they first arrived Taiwan. The KMT took the credit for itself and in the textbooks, claimed that it had built everything for Taiwan, which is not true.

Politics of Taiwan

What I recall learning at school. Taiwan was a democratic country under KMT's rule.

What I was surprised to find out. Taiwan was a dictatorial country under Chiang's family and KMT rule for over 50 years[6].

In transition from a highly oppressive totalitarian society to democracy, Taiwan had its first presidential election in 1996. In 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) took over the government. Although the new government mandated true freedom of speech, released control over public thought, sought to regain the justice and equal respect to all different races in Taiwan, and recovered/revealed the history of Taiwan, many people still believe they are Chinese and do not care about the previous regime's injustices and massacres of the Taiwanese people. The KMT government always emphasized hatred toward Japan's invasion of China and ensured that the public knew about the genocide committed by the Japanese troops toward the Chinese during War World II. However, Bradford DeLong (1997) found that Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-Shek were among the five top killers during War World II (para.8). In addition, Rummel (1994) concluded that Chiang Kai-Shek killed 10,214,000 people and is the fourth biggest killer in the 20th century (p.8). These

[6] Although the martial law was abolished in 1987, the criminal code article 100 and the carrion command 警備總部—special police and army service were still in effect until 1992. All the people in Taiwan were still under extremely strict watch and could be put in prison for the "intention" to undermine the nation, seize or occupy national territory or utilize illegal methods to change the national Constitution or subvert the government. http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3893

findings provide evidence that Chiang Kai-Shek killed more Chinese than did the Japanese troops during the Second World War. Why did the KMT educate us to hate the Japanese? Are we not supposed to scrutinize Chiang Kai-Shek and the KMT's killing action? Why did the KMT educate the Taiwanese to worship Chiang Kai-Shek after he killed so many people?

During the era of martial law, the KMT announced an anti-communist stand and arrested anyone who they thought might be suspicious. Over 140,000 people died or were imprisoned during the "White Terror" period (Huang, 2005). Ironically, today the KMT works in alliance with the Communist party in China with the hope of unifying Taiwan and China. Under the education system of the KMT, for decades the Taiwanese people were brain-washed and forced to identify themselves as Chinese. In the Taiwanese public school system, China and its history is the focus; whereas little attention is given to educate students on the geopolitical structure and history of Taiwan. Taiwanese were taught to be strongly anti-communist and nobody was allowed to question or have alternate political viewpoints. However, in recent years many KMT members and followers started to profit from business dealings with China. Moreover, the KMT regained control of government after the election in 2008 and the KMT has swung from an anti-communist position to embrace the communist mentality and has made the idea of unification between Taiwan and China a priority. Although the DPP supported a referendum on the issue of independence or unification with China, in the 2008 Presidential Election, the KMT refused and told its supporters not to vote for the referendum. The KMT also refused to give the public the right to hold a referendum. Since KMT is now the majority in the parliament, over three years they have not lifted the limitations for a referendum to take place.

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), organized by victims of the White Terror, assists those who lost family members and freedom to fight for justice.

However, many Taiwanese people continue to disregard the past and support the KMT no matter what the tragedies it has brought to millions of Taiwanese families. In recent years, the public has been divided into green and blue groups: one supports the independence of Taiwan and the other supports the KMT and the unification with China. These extremely polarized opinions have caused a huge rift among the people of Taiwan and have exacerbated the debate over identity, ethnicity, nationality, and languages.

Besides the chaos stirred up inside the island, Taiwan still has a long way to go toward recognition as a nation, mainly because of the involvement of China, the Chinese-American power struggle, and the KMT, which makes the referendum for independence impossible in the near future.

Nightmares from China's Pressure

What I recall learning at school. Taiwan has been a part of China for thousands of years. The communists in China are a terrible government. We need to recover our territory, mainland China, and set the pitiful Chinese people free[7].

What I was surprised to find out. Taiwan was never on the map of any dynasty of China except Ching. Yap (2010) found that as late as 1541BC, Taiwan was still not on the map of Ming dynasty. Historically, Taiwan was not part of China until 1683 and was ceded to Japan in 1895. During this 212 year period, Ching Dynasty did not control the whole island. Following the Mutan Incident (Hsueh et al., 2005) the Ching court told Japan that its jurisdiction did not reach the mountainous area and was limited to the colonial land in the west plain. From the perspective of the Ching

[7] Please see "A place without sun" in elementary school textbooks from 1970~1980, subject: national language, vol. 6. At hpp's album http://hqq.pixnet.net/album/photo/32090376 Also see speech by Chiang Ching-Kuo on 10, 10, 1985 at http://dava.ncl.edu.tw/metadatainfo.aspx?FunType=0&ID=591731, speech by Chiang Kai-shek on 2, 25, 1963 at http://www.chungcheng.org.tw/thought/class06/0040/0001.htm, and Kuan Ren Chien's blog "You don't know about Taiwan"http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1281895770

Empire, Taiwan was believed to be a part of its territory; however, in international law, the Ching Empire's jurisdiction did not reach the whole island and therefore, Taiwan could not truly be considered Ching's territory (Hsueh et al., 2005, p.140).

China has insistently proclaimed that Taiwan is part of its territory. Although the People's Republic of China has never once ruled this land, China has never stopped suppressing Taiwan in many ways. For example, whenever Taiwan attends an international sporting event (e.g., the Olympics), China diplomatically utilizes its power to disallow R.O.C. to use its name, its flag and its national anthem. Also, China hinders Taiwan's formal relationship with other countries, which leaves Taiwan with very few allies. Moreover, China interferes when Taiwan tries to become a member of any world organization. For example, China prevents Taiwan from becoming a member of United Nations, which has further negative ramifications. In 1999, according to the National Fire Agency, Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C., during the 9.21 earthquake, 2, 455 people were killed and 11, 305 injured (Kang, 2009). Help and rescue teams from around the world came to join the Taiwanese local rescue force. However, China required that all the nations have its agreement before the arrival of the international aid. China also refused to give permission for a Russian rescue flight to cross its airspace despite the fact that this was an emergency action of international humanitarian aid and time was of the essence (Lin, 1999). During the SARS crisis, China stopped the WHO from giving information and assistance to Taiwan, which caused 83 SARS-related deaths (Cyranoski, 2003). Taiwan could not get any information from the WHO because China disallowed Taiwan from becoming a member of the WHO. Besides sports, political, and economic affairs, China also hinders Taiwan when attending any international contests or events. At the 68th Venice International Film Festival, under China's request, the Taiwanese film *SEEDIQ BALE* was forced to be listed as "Taiwan, China" and its name was changed to *Saideke*

Balai in order to adapt to Chinese spelling. China had nothing to do with this film, for it did not provide any money, time, actors, filming locations nor any other assistance to the movie. The film is solely about a Formosan Aboriginal tribe, which has nothing to do with China. From the suppression of all global events by China, the government of P.R.C. has done its best to humiliate the Taiwanese people and provide many obstacles to Taiwan.

China's oppression of Taiwan has a fundamental impact on how Taiwan is treated in the global community and how the Taiwanese view themselves as Taiwanese. To survive and to have prosperity for generations to come, Taiwanese have to bite their tongue, take in the hardship, and go with the flow. China's power has now penetrated Taiwan's society in every aspect. The Taiwanese have yet to form the solid identity as Taiwanese but instead encounter a disturbing challenge by its hostile neighbor. China's fast growing economy definitely influences Taiwan's society as well as the language choice embedded in the subconscious mind of the Taiwanese[8].

When We Lost Our Language and Culture

What I recall learning at school. There is no such thing as language loss and culture extinction in Taiwan. We are all Chinese and we preserve the Mandarin language and Chinese culture.

What I was surprised to find out. In Taiwan, besides the 2% of recognized Aboriginal population, 10% of mainlanders in Taiwan speak Mandarin, 75% of the population originally speaks Taigi (also called Minnan or Holo), and 13% of the population originally speaks Hakka (Chen, n.d.). However, hundreds of years ago,

[8] Through the process of my thesis writing, I started to understand why China is hostile to the R.O.C., which was defeated by the communists in 1949. How could China accept the supposed-to-be-dead R.O.C. to claim the authority of China? The existence of the R.O.C. challenges the P.R.C. However, this does not grant the right for China to invade or attack Taiwan. The R.O.C. has illegally occupied Taiwan in 1945. Taiwan would have nothing to do with China if the R.O.C. had not stolen Taiwan after WWII.

there were more than 20 different aboriginal languages in Taiwan (Pereltsvaig, 2011). The languages spoken by the plains-dwelling Aboriginals were last seen in an 1817 record by Campbell, who wrote about his missionary experiences in Formosa (Campbell, 1967). The Aboriginals in Taiwan, who refused to be assimilated by the outsiders, mainly the Chinese in the Ching dynasty, moved to the more rugged, mountainous area of Taiwan. The Formosan languages were found to be the most ancient among all the groups of Austronesian languages (Li, 2010). Currently only 14 tribes are recognized as Aboriginals in Taiwan (Council of Indigenous People, n.d.). Of these 14 tribes, according to Li (2010), some have only a single-digit number of elders who fluently speak their languages. Without immediate preservation or interventions, several of the languages will be dead within this current decade. Almost all of the Austronesian languages of these Taiwan tribes are endangered and may become extinct in one or two generations.

Under the dictatorship of the KMT government for over 50 years, the extreme Mandarin-only policy has caused attrition or even death for most of these languages. Two hundred years ago, the Taiwanese experienced the death of some of the Austronesian languages under the rule of the Ching Dynasty. Today, Taiwanese is experiencing another wave of language loss (UND, 2002) under the rule of the Chinese KMT government.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

In my literature review, I studied in four domains: 1) language, 2) language in assimilation, 3) language in Taiwan, and 4) Taiwan history of who we are and what language we used.

In the language domain, I focused on searching the meaning of the mother tongue and tried to understand if Taigi is a language or a dialect. In the language-in-assimilation domain, I studied several subjects, including language loss and maintenance, language and identity, ethnolinguistic vitality, parent perception, feeling for the loss of one's language, and language death. I also included a small portion of a study on universal grammar and the critical period hypothesis in second language acquisition.

After the studies on language itself, I switched my focus and searched language in the context of Taiwan. I studied the severity of the language loss in Taiwan from the literature and dived into history to compare the language phenomenon in different colonial regimes. I came back to the present to take a look at how the oppression by the KMT government could influence people's attitudes and how attitude influences language preservation.

The fourth domain is the search from prehistory, DNA studies, and other historical information to understand who I am, who we were, and what languages our ancestors used.

What is a Mother Tongue?

From my perspective, "mother tongue" is a very straightforward idea. To me, it refers to a language inherited from the ancestors and the language(s) spoke at home by our parents, grandparents and other family elders.

For an island like Taiwan that has been colonized for over 400 years, what should our mother tongue be when the original language or communication medium

was replaced by the colonizers? I consider Taigi my mother tongue, for it is the language I heard when I was still in my mother's womb. However, was it my ancestral language four generations ago? The language of my ancestors may have undergone linguistic assimilation, which means the dominant group's language overpowers the minority group's language (Edwards, 1997; Fishman, 1989; Kumar, Trofimovich & Gatbonton, 2008) and causes the minority group's language to diminish in history. In a colonized land, instead of quantity as the paramount to determine dominant and minority groups, I consider absolute power as the element because in Taiwan, the dominant group is the minority armed with the bullets and political power.

I speak Mandarin fluently. It is the dominant and only official language in Taiwan. For most of my life, I communicated in Mandarin only. Is Mandarin my mother tongue? Both my parents fluently speak Taigi; so do all my other family elders. They learned Mandarin after the Chinese Nationalist government (KMT) occupied Taiwan in 1945. I managed to partially recover my Taigi at a later time. However, till today I still am unable to speak Taigi perfectly. Is Taigi or Mandarin my mother tongue? According to Skutnabb-Kangas (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995, p.360), mother tongue is defined by four criteria:

Table 1

Skutnabb-Kangas Definition of Mother Tongue

Criterion	Definition
Origin	the language(s)one learns first
Identification a. internal b. external	 the language(s) one identifies with the language(s) one is identified as a native speaker of by others
Competence	the language(s) one knows best
Function	the language(s) one uses most

In Skutnabb-Kangas' definition, one can have several mother tongues. However, the definition of origin and internal identification "shows more awareness of linguistic human rights" (p.361). Both Mandarin and Taigi can be my mother tongues, according to Skutnabb-Kangas's definition.

In the online Merriam-Webster dictionary, mother tongue is one's native language, and "native" means belonging to or associated with one by birth. Put the two definitions together and mother tongue is one's language belonging to or associated with one by birth (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, it's clear that Taigi is my mother tongue.

After realizing I was forced to learn Mandarin, personally, I cannot accept Mandarin as my mother tongue at the current moment. But why do I not sense confidence and affirmation in Taigi? What is missing? Iqbal (2005) states that "a person's mother tongue is a key element of an individual's identity, well-being, dignity, beliefs, knowledge, and practices" (p.314). In my situation, Mandarin meets most of these criteria except dignity and identity. To recall the childhood stigma, punishment and humiliation from speaking Taigi still angers me, while the difficulty of relearning Taigi makes me aloof and resistant to Mandarin. I was once proud of speaking the standard Mandarin; nowadays, I feel more comfortable speaking Taigi. Kouritzin (2000) suggested that mother tongue is the language of the heart. She stated:

> [m]ore than anything, I have learned the meaning of mother tongue. English is the language of my heart, the one in which I can easily express love for my children; in which I know instinctively how to coo to a baby; in which I can sing lullabies, tell stories, recite nursery rhymes, talk baby talk. (Kouritzin, 2000, p.314)

How I wish I could perform all these language functions in Taigi but I cannot.

My discovery of my new “identity” as a Taiwanese person brings me closer to Taigi, but my Taigi competence is so low that I lost most of the pragmatic functions in Taigi. Not only did I lose Taigi competence but I also lost the connection to and the quality of Taigi. It is disconnection from the most intimate part of a person and the loss of meaning and quality of the mother tongue that makes the pain of losing one’s mother tongue unbearable. My research brought me back to the past to examine my relationship with Taigi. I tried to find the intimacy and closeness that I once had with Taigi, my mother tongue.

A Language or a Dialect

What is Taigi? Is Taigi a language or dialect? Is Taigi equal to Minnan dialect in China? Many people in Taiwan believe that Taigi comes from Minnan dialect; therefore, Taigi is Minnan dialect. However, Ho (2008) points out that since Chinese immigrants brought Minnan to Taiwan, and for over three hundred years Taiwan was either colonized or isolated from China; therefore, through the gradual social and cultural development, Taigi has been forged under the influence from Spanish, Dutch, Japanese, and Mandarin, which process has made Taigi very different from Minnan dialect. In Taiwan, there is also a heated debate about what is really meant by “Taigi”. There are many languages in Taiwan: Minnan (Taigi), Hakka, and thirteen Austronesian languages. In a broad sense, Taigi includes all the languages spoken in Taiwan. However, in a narrow definition, the term “Taigi” has replaced Minnan dialect in recent decades.

With regard to dialects in China, Wardhaugh (1992) noted that if one person speaks Mandarin and the other speaks Cantonese, “they will not be able to converse to each other: they actually speak different languages” (p.28). Wardhaugh is not the only one to categorize Chinese dialects as different languages. Szeto (2001) in her thesis proposed that intelligibility often is used to distinguish the status of language

or dialect from the varieties and that “Chinese dialects are largely unintelligible with each other” (p.94), though most Chinese linguists still hold the stand that Chinese dialects are only the varieties of the standardized language. As regarding the standardized language, Wardhaugh (1992) pointed out that standardization of a dialect involves political factors and the process of standardization is to “reduce or eliminate diversity and variety” (p.33). Both Wardhaugh and Szeto adopted other scholars’ criteria to distinguish language and dialect, whereas they both suggested that political factors play an important role in the process of making a variety more prestigious and more accepted as a standard language. Even more radical, Troike (1968) stated that “There is no such thing as a ‘standard language’ as contrasted with ‘dialects’”, for all languages are a form of dialect. Winsa (2000) also supported the political perspective and believed that the “institutional” force cultivates the high status of a dialect into a language in contrast of other lower-status dialects (p.431).

In addition to the belief that politics differentiates language and dialect, McWhorter (2000) provided another view to look at dialect as a parallel counterpart which is in a different process to language. Instead of treating dialect as a less valued variety, McWhorter believed dialect is another language which is still in its early stage of development. Therefore, dialect is not an inferior form of language. Language and dialects are both varieties of a speech community and “[s]tandardization is not a property of any language per se, but a characteristic societal treatment of language” (Fishman, 1972, p.19). To this point, it is clear that both from the linguistic and sociocultural viewpoints, Taigi as well as other Taiwanese languages should be equally respected as languages.

Language Loss and Language Shift

For Andersen (1982), language loss “can be defined as a form of individual language evolution by which an individual loses (part of) his competence or

proficiency in a particular language" (p.84). Kouritzin (2006) described language shift as "[o]ver several generations, families and language communities were seen to become progressively more dominant in the majority language, while each succeeding generation learned less and less of the minority language spoken by immigrant or indigenous ancestors" (p.2). Language shift is a process in a society resulting in individual language loss (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992) and the phenomenon is not necessary limited to the immigrant society. In a society where the dominant groups oppress other groups, language is always one of the means of control (Hong, 2002). In this situation, oppressed groups experience language shift to complete language loss. For example, in Taiwan, Mandarin is the dominant language, and has been one means that the KMT adopted to oppress and control people in Taiwan. Although the majority of Taiwanese speak Taigi, Hakka or Formosan Austronesian languages, the oppressed majority Taiwanese have undergone language shift and language loss (Hong, 2002). Chumak-Horbatsch (1999) clearly points out that after the process of language shift and language loss comes "the disappearance of L1" (p.3).

From the perspective of bilingualism, Valdes (2001) observed a generational pattern for immigrants to the USA. Over generations, immigrants gradually lose their first language to English preference and most fourth-generation immigrants will completely lose their heritage language to become English-only speakers. Valdes (2001) used symbol "A" for the full competence of immigrants' heritage language, "B" for the full competence of English, the small case "a" and "b" for the partial competence of heritage language and English. Through the generation, the language phenomenon changes from A, Ab, aB, Ba, to B monolingual in the fourth generation. Valdes' assertion is made about an immigrant society. Is the same pattern found in colonized lands and countries?

Many scholars compared Spanish speakers with other immigrant groups and found that in a supportive environment, Spanish immigrants have a lower rate of language shift. (Alba, Logan, Linton 2004; Lopez 1999; Lutz, & Stults 2002; Lutz 2006; Portes & Schauffler 1994; Rumbaut 1996) Although there are many reasons for maintaining Spanish, the size of the heritage language community has been a salient factor. Linton (2004) studied the critical mass model and asserted that when there are a certain number of minority language speakers in the community, in order to meet the expectation of its members, the percentage of the bilingual population will rise. Generations of immigrants of many English-speaking countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia all have experienced language loss and language shift to various degrees (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Kouritzin, 2006; Linton, 2004; Wong Fillmore, 1991; Yagmur, 1999). Moreover, Fernandez and Schauffler (1996) suggested that the characteristics of immigrant groups and the circumstances of immigration to the US have a great impact on the assimilation experience and result. Similar to Valdes' generational pattern, the assimilation model indicates that in the USA, the process of language shift starts once the immigrants settle down. Within a few generations they will transform into English monolinguals (Lutz, 2006). According to Wong Fillmore (1991), the process of language loss for the children of immigrants starts as early as preschool, when they enter the school system and are immersed in a predominantly English environment. Yagmur, De Bot, and Korzilius (1999) studied and noticed that language attrition starts to happen in the first generation of Turkish immigrants in Australia. Their finding is in accordance with the assimilation model.

Although the above literature reviewed is specifically focused on the immigrants in North America or Australia, are these language phenomena observed in colonized lands such as Taiwan? I found an answer from Crystal's (2000) statement that "[w]hen one culture assimilates to another, the sequence of events affecting the

endangered language seems to be the same everywhere" (p.78). It will be interesting to compare the language experiences of immigrants to those of colonized people in Taiwan. When did the Taiwanese start losing their mother tongue? How did it happen? In Taiwan, does language loss happen by a process similar to the immigrant communities in the western world as it was described by Crystal? Language loss is common among minority groups and becomes a more serious global issue as time passes. Many languages have already become extinct in recent years (Crystal, 2000). While many languages are on the way to rapid extinction, language maintenance should be an issue for policy makers and the public (Fishman, 1991).

Language Maintenance

Language transmission and language maintenance have very similar meanings, although their processes are quite different. Fishman (1991) defines language transmission as the language young children receive as their mother tongue, through oral transmission, while language maintenance is a "post-transmission process" (p.113), whose purpose is to preserve and transfer the transmitted language in a social context. In referring to Fishman (1991), Chumak-Horbatsch (1999) believes the role of transmission and maintenance is to build an environment where a large number of speakers utilize the language passed on from their families to future generations. If language maintenance fails, the number of L1 speakers will decrease through generations and eventually the dominant language will replace L1, resulting in the death of L1 (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). In another study, Kumar (2008) also supported the notion of language transmission and described the results of language transmission failure by referring to the studies of Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens (2002) and Shameem (1994). According to these studies, the failure of language transmission causes the partial or complete loss of the language. However, Rodriguez (1982) believes that if immigrant family members manage to stay close, the loss of

the first language will have no negative impact on communication and relations between parents and children. His opinion is very different from the assertions of Wong Fillmore (1991), who believes the loss of first language hinders communication between parents and children, which results in an invisible gap between them and poses a negative impact on family relationship.

In order to maintain the first languages of immigrants and minority groups in an English-dominant environment, Landry and Allard (1992) suggest two courses of action. The first one is to strengthen the importance of the first language at home and in school. The second one is to increase opportunities to use the first language. To place a very strong emphasis on the native language, the "relative isolation option" which limits or avoids the contact with the people who do not speak the native language (Fase, et al., 1992) was adopted by many immigrant families (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Yang, 2007) and families whose native language is not English (Kouritzin, 2000).

Identity and Language

Because of not wanting to be looked down on, I spoke Mandarin Chinese. Because I refused to speak Taigi, I lost it. I almost lost my ethnic identity due to the loss of mother tongue; therefore, I personally experienced how the two are inextricably connected. I found support for this belief on the relationship between language and identity from various scholars such as Chan (2002), Giles and Johnson (1981), Goldstein (1995), Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), Hansen (1995), Heller (1987), Ige (2010), Lanehart (1996), Mok (2010), Peirce (1995), and Wyatt (2009).

In addition, both Lee (2002) and Yang (2007) did research on Asian-American immigrant students and Yang asserted that "[t]here is a strong positive correlation between the students' language and cultural identity..." (p.234). Lee (2008) studied 110 Chinese-Canadian youth on potential factors influencing their global, academic

and social self-esteem. She also made the assertion that there is a strong relationship between language learning and ethnic identity.

Huang (1993) did research on Hakka Taiwanese in different regions and found that the fewer Hakka Taiwanese in a region maintain their Hakka language, the higher percentage of the Hakka population lost their Hakka identity and recognize themselves as Minnan Taiwanese. Gumperz and Cook- Gumperz (1982) stated that "[s]ocial identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language" (p. 8). Language and identity are interrelated and inseparable.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) introduced the Ethnolinguistic Vitality (short for EV) theory as a social-psychological approach to investigate the vitality of an enthnolinguistic group and the relationship between identity and language attrition. According to the EV model, the ethnolinguistic group can be questioned and measured with a low, medium, and high vitality level. The immigrant group with a low ethnolinguistic vitality is expected to most quickly lose their language and heritage identity when compared to the medium and high vitality groups. In Australia, Yagmur, De Bot, and Korzilius (1999) did research on the language attrition of first generation Turkish immigrants, utilizing the EV theory. The result matched the EV theory. The Turkish received very low vitality compared to the English vitality and had experienced Turkish language attrition. The EV theory explains why colonizers such as the KMT government in Taiwan try to build a supreme image of its language, Mandarin, and persuade the oppressed groups that the colonizer's language holds an orthodox status. In contrast, in every aspect, including languages, the oppressed groups were devalued. The EV model offers an explanation why the languages of oppressed groups often disappear sooner than other groups.

Parents' Perception

In addition to the social contextual factors as many sociolinguists (e.g., Giles and Johnson 1981, Goldstein 1995, Gumperz and Cook- Gumperz 1982, Heller 1987, and Peirce 1995) have proposed to affecting language maintenance, the role of parents' attitude and perceptions is one of the most salient factors as Amaral (2001), Shannon and Milian (2002), and Lao (2004) have described in their studies. However, the literature on the loss of Taiwanese language is rare and it is even more difficult to find studies that focus on Taiwanese parents' perception of and attitude towards mother tongues. The Taiwanese have not yet established their nation and may have not fully recognized their Taiwanese ethnic identity. Therefore, the Taiwanese are usually blended in the Chinese category and there is no research article specifically about Taiwanese parents' perception on mother tongue retention available at this point in time.

In Yang's (2007) research, Chinese-American parents expected their children to maintain Chinese language, heritage, culture, and identity no matter their social status, income level or education received. They hoped for their children to do equally well both in English and Chinese. The Ukrainian families in Chumak-Horbatsch's (1999) study also held a similar perception and attitude. Iqbal (2005) studied francophone mothers who desired to recover their first language loss in the motherhood and to pass on their mother tongue to their children. Kouritzin (2000) and her husband maintained a strict Japanese environment which contributed to Kouritzin's sacrifice since Japanese is her additional language. Although these studies addressed different heritage languages and ethnic groups, they all shared a common thread: the parents' keen attitude to pass on their mother tongue to their children. If all the parents highly value the preservation of children's mother tongue and heritage, culture identity, why would the results be so different in each case? What did the parents in each family do to cause the difference? What can so many

struggling parents do to promote their children's bilingual learning? No matter how or why, we know that parents' involvement is important (Dyson, 2001; Yang, 2007) and creating a mother tongue home environment is "the most crucial factor in predicting whether a language will be maintained across generations" (Lao, 2004, p.100).

Second Language Acquisition

At the same time that the Taiwanese lose their mother tongue, they are also acquiring their second language (L2), Mandarin. Language loss and acquisition are somehow interrelated. Second language acquisition is a very broad field (Jordan, 2004) and is not the focus of my study. However, it would be interesting to study second language acquisition in Taiwan, where all the people acquire a certain degree of competence in Mandarin. Noam Chomsky's universal grammar and the critical period hypothesis are the two theories that caught my attention and will be used to explain my findings later.

According to Chomsky (1986), universal grammar refers to an innate grammar acquisition device unrelated to intelligence that enables children to compose sentences that they have never been exposed to. Chomsky pointed out that children master their mother tongues /first language around age five (cited in Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991, p.236). Chomsky (1980) also asserted that "steady state is …attained at some relatively early stage in life" (p.228) and "then changes only in marginal way" (p.187). However, Sampson (1997) argues that language learning is a developmental process without termination and therefore, it is not in a "steady state".
Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) also point out that a variety of complicated grammatical structures that children do not learn until later when they have more interaction and involvement in society.

Because almost all of Taiwanese have acquired Mandarin as a second language, when looking at the language development in Taiwan as a whole picture, it would be interesting to compare the different Mandarin acquisition of generations from the aspect of critical period hypothesis (CPH). CPH as described by VanPatten (2007, p.6) is believed that "If language learning begins after a certain age…, the learners will never reach a level of proficiency or competence comparable to a native speaker's." CPH has been challenged by scholars such as Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978). However, many more scholars support the CPH (Krashen, 1975; Lenneberg, 1967) and others believe that adults perform better on lexicon, morphology, and syntax, while children are better on pronunciation and morphosyntax (Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2001; Long, 1990).

Feelings for the Loss of One's Mother Tongue

I did not know that the feeling of loss of one's mother tongue could be a topic for the academic research until I read studies by Kouritzin (2000; 2006) and Iqbal (2005). It was painful but touching to read the poems in "Songs from Taboo Tongues" (Kouritzin, 2006). Although coming from very different circumstances, I can relate my humiliation and fear of speaking Taigi in elementary classroom to the participant's personal stories in Kouritzin's (2006) study. The poems resonate with my emotions and bring up feelings which I had never before recognized.

In "A Mother's Tongue" (Kouritzin, 2000), Kouritzin described how she felt when creating a Japanese-only home environment for her two children. She felt painfully incapable of the baby-talk communication in L2 with her children and she identified her feelings with the emotion and pain immigrant mothers (parents) would feel. What really touched me in Kouriztin's article is that she tried to put herself in the immigrant mothers' shoes. This helps people to understand the hardships that immigrant mothers might encounter. Besides sympathy, it is an even

more meaningful encouragement for readers to search ways to facilitate mother tongue retention.

In Iqbal's (2005) study, I can also relate my situation to these francophone mothers since I am recovering my mother tongue. Many feelings of these participants are exactly how I feel. For example, "the francophone women maintained a strong attachment to their language, despite their own personal experiences of language loss" (p.306). I feel the attachment to Taigi as well but I cannot speak it with perfect fluency. Another example in Iqbal's (2005) study, "[a]s mothers endeavored to communicate well with their children, they experienced the consequences of language loss and found themselves searching for vocabulary and questioning their own choice of words" (p.315), is similar to my own experience in that I am unable to find the right Taigi word or expression to convey meanings that I know in Chinese. Moreover, I don't remember Taigi children's song, lullabies, or rhymes. I can sing in Mandarin Chinese but it is not my preference. When I sing in Mandarin, I feel artificial. I feel it's the "I" being cheated for almost my whole life. Similar to some of the participants in Iqbal's study, I feel the "pleasure" when I am conversing in Taigi. I feel very close to my Taiwanese identity and feel I am more "myself" when speaking Taigi. Although Iqbal's study focused on the francophone mothers, it broadens my prospective on the mother tongue maintenance.

Language Death

Language death is the disappearance of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Crystal (2000) stated that "[a] language dies when nobody speaks it any more" (p.1). Krauss (1992) believes that when no children are learning their mother tongue, this language is considered "moribund" (p.6) and he estimated that among 6,000 of the world languages, 50% to 90 % of them will die in the coming century (Krauss, 1992) and that two languages disappear every month (Oslter, 2001).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) defined three ways that are often used to reduce the number of language to prevent the formation of another nation: “1) physical genocide, 2) linguistic genocide, and 3) making language invisible” (p.312). Although similar, Crystal (2000) put the reasons of language death in two categories: “factors which put people in physical danger” (p.70) and “factors which change the people’s culture” (p.76). No matter Skutnabb-Kangas’ or Crystal’s definitions, the KMT used them all. The KMT first killed thousands of Taiwanese, then prohibited the use of the mother tongue in public domains, and finally made the Taiwanese identity and mother tongue invisible. In his second category on factors relate to culture, Crystal (2000) further pointed out that there are three stages within the assimilation of culture. The first stage is the “immense pressure on people to speak the dominant language” (p.78), the second stage is “emerging bilingualism” and “the third stage is, for most language, too late” (p.79). To save the language from going to the third stage, Crystal believed it is extremely important to stay in the second stage of bilingualism (2000).

All Mother Tongues but Mandarin are Endangered in Taiwan

According to information from the United Nation Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the degree of endangerment of a language is evaluated by the transmission of language among generations. There are five degrees of endangerments illustrated in the following table:

Table 2

Degree of Language Endangerment

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.
Severely endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves.
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
Extinct	There are no speakers left >> included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s.

Note. Degree of endangerment ©UNESCO, http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/

Also, the Atlas of languages in danger lists that of the Austronesian languages in Taiwan, seven are vulnerable, one is severely in endangered, five are critically endangered, and eight became extinct in the past half century.

Table 3

Endangered Formosan Languages

Degree of endangerment	Intergeneration language transmission
Vulnerable	Tayal, Taroko, Tsou, Bunun, Amis, Byuma, Rukai, Paiwan
definitely endangered	N/A
severely endangered	Saisiyat
critically endangered	Kavalan, Nataorun, Pazeh, Thao, Saaroa
Extinct	Basay, Katangalan, Kulun, Taokas, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraiya

Note. Endangered Formosan Languages ©UNESCO, http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/

Since Taiwan is not recognized as a country by United Nations, all the above data are included in the category under China. Taigi and Hakka are not included in the Atlas map. In Taiwan, perhaps due to KMT's control on publications and the social climate respecting Mandarin only, there is not much research focus on the severity of mother tongue loss in Taiwan. Taiwan is once believed to have a 73.3% Minnan-speaking population, 13.4% Hakka-speaking population, 8.0% considering themselves Chinese mainlanders, and 1.9% mountain Aboriginals (Hong, 2002). In 1997, a group of undergraduate students in Providence University surveyed the language-use situation in the public domains of Taiwan and found that Mandarin was used 54.5% of the time and Taigi was used 65.5 % of the time (Hong, 1997). In 2001, Hong did a regional research at Taoyuan City and found that in public, Taigi was used only 23.75% of time (Hong, 2002). Although the regional data might not be generalizable for all the regions in Taiwan, it does offer a sign for the possible severity of Taigi loss.

In 2002, UND news also conducted a survey and found that only 43% of Taiwanese younger than 30 years old were fluent in Taigi (UND, 2002). The situation of the Hakka language is not much better than that of Taigi. According to the Hakka Affair Council (2005), less than 10 % of students in Hakka regional schools maintain their mother tongue competence. Taigi and Hakka in Taiwan should also be considered definitely or severely endangered languages. Mandarin becomes a Taiwanese child's first language. When most children do not learn their mother tongues, language death is approaching (Hale et al., 1992).

Political Power and Language Development in Taiwan

Political power controls the education, economy, and society (Hong, 2002). The impact of political power permeates every aspect of people's everyday living. (Crystal, 2000; Tomlinson, 1995) Tracing the history from Dutch, Ching, Japan, KMT, and DPP periods of time to compare the Taiwanese language development in each regime or government, it clearly shows that political control played a different role in language development for residents in Taiwan.

Dutch regime (1624-1662) basically exploited the land of Taiwan but did not interfere with much of the Aboriginals' life. Although many Dutch missionaries tried to educate the Aboriginals and tried to influence their beliefs, it was not a violent power and therefore, the Dutch regime did not destroy much of local culture. Instead, the Dutch and the missionaries left many precious records which help us understand the Taiwanese Aboriginals' cultures and languages in 17th century (Huang, 2005).

In the Ching regime (1683-1895)[9], almost all plain Aboriginals lost their languages over 200 years of assimilation (Li, 2010). Luckily, the Ching's jurisdiction did not reach the mountain Aboriginals; therefore the languages of mountain

[9] Between 1662~1683, Kingdom of Tungning was built by a Ming dynasty pirate but is not included here.

Aboriginals maintained well over Ching regime (Hong, 1997). Taigi has always been considered a Minnan dialect from Fujian Chinese immigrants during Ching dynasty. Actually, because of many different grammatical structures in Minnan and Taigi, some Taiwanese linguists, such as Dong John Sih, Wu Guo An (Syu, n.d.), and Lin Cing Syuan (Yufu, 2012), believe that not only is Taigi a separate branch of Minnan dialect but Taigi might be one of the languages spoken by the Taiwanese plain Aboriginals according to Dutch records in 17th century.

The Japanese regime (1895-1945) adopted the dual Taigi and Japanese languages policy until 1937 resulting in the bilingualism in Taiwan (Hong, 2002). However, Japan's military fought harshly with the mountain Aboriginal tribes and Japanese officials exerted a strong control on them, which caused a great degree of Austronesian language loss (Hong, 2002). Because the Japanese government did not prohibit the use of Taigi or Hakka in any aspect, the percentage (85% Taigi and 13% Hakka) of population speaking Taigi or Hakka did not change from 1895 to 1945. Although the Japanese government adopted the Japanese-only policy after 1937, it was not implemented thoroughly and was abruptly stopped due to WWII.

In comparison with the three previous regimes, the KMT (1945-2000) is the most totalitarian government, which recklessly killed thousands of Taiwanese, and exploited and oppressed Taiwanese under almost 40 years of martial law. Under KMT's violent control, mother tongues in Taiwan have rapidly decayed within three generations. Almost all the mother tongues in Taiwan are endangered.

From 2000 to 2008, DPP took over the government and fulfilled the language revitalization program for the Taigi, Hakka, and Austronesian languages in elementary school. DPP also made modifications to the educational content to switch the focus more on Taiwan and apportioned the educational materials equally between Taiwan, China, and the World. In the eight years which DPP took office, many activities

focused on Taiwan were successful, such as research projects on Taiwan, concerts of Taiwanese songs, exhibitions of Taiwanese artists, books published on topics related to Taiwan, TV programs introducing tour trips around Taiwan, and local art activities. During 2000 to 2008, many people started to recognize their Taiwanese identity and rethink who they really are. I was one of them[10]. The direction and perspectives of DPP government changed the climate of society, released resources to local grass-root events, aroused debates as who we are as Taiwanese, and provoked conflict between Chinese and Taiwanese identity.

In 2008, the KMT regained office and all the above activities abruptly stopped. The focus switched back to Chinese and western culture. Although the KMT does not oppress the Taiwanese as it did before, the hierarchy of sociocultural and social-political structure has already formed and the society has completed its formation of Chinese ideology. Without governmental support for the Taiwanese mother tongue revitalization and grass-root activities, the movement for language revitalization stops and is difficult to move on.

Stockholm Syndrome and Language Attitude

Stockholm syndrome, a coping mechanism, is also defined as the Survival Identification Syndrome (Fuselier, 1999). After the 2.28 Massacre and 38 years of White Terror, no scholars, doctors, or psychologists had a chance to study how traumatized the Taiwanese were. To survive under the violence of KMT, the Taiwanese buried their sorrow and terrifying experience to comply with political power. Today, many doctors and scholars (Chen, 2012; Du 2012; Guo, 2003; Lin, 2010; Wakint, 2008) studied the psychology of the Taiwanese and believe that a majority

[10] Please see the brief of "Dear Taiwan 好國好民" at http://deartaiwan.blogspot.ca/p/about-film.html (English subtitle) or a shortened film at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gn5u2o8tkE (Chinese subtitle) , and "I can't speak Taigi 我不會說台語" at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yw77dezaV0g&feature=related

still are under the impact of Stockholm syndrome, that they are subject to the ideology created by KMT and consciously or subconsciously identify themselves as members of KMT in order to feel secure for life. Although, martial law was abolished many years ago, there are still police living inside many people's minds. The prison of mind did not deteriorate as quickly as the abolishment of the martial law. Taiwanese learned to be passive, obedient, cooperated and even supportive with the KMT government rules.

Crystal (2000) believes that attitude is extremely important for the revitalization of an endangered language. How people think and feel about their language and how people treat their language influence language maintenance. If people hold a positive attitude toward their language and highly value their language, their language will survive and bilingualism will continue. In the discussion of the African mother tongue program, Stroud (2001) also pointed out that "negative attitude… due to the pre-colonial prejudice or… postcolonial perception that the language lack value" (p. 340) were possible reasons for the failure of the program. The impact of Stockholm syndrome together with the ideology and social hierarchy constructed by the KMT educational system and the colonial society heavily influence Taiwanese attitudes toward mother tongues, which plays a role on the death or retention of mother tongues in Taiwan.

Who am I really? Prehistory Human in Taiwan

The earliest human in Taiwan. The human traces found in Taiwan date back to more than 50,000 years ago (Huang, 2008). At the glacial epoch, before the Sundaland disrupted into the strait, sea and ocean, Taiwan was still part of the Asian continent. Prehistoric humans migrated along the seashore from the east of North Africa, through the Arabic Peninsula, across south of Asia, and finally reached Taiwan (Lin, 1963). The Chan-bin culture (50,000~5,000 years ago) in the Paleolithic age is

the earliest prehistory site found in Taiwan (Sung, 1980). The Cho-Chen Homo Sapiens (30,000~20,000 years ago) is the earliest human remain found in Taiwan (Hsu, n.d.). In the past 100 years, over 1,200 prehistory sites have been found in Taiwan, spanning the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Iron Ages (Huang, 2008). Scholars believe that the Shihsanhang (十三行) pre-historical human is related to the Kavalan tribe and the Niasong (蔦松) pre-historical human is related to the Siraya tribe (Huang, 2008). It is highly possible that these pre-historical human are the ancestors of the Aboriginals of Taiwan.

Plain Aboriginals and mountain Aboriginals. So far not enough scientific evidence supports that the human remains found in these prehistory sites are related to the Taiwanese mountain Aboriginal people (Hsu, n.d.), which indicates three possibilities: 1) the prehistoric human went extinct for unknown reasons, 2) the prehistoric human became part of the Taiwanese plain-dwelling Aboriginals (Ping-Pu Zu 平埔族), or 3) the mountain Aboriginals came to Taiwan at a later time and might be a different race group of plain Aboriginals[11]. Lin (2010) compared the DNA frequency of the Taiwanese mountain Aboriginals (Gao Shan Zu 高山族) and found that they are the most homogenous races in the world, although each tribe is very distinct from another. Besides the reason that there was strictly no interracial marriage among these mountain Aboriginal tribes, another possible reason is that after the Sundaland sunk into the ocean and the highland became islands, the mountain Aboriginals were isolated on the mountainous area of Taiwan for

[11] The plain-dwelling Aboriginals (Ping-Pu Zu 平埔族) and the mountain Aboriginals (Gao Shan Zu 高山族) are both the original inhabitants of Taiwan. Most Taiwanese did not know about the plain-dwelling Aboriginals and considered them disappeared or extinct a century ago. Until the recent decade, scholars and the descendants of the plain-dwelling Aboriginals started to disclose information about them and have required the government to recognize their legal status as Aboriginals in Taiwan.

thousands of years.

There are nine tribes of Taiwanese mountain Aboriginals[12] (Huang, 2008). The DNA evidence shows the different biological lineage among these tribes. Some tribes are closely related, with the same ancestral DNA genes; other tribes do not have any similarity at all. Lin (2010) concluded that the nine Taiwanese mountain tribes have very diverse ancestral sources but are all biologically close to the inhabitants of islands in Southeast Asia and they are of different groups of ancestors who immigrated to Taiwan before 15,000 years ago. The nine mountain Aboriginals have long been recognized as the Aboriginals in Taiwan since the Japanese regime. Therefore, the boundary between each tribe is clear and not many issues occurred when they were classified into nine tribes. As for the plain-dwelling Aboriginals, scholars have different opinions on classification for a tribe into a subgroup or main groups. Japanese scholars Kanori Ino 伊能嘉矩, Naoyoshi Ogawa 小川上義, Shigeru Tsuchida 土田滋 and Taiwanese scholar Paul Jen-kuei Li 李壬癸 classified the plain-dwelling Aboriginals into ten, nine, twelve, and seven tribes (Academia Sinica, 2010)[13].

Ancestors for plain and mountain Aboriginals. Many scholars believe that Taiwanese plain-dwelling Aboriginals are biologically the same as the mountain

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[12] The nine tribes are Saisiyat(賽夏), Atayal(泰雅), Ami(阿美), Tsou(鄒)、Bunun(布農), Rukai(魯凱), Puyuma(卑南), Paiwan(排灣), Tao(達悟) (Huang, 2008). In recent years (2001~2008), the R.O.C. government has recognized five more Aboriginal tribes: Thao (邵), Kavalan (噶瑪蘭), Taroko/Truku (太魯閣), Sakizaya (撒奇萊雅), and Seediq (賽德克). Among these five tribes, only the Kavalan are plain-dwelling Aboriginals.

[13] Here I listed Li's classification of seven plain Aboriginal tribes with subgroups: Thao 邵族, Kavalan 噶瑪蘭, Ketagalan 凱達格蘭 (with three subgroups Basay 巴賽, Luilang 雷朗, Trobian 多囉美遠), Baburan 巴布蘭 (with four subgroups Taokas 道卡斯, Papora 巴布拉, Babuza 巴布薩, Favorlan 虎尾壟), Pazih 巴宰, Hoanya 洪雅, Siraya 西拉雅 (with 3 subgroups Siraya 西拉雅, Makattao 馬卡道族, and Taivoan 四社熟番).

Aboriginals (Chen & Duan, n.d.; Li, 2010) and they are all Austronesians. From the linguistic research, Li (2010) believes that there are no specific distinctions between plain-dwelling and mountain Aboriginals. The only distinction between the two groups of Aboriginals in Taiwan is their regional boundary, which distinguishes the plain- dwelling Aboriginals, for they had traditionally resided on the flatland of Taiwan; in contrast, the mountain Aboriginals have dwelled in the mountain area over generations. However, Lin's (2010) medical research showed that unlike the genetic homogeneity in each tribe of the mountain Aboriginals, the plain-dwelling Aboriginals have a very diverse gene pool. Although plain-dwelling and mountain Aboriginals share the same paternal and maternal gene pool which cannot be found in the Asian continent and are specifically in the southeast Asian islands, in plain-dwelling Aboriginals' gene pool, Lin found a certain ratio of gene from the Asian Baiyue (百越)[14]. Lin's studies gave evidences that 1) Taiwanese mountain Aboriginals are homogenous in its own tribe and are unrelated to the minority ethnic groups in south China. Each mountain Aboriginal tribe is very distinct from others and must have diverse sources of genes from Southeast Asian Islands. 2) Taiwanese plain-dwelling Aboriginals are genetically closely related to the mountain Aboriginals. However, Taiwanese plain-dwelling Aboriginals also share the same ancestral genes with the minority Baiyue in south China. These genes date back over 10,000 years and did not appear in recent 400 years. 3) The Taiwanese plain-dwelling Aboriginals must have had frequent interracial marriage with different ethnic groups of inhabitants in Taiwan and with the immigrants from south or southeast Asia. Therefore, their gene pool shows a very high degree of heterogeneity, but every tribe

[14] Baiyue is a minority group resides in the south of China, north of Vietnam and Thailand. A portion of Baiyue has also assimilated into Chinese and is recognized as Fujian ren. The majority of Taiwanese considered their ancestors as Fujian ren.

has its own distinction and is very different from other tribes. 4) The ancestral gene pools for both Taiwanese plain and mountain Aboriginals have been on this island for over 10,000 years.

If Taiwanese are Chinese, Where did All the Plain Aboriginals Go?

The KMT government educated us that in Taiwan, except the 2% of mountain Aboriginals who are not Chinese, all the Taiwanese are the descendants of Chinese, including the Holo, the Hakka, and the mainlanders. If Taiwanese are the descendants of Chinese immigrants from the recent 400 years, where did all the plain-dwelling Aboriginals go? What was its population before the Chinese immigrants came? How and why did they disappear in the 400 years?

Sim's study. In the past decade in Taiwan, a new ethnic theory has attracted public attention to the issue that the Taiwanese are mostly Taiwanese Aboriginals who are not ethnic Chinese. Sim (2009) in his book "Taiwan Blood Lineage Study" estimated that over 95% of Taiwanese are of Aboriginal origin (p.16). Sim made his assertion from four perspectives of studies: history records of government documents, the Taiwanese reproductive rate, the popular folk legends related to the Chinese immigration, and the interdisciplinary scientific research by other scholars such as Mali Lin, Ino Kanori, and Kanaseki Takeo.

The followings are the conclusions made from Sim's arguments:

1) In 1683 BC., the Ching dynasty defeated the Kingdom of Tungning in Taiwan. All the Chinese who resided in Taiwan were forced back to China. Only about 1,000 Chinese soldiers and officers were left on the island. The Aboriginal population was estimated around 500,000.

2) After that, the Ching emperor strictly controlled the Chinese who attempted to emigrate to Taiwan. To prevent Chinese immigration, the emperor issued permission only to male adults and prohibited any family members to accompany

them, especially women. Therefore, there was a record saying that in a Chinese immigrant community, there were hundreds of men but only one woman and this situation could be observed throughout Taiwan. This history record matches the Taigi folk saying that “There were only Tang Shan grandfathers; no Tang Shan grandmother 有唐山公,無唐山嬤.” It means that the Taiwanese have only paternal ancestors from China and no Chinese female ancestors.

3) Compared Ching dynasty’s records of farming to the population statics, Sim believed that Taiwan could feed only 10% of its population, which means the rest had to rely on other sources of food such as hunting and fishing.

4) The many records of the wrecks of ships crossing the Taiwan Strait proved that it would have been much easier to sail with the current to southeast Asia than to sail against the current to Taiwan when there was no coal-fueled ship or boat. This finding also matches the folk legend that “Ten people sailed off to Taiwan; six of them would die; three of them might pass; one of them changed his mind. 十去六死三留一回頭” which was saying how difficult it was to across the Taiwan Strait. Therefore, the Taiwan Strait was called “Black Ditch”. Only three out of ten could make the journey successfully. However, in the KMT’s government documents, up to the year of 1930, there were only 3.72 million of Chinese immigrants in southeast Asia but over 5 million Chinese immigrants in Taiwan. The population of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan should be much smaller than the population for Chinese immigrants in South Asia. Therefore, a great portion of this 5 million of Chinese immigrants should be the sinicised Taiwanese Aboriginals.

5) The high malaria mortality found in the foreign invaders, including the French, the Dutch, the Japanese and the Chinese, made it plausible that only the Taiwanese inhabitants were born with the biological protection that made them

survive on this island. From 1627~1661, there were 29 Dutch missionaries who came to Taiwan, and 10 died of malaria. From 1684~1730, nine out of 16 Chinese local mayors died within five years after their arrival of Taiwan. In 1873, Japanese troop invaded Mutan with only 29 casualties but 561 deaths from disease. In 1885, a French ship arrived in Keelung. Before they started the war, more than 500 soldiers had died from disease.

6) Since 1758 BC., Ching emperors started to change family names of a great numbers of plain-dwelling Aboriginals for a tax deduction incentive. This not only made most of the Taiwanese family pedigree of a clan inaccurate but also changed the Aboriginals' identity over generations and was a very effective means of assimilation. Many pedigrees were later found falsely recorded, especially those given after Chiang Kai-Shek took over Taiwan.

7) Sim studied thousands of Taiwanese and Chinese family pedigrees. He used the two most prestigious family names as examples. In Fujian, Chen's family pedigree, from the year of 1624 to 1795 for 171 years, recorded only 156 males immigrated to Taiwan, less than one person per year. Only 49 were married to Aboriginal women in Taiwan, 53 were never married, and 54 came back to marry Chinese women but left their wives and children in China (p.59). Another Lin's family pedigree recorded 82 males immigrated to Taiwan over 100 years. Of these 82 males, none had a descendant. However, sometime between 1765 to 1780, suddenly one descendant showed on the record. It extended to a big family of up to 105 persons in 1895 but reduced to three persons left in 1921. From these two examples, Sim pointed out that first, not many Chinese immigrated to Taiwan in the past 200 years under Ching regime; second, even if they immigrated to Taiwan, most did not marry and had very few descendants in Taiwan; third, it is highly possible that the pedigree in Taiwan had been altered because of the unreasonable increase and decrease numbers of

descendants.

8) Before the Ching dynasty loosened control of immigration to Taiwan in 1789, three times in ten years, the emperor allowed immigrants to bring family members. On the record, only 30,000 Chinese came to Taiwan in these three periods of time. The last time, in 1761, only 277 Chinese immigrated to Taiwan. This record does not support the general belief that a huge influx of Chinese immigrants came to Taiwan. Under the condition that government allowed the immigration, there were only 30,000 of immigrants over ten years. How many immigrants would have come under the strict control from 1684 to 1789?

9) After the Ching emperor lifted immigration controls in 1789, the population of Taiwan did not increase drastically. In 1875, the emperor encouraged immigration to Taiwan with free ship fare, farming tools, cattle, seeds, and enough food for the first year, but was only able to recruit 2,000 immigrants between 1875 to 1878. Everything was free but only 2,000 Chinese came. How many Chinese would have come at their own expense?

10) Using the Aboriginal population figure of around 500,000 in the Dutch records as the base, Sim calculated Aboriginal population over the years. There were no drastic changes in population and the result matches the current population of Taiwan. Therefore, Sim claimed that 95% of the Taiwanese are the descendants of the Taiwanese Aboriginals. He estimated that less than 6% of current Taiwanese population came from the Chinese immigration during the Ching dynasty. However, these Chinese immigrants would mostly have married Aboriginal women or stayed unmarried if they insisted on Chinese women. Moreover, with the high malaria mortality, Sim assumed that not many pure ethnic Chinese could have survived in Taiwan before the Japanese government improved the hygiene system after 1895.

Sim did a very thorough study on the Taiwanese population and his

assumptions and assertions are logical, reasonable and convincing. However, he did not give detailed information for some of the evidence he referred to and there were also errors in the translation from the ancient Chinese language, which has been harshly criticized by many Internet readers (Alitw, 2010; Hsieh, 2006). These two flaws take creditability and validity from his study. Nonetheless, his assertion that the Taiwanese are 95% Aboriginals does in some degree match Lin's (2010) study on Taiwanese DNA.

Lin's study. Lin and her research team studied the blood samples of 100 Taiwanese and found that for the maternal lineages: 47% are from Taiwanese Aboriginals (or southeast Asia islands, mainly the Philippines and Indonesia), 48% are from southeast Asia and the Asian continent, and 5% are from Japan; for the paternal lineages, 41% are from Taiwanese Aboriginals (or southeast Asia islands, mainly the Philippines and Indonesia), and 59% are from the Asian continent. Lin (2010) further studied HLA (human leukocyte antigen) and, with the above findings, concluded that 85% of the Taiwanese carry the gene from the Taiwanese Aboriginals. Later, after comparing her findings with the data in the Archaic DNA laboratory, Lin (2010) found that the genes which the Taiwanese inherited from their ancestors from southeast Asia and the Asian continent date back thousands of years. This means that these genes also come from the plain-dwelling Aboriginals, not from the Chinese immigrants in the recent 400 years. Therefore, Lin (2010) asserted that the ratio of Taiwanese to Aboriginal genes should be much higher than 85%.

In conclusion, Lin's (2010) findings on the medical research on blood cell of Taiwanese analysis are: 1) over 85% of Taiwanese are related to Aboriginals. 2) The blood types of Taiwanese resemble more closely the blood type of south Asians such as Tai and Vietnam and are distant from the Han Chinese blood type. 3) The Holo (Minnan) and Hakka in Taiwan appear to be the same blood type. This means Holo

and Hakka are not ethnically different but the same group assimilated into two ethnic groups. 4) Some blood types found in Taiwan Aboriginals could date back to 10,000 years ago. This means Aboriginals immigrated to Taiwan over 10,000 years ago, before the continent separated into seas, straits, and ocean. This is very different from KMT's insistence that the Chinese are the earliest inhabitants on the island.

Aboriginal population in the Dutch regime. Both Sim's assertions and Lin's DNA findings are innovative and very different from the traditional belief that the Taiwanese are ethnic Chinese. Therefore, there are certainly many critics, such as Alitw (2010), Yap (2010), Yap (2012), Sie (2006), and Chen and Duan (n.d.). Most criticism of Sim's study focus on his error on the translation from the Chinese text, which weakens his credibility. However, I am more interested in the discrepancy on the Aboriginal population under the Dutch regime. This difference could result in the deviation of Sim's estimated population of Taiwanese Aboriginals.

Yap (2012) referred to Takashi Nakamura(中村孝志) that in 1647~1656, the population of plain Aboriginals was between 31,191 to 68,657. However, Sim claimed there were about 300,000 plain Aboriginals. Huang (n.d.) also referred to Takashi Nakamura and supported Sim's claim that there were 250,000 to 300,000 plain Aboriginals during the Dutch regime (Hsu, 2008; Hsueh, 2007; Hsueh, Tai & Chou, 2005). From the same reference, the numbers are dramatically different. The book by Takashi Nakamura is not available to me so I cannot distinguish the reasons. However, from the descriptions of each article, I found the difference might be that Yap (2012) referred to the numbers of plain Aboriginals who succumbed to Dutch sovereignty; whereas other researchers (Huang, n.d.; Hsu, 2008) referred to the estimated total number of the plain Aboriginals. This number is crucial because if the number of plain Aboriginal is fewer than 50,000, then the population of Taiwan today would be

mostly the descendants of Chinese immigrants. Nonetheless, if the population of plain Aboriginals in 17th century was close to 300,000, plus around 200,000 mountain Aboriginals, then the population of Taiwan today could well be a mixture of mostly Aboriginals and a small percentage of Chinese.

The percentage of Chinese lineage. What would the percentage of Chinese lineage be? Sim (2009) suggested only 5%. Lin (2010) indicated 15% or lower. Yap (2010) questioned Lin on her earlier research (2001) finding in which Lin claimed there were only 13% of Aboriginal genes in current Taiwanese population. Lin (2010) in her book "We Circulate Different Blood" explained that the 13% figure was a rough calculation and it could also be accounted for by the sample size and selection of region (p.79). It is reasonable for a scholar to modify and change her assertions if later she finds new evidence. I do not see anything wrong for Lin and her research team to modify their assertion according to the later research findings from a different sample and research methods. Chen and Duan (n.d.) continued pounding on Lin's later finding that 85% and more of Taiwanese are of Aboriginal ancestors. Chen recalculated many archeogenetic scholars' work in the past and came out with 93%~98% of Taiwanese from Han Chinese male ancestors in the south Changjiang River and 79%~85% of Taiwanese from Han Chinese female ancestors in the south Changjiang River. However, I question Chen and Duan's (n.d.) comparison based on the hypothesis that mountain Aboriginals and plain Aboriginals are from the same ancestors and the two groups of genes should be highly similar. Traditionally, linguists and the mainstream public have believed that plain and mountain Aboriginals are biologically the same and are only different from where they have resided over generations (Chen & Duan, n.d.; Li, 2010). However, there is no evidence to show that plain Aboriginals have the same genes as mountain Aboriginals and no history record shows that mountain and plain Aboriginals are from the same ancestors.

Hence, the percentage that Chen and Duan retrieved is questionable to be used as evidence that Taiwanese are of Han ancestors because it is possible that plain Aboriginals have some genes from Baiyue, counted as being from the south Changjiang River in Chen and Duan's calculations.

Estimation from Anthropologists. Shepherd (1993) and Brown (2004) also made attempts to calculate the population of Taiwanese Aboriginals and the interracial marriage rate from historical information. They have very different opinions on these two issues. Shepherd estimated a smaller Aboriginal population and a lower intermarriage rate. In contrast, Brown believed the Aboriginal population was much larger than Shepherd estimated and the intermarriage rate between Han man and Aboriginal women was so high that it could be a reason for the migration of Aboriginal men when they could not compete with Han men for marriage. Yap (2010) did a study on intermarriage from 1905 to 1935 and found that only 0.5% of Holo (Minnan) Taiwanese chose to marry Aboriginal women. The same situation was also found in the Hakka Taiwanese. His finding suggested that intermarriage between Han Chinese and Aboriginals was not commonly accepted in Han society. However, all three of them believed that a great amount of Chinese immigration to Taiwan took place since 1624 but they were not able to distinguish the population of Chinese immigrants because the Chinese official record did not separate the static survey of Chinese immigrants and Aboriginals.

My calculation. Although it is true that the population record mixed the two groups, I did find in Sim's (2009, p.28) book that in the first two decades of Ching occupation, the record shows Chinese in Taiwan and the Taiwanese Aboriginals succumbing to Ching:

Table 4

Population of Taiwan from 1683 to 1756

Ching dynasty	Year	Chinese number	Aboriginal number
Kang Si 22nd year	1683 BC	Chinese 16,820	Aboriginal 3,592
Kang Si 30th year	1691 BC	Chinese 17,450	Aboriginal XXX
Kang Si 35th year	1696 BC	Chinese 17,773	Aboriginal XXX
Kang Si 40th year	1701 BC	Chinese 18,072	Aboriginal XXX
Kang Si 45th year	1706 BC	Chinese 18,562	Aboriginal XXX
Kang Si 50th year	1711 BC	Chinese 18,872	Aboriginal XXX
Yong Jheng 14th year	1736 BC	**600,000** mixed Chinese & Aboriginal	
Cian Long 21st year	1756 BC	660,147 mixed Chinese & Aboriginal	

Note. Data retrieved from Sim, K. D. (2009). *Taiwan blood lineage study* (p. 28). Taipei: Advanguard Publishing House.

In the record, from 1683 to 1711, the increase of Chinese immigrant was 2,052 in almost 30 years. However, in 1736, the record shows the population was 600,000. If the Taiwanese Aboriginal population was less than 50,000 according to Chen and Duan (n.d.), Shepherd (1993), and Yap (2012), this huge increase means that from the year of 1711 to 1736, in 25 years, the Chinese population flooded into Taiwan at a rate of 12,000 persons a year. What a dramatic change: from two digits the number[15] of immigrants jumps to 12,000 a year. Was it possible? If transportation at that time could have only handled fewer than 70 persons a year, how did it manage to transport over 12,000 persons a year? It is 170 times more than its capacity. Was there any new technology for ships, such as electricity, during that period of time? What caused the huge amount of immigration during these 25 years? Why did

[15] 2052/30=68.4

history not record such a huge influx of Chinese immigration? And why did the anthropologists not find this phenomenon in Taiwan society? However, if the population of Taiwanese Aboriginals was about 500,000 as Sim (2009), Huang (n.d.) and Hsueh (2007) estimated, then the total 100,000[16] of Chinese immigrants, although it still seems too high, is more reasonable.

Why I want to know who I am. After this long search, I still cannot find absolute evidence of my Taiwanese Aboriginal ancestry. However, through the unfolding of historical information and the findings of genetic evidence, it seems possible to overturn the traditional Chinese descendant belief and move toward Taiwanese Aboriginal ancestry. Many people have asked "Why bother to search?" (Chen and Duan, n.d.). Does it matter what racial identity we belong to?

We have lived generation after generation as Chinese descendants and we have lost the Aboriginal culture, ways of life, languages, ritual, customs, or any traits that symbolize Aboriginal ethnicity. Even if we are proved to be the descendants of Taiwanese Aboriginals, what difference does it make? We can never go back to the way our Aboriginal ancestors lived hundreds of years ago. When the Ching dynasty ruled this land, the residents of Taiwan assimilated into Chinese, and when the Japanese ruled this land, the residents of Taiwan went through the assimilation process again and were transformed into Japanese. The identity recognition process that the Taiwanese struggled with during the Japan era stopped abruptly because of the occupation by the Chinese KMT government.

The brutal genocide the KMT committed toward Taiwan was much worse than the oppression and unfair treatment by the Japanese government. It led the Taiwanese to doubt their ethnicity as Chinese. However, the dictatorial KMT government, highly oppressive to Taiwan, did not allow any space for other voices. 67

[16] 600,000-500,000=100,000

years later, most Taiwanese went through the public school system designed by the KMT government and became Chinese. The Chinese ethnicity has been imposed on the Taiwanese.

The ethnicity of the Taiwanese has undergone changes under different regimes. This is what Cohen (1969) claimed that ethnicity is only a “political phenomenon” (p. 198). Moreover, Brubaker (2009) believed that most scholars tend to agree that ethnic groups are “historically emergent and in some respects mutable” (p. 28). From the history of Taiwan, I see how the Taiwanese went from no concept of ethnicity to Chinese, to Japanese, and back to Chinese again. But still, I question who the Taiwanese are? Are they really Chinese? If they have been wrongfully classified as Chinese due to the political violence and the similar physical features to be mistaken for Chinese, should we Taiwanese not have an opportunity to carefully scrutinize our identity as who we are?

Although I agree with scholars who believe in the situational ethnicity (Okamura, 1981; Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990), I personally cannot take the weight off the importance of a biological connection to ethnicity. Like scholars such as Geertz (1963), Crosby (1994), and Connor (1994) who support the concept of “primordial” ethnicity, van Den Berghe (1995) defined a “social race as a group sharing physical attributes” (p.350). It probably is not necessary to be biologically alike to form a nation and there is the possibility that one ethnic group results in different nations or many ethnic groups consist of one nation. However, when it comes down to individual identity, I do not understand how one can consider biological kinship unimportant. I cannot deny the Chinese culture I have been immersed in as an important part of my life; whereas, the search for Taiwanese plain Aboriginal ancestry makes me realize that we, as Taiwanese, are quite possibly the descendants of the original Taiwanese inhabitants.

To search for the Aboriginal ancestry is not necessary for the legal status of Aboriginals and definitely not for the benefits Aboriginals are entitled to. To search for Aboriginal ancestry is to learn who I really am, to know the history and culture which was once viewed by outsiders as unworthy of passing on to generations, to cherish and recover the heritage which has vanished under the colonization and to proudly claim our true identity as Taiwanese which has a clear ethnicity boundary (Barth, 1969) very different from Chinese. Not only are Taiwanese biologically different from Chinese, but Taiwan has gone through a unique colonial history different from China and Taiwan's culture has infused portions from the colonizers. Taiwanese have gone through history as a group and have been sailing on a different trajectory since the day Ching dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan.

What Language did We Speak?

According to anthropologist Wang (2003), human beings developed language over 100,000 years ago. Along the human migration before the glacier epoch, languages separated and developed into various groups accordingly. Linguist Dong (2001) believed that Minnan dialect is not a branch of the Han language group and should have a history much older than Han language group. From the historical record by Dutch, Wu (n.d.) made an assertion that a group of Taiwanese plain Aboriginals must have had a similar version of Minnan dialect. The Aboriginals in Taiwan did not have much interaction with the Chinese across the Taiwan Strait. However, according to the Dutch record, the language of one group of the Aboriginals had very similar pronunciation to the Minnan dialect (Wu, n.d.). This matches Lin's (2010) claim that Taiwan was part of the Asian continent before Sundaland sank into the Ocean and that the group of prehistoric humans impacted by the environmental disruption became inhabitants of Taiwan. Therefore, they spoke a similar version of the Minnan dialect, just as the minority groups in the

southeast coast of China and Taiwanese have a certain percentage of genes similar to these minority groups because they share the same ancestors. After thousands of years of separation, Taigi, which people consider as Minnan dialect in Taiwan, has many structural differences from the Minnan dialect currently spoken by the Fujian Chinese, according to the study by a famous Taiwanese writer Lin Chin Shin (Yufu, 2012). All this study and research raises a new possibility that Taigi is the language of one group of plain Aboriginals. Nevertheless, the Aboriginal groups in Taiwan are very diverse and each has its own language. How they developed into the variety of races, cultures, and languages, or if they were from the same or different ancestry groups, still requires more research. My focus here is that the Minnan dialect is possibly not developed from a Chinese language variety and that a group of Taiwanese plain Aboriginals spoke a language similar to Minnan dialect, which we call “Taigi” today and is the language I consider “mother tongue”.

Chapter Four: Methodology

In this chapter, I first outline my theoretical framework and philosophy for choosing qualitative research for this study. Then I explain my rationale for choosing narrative inquiry-autobiographical study and hermeneutic phenomenological study.

In the section on research design, I describe in detail my participants, recruitment strategies, interview methods, field text, field text analysis, and writing strategies. In the last section, I explain how and why I used photos and non-participant stories in my thesis.

Theoretical Framework

In the world view of social constructivism, "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they lived and work" (Creswell, 2007, p.20). My study attempted to make sense of the world of my past, a world that I once lived and worked. From the subjective meaning construction in piles of historical information, I sought the formation for a new self. Knowledge was reconstructed through back-and-forth inquiries between my old self and current self. The self-invention, connected with the complex views of others, led to a better understanding of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan through a social constructivist view on the historical, cultural, political, and social aspects.

I use the postmodern perspective to construct my study. Instead of "calling for the action," I aimed to "change the ways of thinking" (Creswell, 2007, p.25) to arouse awareness of language loss in Taiwan. The disclosure of marginalized mother tongues in Taiwan carries my hope to "bring to the surface concealed hierarchies as well as domination, oppositions, inconsistencies, and contradictions" (Creswell, 2007, p.25) to the recognizition of the severity of the ongoing language loss on the island.

Qualitative Research

Because the nature of my inquiries on language loss roots as a human and

social phenomenon, I chose qualitative research as the approach for my study. Qualitative research focuses on the "socially constructed nature and reality" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.4). Language is a socially constructed product and should be explored with people through open-ended questions. In this research, I intended to "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.3). My fundamental inquiries are trying to understand the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan and to uncover the complex meaning from this social and historical phenomenon.

Narrative Inquiry—Autobiographical Study

As I composed the story of my own language loss experience within the context of Taiwanese society, which was severely influenced by the political power and by its 400 years of colonization, an autobiography in narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) has nicely situated itself in my study. From historical research for the past to the collection of participant data in the present, in my study I portrayed the language loss problem in the specific social framework of Taiwan across four generations. Because I drew a story line from my own experience to include the "three-dimensional narrative inquiry space" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 60; Creswell, 2007, p.56) in my study instead of the portrait of my entire life, which is described by Creswell (2007) as a criteria for the life history studies, I chose the autobiography in narrative research as my research method.

My autobiographical study chronologically presented how I lost my mother tongue in a specific time and context. The study also wove my family stories and those of other family members or relatives to holistically present my Taigi loss experience. It is a "chronologically connected" narrative study (Czarniawska, 2004, p.17) which will explore my changing identities and my understanding of the

language attrition problem in Taiwan. As Clandinin and Connolly (2000) stated, “narrative inquiry is stories lived and told” (p.20). By reconstructing and retelling my stories, I am empowered to deeply understand my own life. From my autobiographical study, I had the chance to learn who I had been, who I was and who I am becoming. I presented abundant contextual field texts of my language loss experience. I did not have a journal or diary. My autobiographical field texts were solely written from my memory, which came alive during the recent reconstruction of my new identity. I am mindful that telling my story empowers me with the privilege to be heard (Sikes, 2010). Meanwhile, I am also carrying the ethnic responsibilities in my work. I selected what to say and what not to say in the story. Through retelling the story, the life story is not “the lived” anymore. It is now seen through the lens of my perspective (Creswell, 2007) and unfolded under the subjectivity of my interpretation to connect with others’ experience to better understand language loss in Taiwan.

Hermeneutic Phenomenological Study

The language loss experience is not an individual issue. Many Taiwanese have more or less experienced loss of Taigi. In addition to my autobiographical study, I further addressed the pervasive language loss phenomenon in Taiwan’s society by utilizing a phenomenological methodology. According to Creswell (2007), there are two types of phenomenology: 1) hermeneutic phenomenology and 2) empirical, transcendental or psychological phenomenology (p.59). The hermeneutic phenomenology attempts to study the “lived experience” to distill the essence of the experience (van Manen, 1990). However, the empirical, transcendental phenomenology emphasizes philosophy without the researcher’s presumption, which requires the researcher to “bracket” out his/her personal experience in order to take a transparent perspective to study the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). Due

to the strong emotion I have for my Taigi loss experience, I do not trust myself to stay neutral without taking my own perspectives in the study. Therefore, I found the hermeneutic phenomenology to be my preferred study approach. Hermeneutic phenomenology study allows me to search a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of language loss in Taiwan. Hermeneutic phenomenology study is "the systematic attempts to uncover and describe the structure, the internal meaning structures of lived experience" (van Manen, 1990, p.9) which suits my purpose of study: to gain a multi-dimensional understanding of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan. Similar to Galetcaia (2009), by applying the phenomenological approach, I explored the lived experience through the sharings from my participants and "back to reality with a deeper understanding of the fact we start with" and "through attempts to define the phenomenon we come to a deeper understanding of ourselves"(p.53).

For my phenomenological study, I conducted in-depth conversations and semi-structured interviews with participant families to gain insights into each individual's language loss experience. Their experiences were constructed into textual descriptions with the essence of the phenomenon. After the thorough study of the transcriptions, I offered my interpretation of the significant meanings of the phenomenon.

Research Questions

By utilizing the autobiographical narrative inquiry and hermeneutic phenomenological research, I tried to learn from my own language loss experience and connect with others' experience to deepen the understanding of language loss phenomenon in Taiwan from multi-dimensional perspectives and also to look at its interrelationship with political power, colonial history and other sociocultural contexts. My overarching research questions, which this study is designed to answer,

are: 1) Who am I? 2) What is my mother tongue? 3) Why and how did I lose my mother tongue? 4) What is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 5) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 6) How do political power, colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? I addressed these research questions empirically.

Research Design

For my autobiographical narrative study, starting from my childhood to my current stage, I gave a thick description to lay out the detailed contextual information for readers to understand the journey I went through from mastering Taigi, losing it, and recently recovering it after the recognition of my Taiwanese ethnicity.

Participants. For the phenomenological study, besides my own family, I recruited two other families that have young children above school age, who do not have Taigi competence, or participants in these families, who have lost full or partial Taigi competence. The two generations (grown-up children/parents or parents/ grandparents) in the families were interested in my study and were willing to share their personal stories of language loss experience and their thoughts and feelings on the language loss themselves or their offspring. Like my family, the middle and youngest generations of these participant families have experienced part or all of the loss of their mother tongue, Taigi. Because we were from the same language background, it was easier for me to build rapport with the participants. Moreover, when people are from different language groups, the participants might be more cautious and conservative on the stories they are willing to tell and some experiences they might not want to disclose to me as an outsider. When the participants are from the same language group as I am, I can receive the information without translation and it will also bring in an intimacy which is not shared with different language

groups. These were my rationales for preferring to have participants whose mother tongue is Taigi.

Recruitment strategies. To accelerate the process of recruitment, I emailed my poster to friends and relatives who reside in different regions of Taiwan to help me distribute or post the signs in public places such as schools, libraries, supermarkets, and community centers. My participants contacted me through regular phone calls and through the people who posted the signs for me. All of my participants were given an informed consent letter about my study, in which I explained my study to them in both English and Chinese. Because my participants included family members, relatives, and other people, my consent form had to address them differently. Therefore, I prepared three versions of consent letters. All were printed in both English and Chinese and are included in appendix C, D, and E. The consent letter was signed by each interviewee prior to the first interview. To protect the identity of my participants, I used pseudonyms for my participants according to their preference.

Interview method. I individually interviewed the father or mother, and grandfather or grandmother from my three participant families. The interview questions are listed in appendix A and B. Due to my short stay in Taiwan, I was only able to finish the first interview before I returned to Winnipeg. I then communicated with my participants through emails, Skype, or regular phone calls after I completed my transcripts. The interviewees chose the language they preferred for the interviews (Mandarin or Taigi). The interviews took place at the interviewees' choice of time, date and place. Most of my interview transcripts are in a mixture of both languages. The content of interviews was transcribed into Chinese characters with few English or Chinese phonetic symbols and sent to my participants through emails. Because some of my participants had a hard time reading my transcripts, I read the transcripts for them over the phone, confirmed with them the accuracy of the

transcripts, and deleted or added information according to their requests. All of my participants had chances to change, delete, and/or make modifications on the transcripts.

Field texts. All the interview recordings were transcribed into Chinese-Taigi mixed transcriptions. Since I do not know how to write Taigi, my Taigi transcriptions were in Chinese characters which present the sounds of Taigi. Because the Chinese characters only make up Taigi sounds and cannot convey the correct Taigi meaning, together with my imperfect Taigi ability, it was not easy for me to review my Chinese-Taigi mixed transcriptions. I had to go back to some of the recordings several times in order to organize the significant statements in the transcripts. The interview transcripts then were composed into interpretive textual descriptions according to the list of significant statements from each family. All the data is stored in my password-protected laptop and will be destroyed three years after the completion of the thesis.

Field text analysis. To analyze my data, it was necessary to define the generations after the KMT colonization. The first generations were adults when KMT occupied Taiwan in 1945. Their children who were born around 1945 are the second generation. Therefore, in my participants, the second generation includes Mofan, Dafu and Gigi. The third generation includes Daisy, Daho, Jade, Bo, Fish, and I. Children of Bo and Daisy/Daho are the fourth generation. I did not interview any one from the first or fourth generation. I received information on first and fourth generations from my participants. Table 5 illustrates the generations of my participants.

Table 5

Generations under the KMT's Colonization

Year	1945	After 1930	After 1965	After 1995
After KMT occupied Taiwan	Adults	Children	Children of 2nd generation	Children of 3rd generation
Generation	1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation	4th generation
Participants/ Non-participants		Mofan, Dafu, Gigi	Bo, Fish, I, Daisy, Daho, Jade	Bo's children, Son of Daisy & Daho

In the process of sorting out the significant statements, the characteristics of language development across the generations were so salient and interesting to me. Therefore, I first did a comparative analysis on different language development features on my participants. It is interesting to see how Taigi is lost through generations and to compare Taigi loss in Taiwan, a colonized country, to the first language loss in immigrant communities in North America. Ten features of language development across generations are presented in Chapter eight.

I then coded the significant statements related to feelings, identities, society, and thoughts. The codes were organized into eleven meaning units of themes to distill the essence of the phenomenon.

Writing strategies. To blend well my two sets of data: autobiography and phenomenology, I chose to write my research text by reporting the themes. In this approach I tried to find a common thread across participants by "reduction downward to themes" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.143) and composite the "exhaustive description of the essential invariant structure (or essence) of the

experience" (Creswell, 2007, p.187). By writing this way, I hoped to distill and concretize my in-depth understanding of this research.

The Use of Photos and Personal Stories

I used the photos of the 2.28 victims and stories of their family members to indicate that if the KMT government so recklessly and carelessly killed the Taiwanese, they definitely came with the colonizer mentality. Since I have deliberately chosen and arranged the photos and pictures in hope of evoking similar emotions and belief, I utilize the collage technique as Vaughan (2005) described as a model to generate "distinctive understandings" by "deliberately incorporate(ing) non-dominant modes of knowing and knowledge systems" from "different cultures" (p.32).

In contrast to the collage technique, which is "deliberately cut and pasted together in order to convey some kind of message or feeling" (Beach, 2010, p.316), bricolage embeds an open-end message "in the belief that data will speak themselves" (Beach, 2010, p.316). In the chapter of my autobiography, I occasionally placed some pictures, when I mentioned items that I believed a picture would help the reader to better understand an object and a sense of the culture embedded in the photos. Therefore, I utilized both bricolage and collage techniques on presenting the photos in my study.

After explaining my approaches to do the research, I started to go into my narrative inquiry field texts. Chapter five starts from a brief introduction about the beginning of my journey and goes into details of my autobiography written from my memory.

Chapter Five: My Autobiography

To me, China is like the moon: so far away but I see it every day. It influences my everyday life. I have knowledge about it, but I don't personally know it well. I have never been to it. It seemed so distant but so familiar to me.

~~by Wan-Hua Lai

My Narrative Beginning

I had always thought I was a Chinese until I started talking to a young Chinese roommate I once had. We started our conversation like this:

Roommate: Where are you from?

I: I'm from Taiwan. How about you?

Roommate: I'm from Hebei. So, you're Chinese.

I: No, I'm Taiwanese.

Roommate: Taiwanese is Chinese. Like me, I would say I'm Hebei ren (people) but I'm also Chinese. You're the same. You're Taiwanese and also Chinese. Taiwan or Hebei is the name for province but we are all Chinese.

I: … (Being called "Chinese" made me feel awkward.)

Roommate: Good! You're Chinese and I am Chinese. We can get along well!

I was taught throughout my school career that I was Chinese. I learned about the Chinese provinces, language, geography, and history. I was never aware of the difference between Taiwanese and Chinese until the day I was overseas and met my roommate. Although she claimed we were both Chinese, I felt so much different from her, except that we spoke the same language and we both had black hair and same skin color, but so do the Japanese, the Korean, the Vietnamese, the Tai and the Lao people. I have never been to China and everything I knew about China was from textbooks, from teachers at school, from the KMT government, or from the mass

media. Am I really Chinese? Deep down inside me, I had a conversation with myself:

"I'm Taiwanese, not Chinese!"

"Really?"

"But, maybe I'm both Chinese and Taiwanese?"

"Taiwanese?"

"But, I know nothing about Taiwan!!"

"Can I be Taiwanese if I don't know Taiwan well?"

At this point, I started to wonder what I knew about Taiwan. I never learned Taiwan's geography, history, society, literature, language, art or music in any way, especially at school. I could not name any Taiwanese writers or musicians, nor did I know much about the Taiwanese culture or traditions. Most sadly, I knew that I was unable to fluently speak Taigi. However, my Mandarin skills are excellent. All of this made me wonder if I was truly Taiwanese or both Taiwanese and Chinese? For me "Chinese" felt like a meaningless and somewhat unreal label for me. It makes me feel invisible. When you call me "Chinese", a very crucial part of me disappears but another only-learned-from-book part of me is exaggerated. My identity is distorted in the label of "Chinese". The "displacement of value" and "ambivalence of hybridity" (Bhabha, 1994) ferment inside me. It probably is the similar feeling of the Chinese immigrants in Canada to be called "Chinese". Are they supposed to be identified as Chinese or Canadian?

I started my journey to seek out who I really am from the history hidden behind the KMT's colonization— the history that I had never been taught at school. The history that is not the version of China, not the version of the KMT government, but the version of me, a person who was born and lives in Taiwan over 30 years. By

unfolding Taiwan's history, I hope that someday, Taiwan will get rid of the impact of colonization and become an independent country, a "nation" defined by Renan (1990) to be decided by the will of its people.

From my previous study and from life experience, I came to realize that Taigi is the mother tongue of my parents, grandparents, and relatives. As a result I changed the focus of my research from Mandarin to Taigi. Later, in examining the history of Taiwan, it soon became apparent that language loss is, in large measure, the product of political realities and colonialism. At this point, I will share my autobiographical memories of my past in the context of language loss and the larger environments in hope of answering several of my research questions: 1) Who I am? 2) What is my mother tongue? 3) How and why did I lose Taigi? 4) How do political power, colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan?

Memory in Autobiography

My autobiography includes seven stages. I chronologically describe my memory of life stories from my childhood to current time. From stage one to stage six, I include a beginning section to give a brief description of what the stage is about and an ending section to conclude how the information disclosed is related to my inquiry. Reflections on my present thoughts and feelings are added occasionally in stages. The beginning, ending, and reflection sections are presented in italic font.

The following is a detailed account of my autobiography.

Stage One: Immersed in Taigi Environment and Mastered Taigi

Beginning. *In stage one, I state my memory before I was eight years old. Although the KMT harshly oppressed the freedom of the Taiwanese during this period, it was a peaceful and happy time for the children. Being a child, I did not know anything about the 2.28 Massacre or White Terror. They were taboo; no one was*

supposed to bring it up at all. We all spoke Taigi during this time. I describe our community, friends, relatives and daily activities to show the picture of our normal life. The children had contacts with both similar age children and adults. The medium for communication was almost all in Taigi until we started elementary school. It was later during my research journey that I was able to realize through the Chinese cartoons, strict time limitation on Taigi TV and radio programs, and reading materials all in Chinese, that the KMT government had put emphasis of Chinese into every family in Taiwan.

I am from a family of five and have a father, a mother, an older brother, and a younger sister. My siblings and I were all born in Kaohsiung City, the second largest city in Taiwan, whose population was close to one million at the time we were born. My parents are both from Changhua County(彰化縣), located in the eastern central region of Taiwan.

My father was the only one of his siblings to have left his home town and established his own family 200 kilometers from Changhua County. Until today, my paternal uncle and aunt still reside near this ancestral land. On my mother's side, her seven sisters all have married and moved to many different counties in Taiwan. This was wonderful for us since every holiday, my parents would take us to visit our relatives in these many areas of Taiwan.



Figure 6. Map of Taiwan, Taiwan Happy Travel Retrieved from http://fangshiushiu.wordpress.com/2011/04/22 Original web address (Public domain): http://www.tiup.org.tw/new%20980310/taiwan_map.jpg

As a child, I remember meat was very sacred and expensive. We only ate it on special occasions such as the New Year celebrations, the Dragon Boat Festival, our ancestor worship ceremony, and a few other special times. My father constantly reminded us that in his childhood, he was almost always hungry and had very little of anything.

At numerous times, I recall I could not finish my meals and fell asleep at the dining table. One day, my father found a mouse hole at our small back yard. Although I was scared to death of mice, I started to share my food with the mice. Days later, my father said to my mother "嘿鳥翅啊那ㄟ變嘎價大家?" (Why are the mice getting so

chubby?) They both went to check the mouse hole and discovered the food I left. I was severely punished for wasting the precious food.

Because I had been caught sharing my food with the mice, my parents had me sit at the front door to prevent me from getting to the back yard without being noticed. Our neighbors saw that I struggled to finish meals. One day, one neighbor with a sympathetic facial expression came forward to me and said,

你甲崩哈慢,甘ㄟ是孬幺 shin shue 康? giuo 你ㄟ媽媽 chua 你去刮咖大康機哩,啊呢 min gia m 加吞ㄟ落,啊呢的沒甲哈慢啊啦!

(Translation: You eat so slowly. Maybe your throat is too narrow for swallowing. Ask your mother to take you to see the doctor and have him cut your throat a little bit bigger so the food can pass through easier. Then you won't eat so slowly).

Clearly, this was only a sarcastic joke but to a four or five year old child, I was thrilled to know the reason why I always ate very slowly and finally there was a way to solve the problem. I told my Mom exactly and she laughed hard. It became a famous joke, well-known by our neighbors, relatives and family.

Both my parents worked full time. My mother was an elementary school teacher. My father worked in the largest cement company which the KMT government took as its own asset from the Japanese government. While my parents worked, they had their two teenage nieces come to babysit us. However, I was sick so often. My parents sent me to my grandmother's clinic. I might have been sent to Grandma, even before I was able to master a language.

My brother did not often accompany me. I do recall one time, Grandma was taking a bath and my brother and I peeked under the door. Grandma heard our giggles. She told us she was coming out to get us. It was like playing hide-and-seek

with Grandma. We were excited and having fun. A couple of houses away from Grandma's was a rice mill. I remember playing with this family's little girl on piles of rice. Sometimes, we would lie on top of the rice pile having little "conversations." Sometimes, we chased each other, climbing up and sliding down, on the rice piles. My memories were so vague. I wasn't sure if it was truly a memory or just my imagination. Until I was about twelve years old, one holiday, we drove by a street so familiar to me. My Grandma pointed to a house and said "這是哇以前ㄟ診所,啊擱過去幾間是 hi 間米尬…" (This was my clinic before and a few houses over, was a rice mill...) I described what I recalled. My mother said I was not yet three year old at that time.

Grandma was the youngest daughter in her family. Her parents gave her away to a wealthy family to be the future bride of their young son, who would become my Grandpa[17]. Grandma often talked about how much she loved learning but she did not have many opportunities to do so. Every day, she worked diligently for her adopted family. In Grandma's words, she worked "no day and no night 沒眠沒日," which meant she worked so hard that there was no difference between day and night. She had to get up early to cook meals for the family, to prepare food for the household animals, to fill the water tank from the nearby well, and to rush to school. Every day she would be late for school and had to accept a punishment. When she returned from school, she had to work on the farm, to cook for the family, and to wash all the clothes. After all the household chores were done, she would have very little time to study before all the lights were out. When everyone slept, Grandma studied by the

[17] I asked father if Grandpa's family was wealthier than Grandma's. Father said "No." I questioned him then as to why Grandma would have been given away to Grandpa's family. My dad did not know but suggested that, "Probably because people in the past didn't like to raise girls and if you had a son, your son would soon need a wife anyway. You might as well raise the girl yourself."

dim moon light[18].

In the entrance exam for high school, Grandma got accepted into the best high school for girls, Changhua Female High School. However, her stepfather, my great Grandpa, didn't allow her to study because her future husband wasn't accepted into any school[19]. "Girls (wives) shouldn't have higher education than boys (husbands)" was a belief well accepted by most people in that era. But Grandma didn't give up studying. She asked for help and financial support from relatives of extended families. Finally Grandma was able to enroll in a midwife training school and many years later became a doctor[20]. Besides working as a midwife, Grandma also worked on the farm planting rice, vegetables, and tobacco. She started a small scale trading business with Japan or other southern Asian countries. Once Grandma took a ship from Japan back to Taiwan, the ship was bombarded by the US Army. A bullet shot into Grandma's back. She thought she was dying, but a Japanese doctor carried her below deck and performed surgery right away to remove the bullet. Without the brave Japanese doctor, no doubt Grandma would have died onboard. Grandma told me no matter how we were educated to be anti-Japanese by the KMT government, she would always be grateful to Japan for that Japanese doctor who had saved her life. This life history Grandma told me decades ago remained a story of others and I paid little attention as it seemed to have no relevance to me in my early life. The story never evoked my curiosity to understand more about Grandma's life. I heard it and I forgot it. Twenty years ago, Grandma closed down her clinic at the age of 79. A few years later, she was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. Now I wish so much I had learned

[18] If life at the Japanese era was already so difficult, but Grandma appreciated it much more than the KMT government, I wonder how terrible life could be after the KMT came. However, Grandma rarely talked about lives after the KMT came. Was it because of the KMT's strict control and scrutiny?
[19] I checked with Father and he said that Grandpa had a diploma from a local vocational school.
[20]The KMT killed many doctors in the 2.28 Massacre. There was a shortage on doctors afterwards. Therefore, the KMT allowed related occupations to become qualified doctors with additional training.

what Grandma had been through decades ago, but Grandma is unable to wake up and tell me more about her life and the history of Taiwan.

When staying with Grandma, I never needed to worry about finishing a meal. Grandma let me to choose what I wanted. I remember once I picked sweet rice noodles (米苔目) and another time, I picked sweet grass jelly (仙草冰). In the middle of her work, Grandma would take a short break and ride her bike to find my "selected meals." I enjoyed being pampered by Grandma. Although boys were valued more than girls in the society, Grandma treated all her grandchildren alike and she often said "囡仔已後嫁郎,做郎ㄟ某,好命壞命攏抵別郎手頭,進嘛 lan ㄟ當嘎惜,得愛嘎多惜掛,多疼掛!" (Girls will marry to another family in the future and become their daughter. Her future destiny would no longer be controlled by us. So now, when we have her as ours, we should love her more and cherish her more.)

At a certain period of time in my memory, Grandma's clinic was extremely busy. There were more than six nurses[21]. All the beds for patients were occupied. Two rooms inside with more privacy were filled by women waiting to deliver their babies. Upstairs, there were three rooms for the nurses, one room for supplies, and one bedroom for Grandma.

At a certain point, I returned to live with my family. Grandma still worked industriously at her clinic at Yunlin County. It took about three or four hours by the slow speed night train to travel from Grandma's clinic to Kaohsiung. Sometimes, after finishing a day's work at about 10 o'clock at night, Grandma would hop on the night train to visit us. My parents would wake us up for Grandma's visit in the middle of the night. After one or two hours, my father would take Grandma for the earliest

[21] I believed there were once over 10 nurses but I confirmed with my father. He said at most 3 nurses. This was so different from my memory.

morning train heading north. Grandma arrived at her clinic in the morning and she immediately started a day's work. When we woke up in the morning, we were all confused about Grandma's visit. Did it really happen? Did Grandma really come to see us? I wondered why I didn't remember, until we saw everything Grandma cooked for us, and then we would realize that Grandma had come to see us[22]. We would start to chat about how much we wished Grandma could stay for a couple more days. But, in my memory, Grandma never came to stay with us overnight, not until she closed her clinic. Grandma was always so busy and kept a ridiculously fast pace. She always worked hard and never took a day off until the day she retired. Meanwhile, once we were in junior high school, we all had lots of schoolwork, and had very little time to talk with Grandma.

***Reflection**. Grandma's story played an important role as a turning point for my awareness of Taiwanese identity. Grandma's life story laid out the contextual information in both the Japanese and the KMT eras. It was the connection of Grandma's story with Father's description of how poor they once were that put the pieces of history together. This realization made me accept that the KMT told us lies at school: that the Taiwanese were very poor in Japan's occupation and it's the KMT's greatness that made Taiwan into a modern country.*

When I was little, it seemed that every family was poor. Because we didn't eat meat often, we were thrilled when Grandma brought us a whole chicken. At the time, in our neighborhood, very few families used gas to cook and to boil water. Most of our neighbors used wood burners[23].

In my memory, the road in front of our house was huge but very rocky. Very

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[22] My mother did not know how to make triangle rice dumplings, or how to kill and prepare a whole chicken.)

[23] To see a picture of wood burner at Sharon's blog http://www.wretch.cc/blog/sharonshih/32628912

few cars were on the road. Usually, they were only the farmers' machines (鐵牛) or three-wheel carts (三輪車). They went by so slowly that we did not worry about them. Very rarely, when a car drove by, we had to dash into the house and shut the door immediately. Otherwise, we would have been caught in the sand storm and forced into a coughing fit. None of our neighbors had cars. The most common transportation was bicycles. Motorcycles were not commonly seen yet. Only two or three neighbors had motorcycles. One day, a humongous truck barreled down emitting black, sticky, steaming liquid (asphalt) in its container, pouring the goop on the rocky road. We were very curious by this big truck. Every child was watching. The children stood behind their fathers. Some big kids yanked their neck to see more what was happening. The small kids like me, squatted down under the crotch of our fathers[24]. They paved the rocky road. The construction work lasted for days. Many kids touched the pavement or were splashed by the asphalt. We would sing: "點仔膠，黏到腳，叫阿爸，買豬腳，豬腳箍仔滾爛爛，枵鬼囝仔流嘴涎 Asphalt , sticky to my feet, call for my Dad, to buy pig feet, stewed pig feet so soft, greedy kids drooling[25]". During that time, this was a very popular song that every Taiwanese knew. After I realized Taigi is my mother tongue, this was the only Taiwanese children's song that I could remember.

In the first one or two years of my memory, we did not have tap water[26].

There was a well in the neighborhood, just a couple houses down from ours. The neighbor aunties often washed clothes, cleaned food and furniture, bathed the

[24] When I was before school age, women were not often seen in the public except the at the grocery market. Especially when there were a group of men, it seemed inappropriate for women to join the men as equals.

[25] To hear the song, please click the link http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CdRGRyzgl2o

[26] My memory is not correct. My mother said in her memory, by 1960, almost all the families in the cities had tap water.

little kids, and took pails of water home for their household usage. The well always looked intriguing to me. Why would water come out after you push down the wooden handle? It was magic. The older children played with it. But adults scolded them for wasting the water. Nobody I knew used a hot water boiler at that time. There was only cold water from the faucets. Father would boil hot bathing water on the stove. He bathed my brother and me together and saved the water for himself and Mother.



Figure 7. Well. Yulin Good Time 雲林時光 with permission. Retrieved from http://blog.yunlin.me/2010/12/30/5-4/#comment-8619

One year, Father had to work at an overseas plant in Indonesia. Mother was very nervous and worried. Our babysitters talked about “In-Ni” (Indonesia in Taigi) all the time. One day, after I was bathed, one of my cousins (babysitters) dried my hair. I excitedly told her that when my father was going to In-Ni, I could study “I-Ni” (the first grade in Taigi). (“八八哪去印尼ㄟ時陣,的是我賣去讀一年ㄟ時陣啦!) They laughed at me for my funny connection and childish sense of logic[27].

[27] “Indonesia” and “first grade” sound very similar in Taigi. I messed up these two words and thought when my father went for his “first grade”, I would go for my “first grade” as well. After confirming with

I started kindergarten with my brother. My brother seemed to adjust well and was having fun. I believe teachers spoke Mandarin in that kindergarten. Therefore, I didn't understand what the teachers were saying. In my memory, the only song I learned from that kindergarten was the Mandarin version of "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star". Every day, my brother was given a red ribbon with the words "Good model" or "Good baby" hanging around his shoulders. When we arrived home, the cousin who cared for us would start to praise my brother for being a good model but tease me for being a crying baby (愛哭鬼) and a skinny monkey (刪皮巴，刪猴仔). One day, mother wasn't home and I had a nightmare. My cousin gave me a piggy-back ride at our backyard, singing Chinese children's songs such as Two Tigers (兩隻老虎), Young Sister Carries the Doll (妹妹背著洋娃娃), and Butterflies Are So Pretty (蝴蝶真美麗). I don't remember if they sang any Taigi songs or because of the Mandarin enforcement at school, I only remember the Mandarin songs.

Most of our neighborhood children were boys. Only the two sisters next door were my playmates. The older sister was several years older than most of the kids and was the leader of the group. The younger sister often played make-believe with me, but she joined in the group game at times. I would be left alone to watch them play. I was too young to play the big kids' game. When we played, most kids spoke Taigi and very few spoke Mandarin. When my brother was in the third grade, he would sometimes act as the leader. I remember my brother commanded the group in a mixture of Taigi and Mandarin[28]. After we all studied at elementary school, the group communicated more in Mandarin.

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my mother, she said I was only three or four years old at the time my father went to Indonesia. It was impossible that I would go to school at such a young age. But they did send me to kindergarten with my brother around that time.

[28] I couldn't fully understand it, but I could distinguish the difference.

Every year during the New Year's Holidays we would go back to my father's home town Changhua County to celebrate with my grandmother, my uncle (Grandma's older son), my aunt (Grandma's daughter-in-law), and my four cousins. We took the train from Kaohsiung City to Changhua County. The train station was crowded with people returning home for the holiday. The train was fuelled by coal. Its black smoke flew into the passenger carriages and by the end of the three to four hour journey, our faces, hands, and clothes were completely blackened with soot. When it was close to lunch time, on the platform, the vendors would hang a wooden container full of lunch boxes on their necks, yelling "Lunch box! Lunch box! (便東!便東!)" Some of them would hop on the train to sell for a few minutes, and jump off before the train accelerated.

Reflection. *Many nuanced episodes in my memory related to fragments of Taigi remind me of my interactions between parents, siblings, and neighbors. It is from these episodes that I was able to bring in the background of the Taigi words others told me. It is these memories that reassure me that I was once able to understand and speak Taigi. The sound of Taigi echoed in my mind. Even 30 years later, I still remember clearly how those Taigi words were spoken to me. The memories of Taigi made me find the intimacy and emotional tie I have with Taigi*

Soon I started to attend elementary school. Mother trained me and my brother to take buses on our own. We were often home alone at lunch time. My brother would reheat our lunch boxes in the rice cooker. Our neighbors would come to check on us. Sometimes, Mother was home in the afternoon. She made us all take naps. Occasionally, I was awake. I would sneak outside. It was so quiet. The sun was shining in the sky. The air was hot. Nothing was moving. There were no vehicles on the road. It looked like the whole city was taking a nap as well. By the end of the nap time, the

climate started to change. I could hear the neighbor aunty yelling at her kids. I could hear the kids calling each other to play outside. I could hear all the different sounds and smell the smells that symbolized the active lives of our neighborhood. We all communicated in Taigi at that time.

However, since I started elementary school, I recall my mother started to require us to speak Mandarin at home. She would be very angry if we were fined or punished at school for speaking Taigi. My second grade teacher was very stern. We were not allowed to speak Taigi in class. The punishment for speaking Taigi included standing at the back of the classroom for long periods of time, extra homework for repeatedly writing "I will not speak Taigi again" for several pages, or the worst, having a sign hung on the neck, which said "I speak Taigi . I'm stupid. I'm a pig." And you had to find the next classmate who spoke Taigi at school in order to pass this sign to him or her. I remember being punished by receiving extra homework and having to stand up in class. At school, teachers all spoke in Mandarin. All the course materials were in Mandarin and all the subjects were taught in Mandarin. We learned the phonetic symbols for Mandarin in the first grade and by the second grade, we could read and write Chinese characters with the phonetic symbols along the side of each character. All students were required to read paragraphs in the textbook without phonetic symbols by the fourth grade. We learned Chinese songs in music class. In school, there were signs everywhere, saying "Be a Chinese with good virtue and dignity (做個堂堂正正的中國人)"[29].

[29] For the sign at school, please see:
http://iservice.libertytimes.com.tw/inform/news_1.php?no=162687



Figure 8. Elementary school workbook with sign of "Be a Chinese with good virtue and dignity(做個堂堂正正的中國人)", from Yap at http://blog.roodo.com/yaphahaha/archives/2768603.html

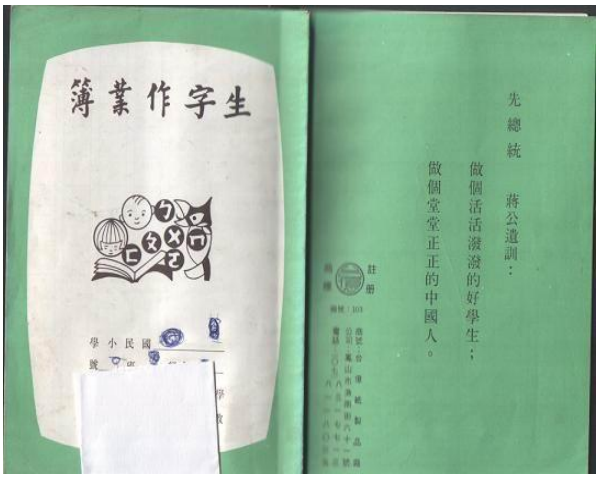


Figure 9. Elementary school workbook with sign of "Be a Chinese with good virtue and dignity(做個堂堂正正的中國人)", from Autumn Wind 秋風 at http://www.news100.com.tw/viewtopic.php?p=53224&sid=332656e516729c7f50de0bc3d8817c83

We were taught that we were the descendants of dragons (龍的傳人) and the descendants of Chinese Yan and Huang emperors (炎黃子孫). Each class was about 50 minutes long. Once the teacher came in the room, the class leader ordered everyone to stand up(起立), stand straight(立正), and bow(敬禮) to our teacher and Sun Yat-Sen's (national Father of R.O.C.) portrait which hung at the front of each classroom.



Figure 10. Sun Yat-Sen's picture on top of the blackboard/elementary classroom in the past. With permission from Rainlan/ Hsuan Lin Chen http://www.flickr.com/photos/rainlan/1232720906/?reg=1&src=comment

We greeted our teacher while we bowed. We did the same ritual before the teacher dismissed us for recess. We had to say it loud and clear; otherwise, the teacher could punish us all and make us stand there through the recess. There were eight classes a day and we had to repeatedly do this for each class from elementary to junior high school. If we saw Chiang Kai-Shek's and Sun Yat-Sen's portraits or statues, we needed to bow to show our respect, and we always had to walk calmly when we are close to these portraits or statues. The year Chiang Kai-Shek died, I was four years old. I remember many people crying like their own father had died. My parents took us to Chiang Kai-Shek's viewing. Millions of people lined up, crowded on the road toward where his coffin lay. I was too little to understand why they were crying like that. Many people knelt down, screaming and banging their heads on the ground like they couldn't live without this person. Everything was black and white. My father was holding me. Looking down up high, I couldn't see any other colors except black and white. It was a very weird and scary moment to see so many people losing control and crying. I don't remember seeing the dead body. But we and many others were all in a room. There, everyone had to be quiet. But I could still hear sobbing. There were military police guarding the room. No one should stop to block the flow. Maybe my father did explain to me what was going on but I didn't understand. Even when I was in elementary school, I didn't connect this experience with Chiang Kai-Shek's portrait until I was much older.

We had a black and white TV at home but Mother only allowed us to watch it for a short time after we finished homework. Mother made us write a diary every day while she marked her students' homework. I wrote in phonetic symbols and gradually added in more and more Chinese characters to my diary. Mother was very strict. She would erase everything we wrote and asked us to redo it if she wasn't satisfied with the quality of our writing. Meanwhile, Father would be reading his

English magazine in another room. Sometimes, Father would have us all around him to read the English stories for us, giving us the translation later. When I was a second grader, we were excited that there would be TV with color[30]. Our neighbor bought a new color TV. Every day, we hurried to finish our homework so we could watch the color TV at the neighbor's house. There were cartoons such as "Mazinger Z 無敵鐵金剛", "Candy Candy 小甜甜", "Heidi 小天使", "Perrine Story 小英的故事", "Guardians of Space 科學小飛俠", "Sea Prince 海王子", "Popeye 大力水手", "Little Bee 小蜜蜂", "Vicky the Viking 北海小英雄", etc. All of them were in Mandarin. There were no cartoons in Taigi but the Taiwanese "puppy show (布袋戲)" was very popular. There was a temple across street from our neighborhood. Sometimes they would hold the real "puppy show (布袋戲)". After dinner, my father would take us to watch the show. Before it was over, my mother would come to take us home to write our diaries and get ready for bed. With the advent of color TV and cartoons which made appearance in our lives, children only played outside games over the weekend when there were no cartoons. The neighbor sisters next door were in junior high and sixth grade. They came home late and rarely had time to play with us. The rest of the children still watched TV together and played between commercials or on weekends. To view a brief beginning show of these cartoons, please see the Internet links in Table 6:

[30] Taiwan might have had color TV earlier but in our neighborhood, I remember the first color TV around my first or second grade.

Table 6

List of Cartoons

Film name	Links to watch films
Mazinger Z 無敵鐵金剛	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ojzp_zv5dwg
Candy Candy 小甜甜	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0eIWb2UYRUY
Heidi 小天使	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDirtY_vI44
Perrine Story 小英的故事	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAOp58j0kWE
Guardians of Space 科學小飛俠	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4rVbXOptKM
Sea Prince 海王子	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_gZt_EuirE
Popeye 大力水手	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqnDWRcOWck
Little Bee 小蜜蜂	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4ZYLberXl8
Vicky the Viking 北海小英雄	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sanoNxeiV2U
Puppy show 布袋戲	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gr-UMi2xxxQ&feature=related

My mother subscribed to a children's newspaper for my brother and purchased a huge series of scientific books. My brother loved to read. All the reading materials were in Chinese characters. I liked to read the newspaper. I tried to read it but was not very successful, since there were too many words that I hadn't learned yet. We didn't have other books at home. At school, the teachers' cabinets next to my mother's had many children's books. I loved to read these books after school while waiting for my mother to finish teaching.

Ending. *In this stage, I include information on who I am through the*

introduction of my original family and the construction of Taiwanese identity through the interactions with others in the community and extended families. I describe stories related to my memories of Taigi to present my Taigi acquisition. Economy, financial concern, and the environment all play important roles on parents' attitude of children's language learning. Some stories on the social contextual information are given to show the possible reasons for parents' language attitude and the political power embedded behind the context. Stories on Chiang, Kai-Shek's death and rituals in the class are indications of a totalitarian country during that specific era. The emerging Mandarin acquisition appeared at the end of this stage.

Stage Two: Moving Symbolized the End of Taigi Environment

Beginning. *In stage two, moving to the new neighborhood disconnected most of our contact with outside world. We, my siblings and I, mainly interacted with our family and classmates, with whom we used Mandarin almost all the time. Day by day, the academic pressure got heavier. It is also an indication that we were immersed in a Chinese monolingual environment since Mandarin Chinese was the only allowed language in the KMT's education system. In this stage, I try to present how much influence the school policy and education could have on the children.*

I enjoyed living in our neighborhood[31]. But my father bought a new house so we had to move. We rode on a three wheeled cart from our old house to the new one. It was my first and only time to ride on the cart.

[31] After consulting with my mother, I learned there were only 12 families in our neighborhood. Two of them were mixed marriages of mainlander and Holo ren. One was a Hakka family.



Figure 11. Three wheeled cart, copyright by Pei Lai. Reprinted with permission.

We rarely saw our new neighbors. We didn't even know if there were children of our ages in our new neighborhood. At this time, my mother registered us in the afterschool program. Besides the art class, we learned calligraphy, Chinese painting, and the abacus. I also joined the choir and later, the drum team. At home, my parents hired a tutor to teach us piano and to teach my brother violin. I wasn't doing well academically but I loved my art and piano classes. My siblings won many competitions for the art activities. I felt inferior to them and was not self-confident. Reading, doing art work, and playing piano were three ways that I released my stress. By this time, my memory of Mandarin usage is very clear. We all spoke Mandarin at home, at school, and in public. My parents spoke to us mostly in Mandarin. They still conversed in Taigi between themselves but switched to Mandarin when speaking to us. Only when they were angry and scolding us, would they speak Taigi. The TV programs were strictly limited to Mandarin. TV shows on Chinese history or novels became very popular. However, the majority of the population in Kaohsiung City was of Taigi origin. We still heard Taigi frequently and could converse in Taigi when we went to traditional or night markets.

Taiwan's economy had grown rapidly in my memory. In few years, we went through many changes including: going from no meat on the table to several kinds of

meat every day, from black and white TV to color TV, from no telephone to a phone in almost every family, from cooking on a wood burner to a gas-operated stove in every home, from boiling bath water on the stove to having a hot water boiler installed, and from washing clothes by hand to doing the laundry in a washing machine. All of these changes took place between the years I had my first clear memory to my second grade. A short time after we moved to our new house, my father bought his first car. Father was very proud of his accomplishment and was so excited that he drove us out of Kaohsiung City almost every weekend. After my father bought the car, he drove us out for winter and summer vacations. From my second grade to sixth grade, we traveled all over Taiwan and had many interesting exciting memories of our trips. However, I did not know which part of Taiwan we were traveling to and how this region influenced our everyday lives. I didn't know who built the dam for Taiwan's farming. I didn't know which city in Taiwan produced the most rice. I didn't know how many rivers there were in Taiwan. We barely learned anything about Taiwan at school.

Since we moved to our new house, we had become very busy with schoolwork, afterschool programs, and travel. We barely had any contact with our neighbors. At this new house, we went through our elementary school, junior high and senior high school. Once we started attending the public school, we spoke more and more Mandarin. Starting from grade three, I had never doubted that I was a Chinese and that I should speak Mandarin. My parents were very concerned on our academic performances. They always put heavy pressure on us to study harder and to reach the goals they set for us. When I couldn't reach their standards, I would be severely scolded or punished. Gradually, I came to detest studying. I spent more time on practicing piano, calligraphy, and drawing. I also loved reading. I loved to read anything except math and science.

Ending. *In this stage, I disclose information on how I gradually became Mandarin dominant. My parents' attitude and the environment surrounding me had much to do with my Mandarin acquisition. On the other hand, the loss of Taigi contact also indicates my eventual Taigi loss. I include information on our afterschool activities because it was all related to Chinese culture and a Chinese identity had already formed at a young age. Government policy, Chinese dominant environment, and socio-political structure related to the school entrance exam are crucial factors for my parents' attitude on our education. However, it is the political power behind the scene making these factors the way they are. My memory of economic change is also included in this stage to give information about the social background. Moreover, this also led to the confirmation of my historical findings that the KMT lied to the Taiwanese and gave false information in the textbooks. Since its occupation of Taiwan in 1945, the KMT did not put any effort to build Taiwan until late 60's.*

Stage Three: Long Hours at School and Isolation in Family toward Mandarin Monolingual

Beginning. *In stage three, six years of high school education not only had educated us to be Chinese/Mandarin monolingual but also had transformed us from Taiwanese into Chinese. We had no knowledge of the land we lived in, but we all could recite the detailed geography and history of China because that was what we were bombarded with in the nine years of compulsory education. The Chinese ideology was stubbornly installed inside us and cannot be disassembled easily. During this period of time, no one seemed to notice our Taigi speaking ability had quietly left us.*

At school, everything was all about China and being Chinese. I was taught that China was in the hands of bad people called Communists. We needed to help free the people in China. Besides the signs for "Be a Chinese with good virtue and dignity",

another we often saw was “Anti-Communists & Anti-Soviets to save China (反共抗俄救中國)”.

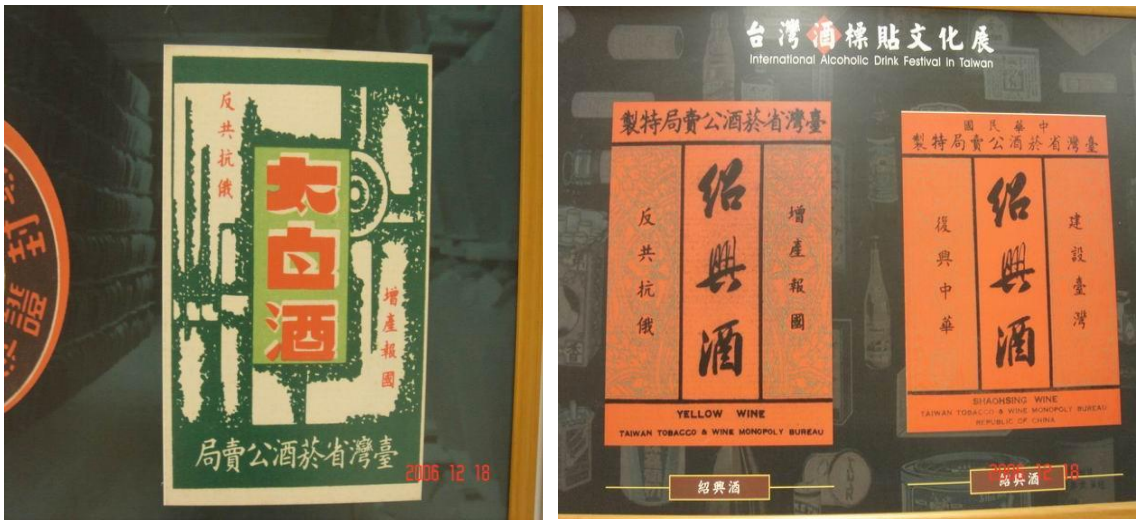


Figure 12. 反共抗俄“Anti-Communists & Anti-Soviets” signs on wine labels, with permission from Autumn Wind 秋風 http://www.news100.com.tw/viewtopic.php?p=53224&sid=332656e516729c7f50de0bc3d8817c83

For each geography and history class in high school, we had to memorize the capital city in each Chinese province[32] but not the cities in Taiwan. We also had to remember the specialties of each famous Chinese city, every river in China, and how many provinces the rivers passed through. We learned the literary language used in ancient China for our national language class. We learned Tang poetry (唐詩), Song iambic verse (宋詞), and the Analects of Confucius(論語). What we learned about Taiwan was how Chiang Kai-Shek moved the R.O.C. (Republic of China) to Taiwan, which they called recovering Taiwan from Japan, and how Chiang Kai-Shek and his son Chiang Jin-Kuo led the KMT to build Taiwan into a modern country.

Reflection. *I had never doubted this information and had always attributed*

[32] A survey asked Taiwanese students to name five cities. The first four are all Chinese cities. The only Taiwanese city was Taipei (Tsai, 2003).

Taiwan's economic success to the Chiang family's contribution until I learned Taiwan's history in my research process. Since 1945, Chiang's family took over all the fruits of prosperity from the Japanese era, made all Taiwanese live in hell for 20 years, and in the late 60's, started to recover Taiwan from the infrastructure built by the Japanese government but credited all the accomplishment to Chiang Kai-Shek and Chiang Jin-kuo. To be cheated for over 30 years makes me furious. The struggles between the hidden history and my denial during my research process caused a pain that crushed me to pieces.

We also learned how the great Chiang Kai-Shek saved all the Chinese. Stories of Chiang and Sun Yat-Sen were in our textbooks throughout the public educational system. Their stories were a crucial part of the tests and we had to memorize every detail to pass the exams.

Once we started junior high school, there were no more vacations. In my junior high school, boys and girls were separated in different parts of the campus. There were about 50~70 students in each class. We had extra classes during summer and winter breaks. During the regular school year, we left home at 7 am for morning studying sessions in which teachers often came to give us extra teaching for English and math. After school, we went straight to cram school for more English, Math, Physics, and Chemistry. We would not return home for our dinner until after 8:30 pm. In the third year of junior high, to prepare for the regional entrance exam for senior high schools, we left home before 6 am and studied at school until 9 pm. On weekends, we studied at school from 6 am to 5 pm or even later at 9 pm when the exam date approaching. All these extra hours at school were only for us to study, study, and study more. Each student studied on his or her own pace and selection of subjects. They were not advanced classes, but simply an environment for reading under the supervision of our lead teacher.

The six years of junior and senior high school were very intense, painful, and stressful. My feelings of inferiority became more pronounced than in previous years. My father prohibited me from practicing the piano and pushed me to learn more drawing, painting, and sketching for the university entrance exam because the art major required a lower score in the entrance exam. I was rebellious. Although I loved art work, I didn't enjoy it when others pressured me to do it. I submerged myself in reading. I did not realize all the books that I read were written by the Chinese mainlanders who wrote about their lives in China[33]. I often wondered why it was so different from my family tradition and felt my parents were not as knowledgeable and elegant as the characters in the books. The places in China (often home towns of the authors) mentioned in the books seemed to be very scenic and the snacks sounded so tasty. I wished I could have a family exactly like the ones in the books. I gradually looked down on my family through the education and my readings.

The years that we studied in high school, the only vacation was to visit Grandma for the New Year's holiday. Grandma's clinic was not as busy as it was when I was little but Grandma still had so many patients that every time we visited her, she was too busy to chat with us. Occasionally, when Grandma had time, she tried hard to talk to us. To ensure we understand her, Grandma spoke to us in her funny tone of Mandarin. Sometimes, we had to correct her in a very careful way so my parents wouldn't punish us for being disrespectful. Because of the intense pressure from studying and language barrier, we were becoming increasingly distant from our relatives and even our Grandmother.

Ending. *Continuing the Mandarin and Chinese influence from the stage two, in*

[33] Taiwanese writers were either killed or imprisoned in the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror. Under the long period of White Terror, no surviving Taiwanese writer dared to challenge the KMT's dictatorship. Therefore, all the books available were written by the Chinese mainlanders who often wrote nostalgically of their families and hometowns in China.

stage three, I describe the enormous school pressure in Mandarin dominant environment. The society valued the school entrance exam and it is a cultural and social structure rooted from Chinese history. Our Mandarin competence reached the level beyond academic usage. Chinese knowledge abundantly crowded our minds. Our Chinese mentality and ideology was completely formed and securely installed. I disclose information on the monolingual Mandarin environment, the role of education on Chinese ideology, and how our lives were impacted by educational policy under the KMT. Unlike the previous stages, where the depreciation of Taiwan was from the environment, in stage three, I developed a belittling attitude toward Taiwan and my own family. All these factors played a role in the loss of my mother tongue.

Stage Four: A Beginning Search of My Identity and Awareness of Taigi Loss

Beginning. *In stage four, I include three portions of my life: the university, the overseas experience, and returning home. The university life led me to search who I am and to be aware of my Taigi loss. The overseas experience gave me the opportunity to encounter information on the past of Taiwan, which the KMT government had altered or disguised from Taiwanese. I defended the KMT government and defended my Chinese identity. Then, I returned to Taiwan and found the changes it had made in five years. However, like me, holding a strong Chinese ideology, people were not happy for the grass-root movement.*

University. The university I attended was at Taichung, two counties north above Yunlin where my Grandma lived. The first year I lived in a dormitory with eight roommates. We communicated in Mandarin but some roommates from the southern regions occasionally added Taigi in the conversation. Seats in classes were designated by the regions you were from. Classmates from Taipei would sit on the first row; those from the south would sit at the back and those from the east would be in the

last row. It was very clear that at the front half of the classroom, those classmates only spoke Mandarin. At the back half of the classroom, a mixture of Taigi-Mandarin was used, especially among the southern male classmates. I understood their conversations but I always responded in Mandarin.

The first year in university, one assignment for our history class was to create a family tree with a detailed history of our own family through generations. The professor asked us to find where our ancestors were from. I asked my father for help since I never knew the other elders on my father's side. I didn't know anything about Grandpa except that he died very early. My father believed that he is the fourteenth generation in Taiwan. According to my father, our ancestor immigrated from Changchou, Fujian province of China but I couldn't find any written documentation to prove this. My father took me to visit other paternal elders. But there was nothing to prove these elders' words. Nobody had a pedigree; nor could anyone confirm where our ancestors really came from. It was very frustrating. No one was confident that we were immigrants from Changchou, Fujian. No one could tell me which part of Changchou we were from and how our ancestors crossed the dangerous Taiwan Strait and why. How about our other ancestors in Changchou? Did all of the families immigrate to Taiwan or did some family members stay in China? What were the names of my ancestors before they had emigrated? How and where could I find this information? I searched in the library for days but couldn't find anything in connection with my ancestors. I turned in my thin family tree assignment with disappointment. I was not satisfied with what I found and it had since become a big question mark that always remained in my mind—where were we from?

Right outside the campus, there was a popular market with booths for many varieties of food. Very often the vendors would talk to me in Taigi and I responded in Mandarin or had to repeatedly ask for clarification. Some vendors got annoyed and

asked me if I were a mainlander or said “Shame on you, you’re a Taiwanese but cannot speak Taigi.” From these encounters, suddenly I realized that I was not able to communicate fluently in Taigi. I did not recognize Taigi as my mother tongue at that time. I simply wanted to recover an ability my parents had. I decided to practice and learn Taigi from Grandma. I visited Grandma every other week. Grandma was very old now and had only few patients, but she didn’t want to close her clinic yet. When staying with Grandma, I tried to speak only Taigi. I told Grandma I wanted to learn Taigi and she was my teacher. Whenever I encountered phrases that I didn’t know how to say, I wrote them down on paper. Grandma read what I wrote and spoke the words or phrases for me. It was natural for Grandma to speak Taigi to me but when Grandma heard my broken Taigi, she shook her head and signed “Ah! The education by KMT!”[34] Although I tried to learn Taigi from Grandma, it did not change my habit of language use. Mandarin was still my main communication medium. I was only able to recover some vocabulary and to practice a little more Taigi conversation with Grandma in our limited numbers of visits. I did not fully recover my Taigi speaking competence.

One night, I waited in the kitchen for Grandma. While Grandma wiped her hands and face with a towel, we were talking about something. Suddenly, Grandma started to tell me how much she missed living under the Japanese government. I was shocked. We were taught in school how Japan was hostile to China and how terribly Japanese troops had killed the Chinese people when they invaded China in WWII. The whole society was immersed in the implicit anti-Japanese climate. What Grandma said was a big no-no, even at that time when martial law was abolished. Grandma continued to describe how terrible the KMT was. When the KMT came to

[34] Interestingly, I was not able to recall the exact Taigi words Grandma or the street vendor used. Unlike the childhood memory, I remember the exact Taigi words as if the person was saying it right in front of me.

Taiwan, many Taiwanese starved to death. Life was harsh and she could hardly survive with her three children. Grandma recalled how lives were peaceful and manageable under the Japanese government[35]. Although life was still difficult under the Japanese colonial government, she had never heard that anyone was starved to death. Unlike the Japanese, the KMT did many terrible things and was very greedy. Not only the government, but the Chinese soldiers came into the houses to steal, rob and rape. She told me before the KMT came, in the Japanese society, they never needed to lock doors and nothing would be stolen at night. However, when the KMT came, they destroyed the order of the society and created a mess. The KMT government was dirty because you had to bribe them to get things through. Grandma said that she hated the KMT but the younger generation would not understand how she felt. Yes, Grandma was right. I could not understand why Grandma said all of these things to me. I did not believe what Grandma told me that night. I thought something must be wrong with her. Was her mind still clear? Maybe she was too old to truly remember what really did happen. Did our lives not dramatically improve after the KMT came to Taiwan? I remember we were once so poor when I was very little. But after the KMT built Taiwan into a modern state, we lived a wealthy and affluent life. Deeply inside me, I appreciated what the KMT had done for Taiwan. Life still went on. Grandma's speech was nonsense. What Grandma said to me on that night shocked me but didn't change me a bit. I still believed 100% what I was taught at school.

Reflection. *Grandma's words were buried and forgotten for decades until my*

[35] The Japanese government killed around 30,000 Taiwanese to secure the sovereignty compared to the estimated 28,000~120,000 Taiwanese killed under the KMT (Goo, 2003). But after Grandma was born, the Japanese society was prosperous and calm. The Japanese government was in a more peaceful stage toward colonized Taiwan. The difference of the two governments is that the Japanese government only killed the Taiwanese who were violently rebellious and the KMT killed whoever its system disliked or whoever was unlucky enough.

research on Taiwan's history. Layer and layer of history unfolded in front of me. More and more historical records showed that the KMT did not educate us truly about what happened in the past. I still held the pride of my Chinese heritage and did not want to let go. I painfully negotiated with myself "So, I'm a Taiwanese but so what? I'm still a Chinese." My newly sprouted consciousness constantly fought with my stubborn Chinese ideology during my research process. Until one day, Grandma's words came alive in my memory like the most crucial piece of a puzzle. All of a sudden, all the pieces fell into place and the picture became clear. KMT's teaching had lost the game.

Oversea. In 2000, I quit my job and flew to a northern state in the USA for higher education. I lived in a dormitory on campus. This was where I had a young Chinese roommate who asked me the question, "Who are you?" I started to wonder if I was Chinese or Taiwanese, but I wasn't very serious on this.

One day, some Chinese students confronted me and called me a rebellious Taiwanese villain. Some threatened that if I dare not accept my Chinese identity, their government could care less about the rebellious Taiwanese and would bomb Taiwan. The speech was ridiculously childish. However, it showed a clear gap between these Chinese and me. Again, I questioned if I was really a Chinese. We had different governments but I spoke Mandarin and I knew Chinese culture. Am I not a Chinese?

I met a Taiwanese professor. He was very caring to all Taiwanese students. One day, he told me Chiang Kai-Shek was a sinner to all Taiwanese. I couldn't believe I heard the disrespectful comment about the great Chiang Kai-Shek from a scholarly elder who I really respected. The professor continued saying that because of Chiang Kai-Shek, until today, Taiwan wasn't accepted into the United Nations. Taiwan was still not a recognized country in the world. Taiwan was an orphan that was often left out of the global events and activities. I understood what he meant by "orphan" and "not a recognized country", but why was Chiang Kai-Shek at fault for Taiwan not

being accepted in the UN? Was it not supposed to be blamed on China's hampering? I questioned him. He explained to me that when the Republic of China was exiled from the UN, they offered Chiang Kai-Shek membership under the name of "Taiwan" but he immediately refused without thinking. Chiang Kai-Shek's pride hindered Taiwan's future and put Taiwan's safety at risk. I was skeptical and very confused. A professor would be much more knowledgeable than I was. Who was I to question a professor who was so reputable so as to not only being a chairperson of the department in this university but also the dean in a prestigious Taiwanese university? What he had told me was unbelievable and I did not think deeply on the professor's words.

My American neighbors were a very gentle, kind, generous, caring and open-minded elderly couple. I visited them very often to share my ethnic dishes. We had endless topics to converse about. Once, the husband asked me the reasons for the miracle of Taiwan's economic success. I thought for a couple minutes and attributed the success of Taiwan to the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek and his son Chiang Jin-Kuo as well as the diligence of all the Taiwanese.

Once I was studying in the library, my Japanese friend came forward and apologized to me for the Nanjing massacre. I was surprised. She told me that she felt ashamed that the Japanese government attacked China and killed so many Chinese in Nanjing. The worst was that the Japanese government disguised the history and didn't mention this in their history books at all. Most Japanese didn't know much about the Nanjing massacre. I did learn about this in school but I did not have any angry feeling about it. I felt awkward for being at the wrong place to accept her apology.

One day, I was eating in the student cafeteria. Another close Japanese friend joined me. I didn't remember how our conversation turned into a discussion of the

massacre. He told me that Chiang Kai-Shek was a devil killer. He killed slightly fewer people than had Stalin and Mao Zedong. Compared to how many Chinese Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-Shek killed in China, the number of Chinese the Japanese troops killed in Nanjing could not really be counted as a massacre. I was angry and argued furiously with him. He said he had books with statistics as evidence for his argument and asked me if I knew about the 2.28 Massacre in Taiwan, where Chiang Kai-Shek ordered the death of thousands of Taiwanese. Chiang Kai-Shek killed more than two out of one hundred Taiwanese and this ratio[36] was much higher than the numbers in China. So, the 2.28 Massacre would qualify more as a massacre than the Nanjing War. I couldn't argue this because I did not know anything about the 2.28 Massacre at all. After all, I did not believe what he said. Why should I care? Our argument lasted over four hours from lunch to dinner time. We were still good friends afterwards. He was a very special person in our group and liked to share his interesting Chinese experiences. As to the 2.28 Massacre, I heard about it but still did not know what it was about.

Reflection. *I never paid attention to all these anecdotes after they happened. Life moved on and I was occasionally confronted with the questions of if I was a Chinese. I stayed ignorant about my identity and did not bother to think deeper on who I really am.*

Return home. In 2005, I returned to Taiwan and worked as a head teacher in a prestigious private preschool at Taipei County. It was a very demanding job. After one school year, I quit and taught English in various settings including preschools, kindergartens, and afterschool programs for elementary students. None of the children I had taught spoke Taigi. In my opinion, the climate of our society changed a lot after the DPP took over the government, but many people disagreed with me.

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[36] 120000/6000000=0.02

They felt Taiwan was still the same. However, being overseas for five years, I saw Taiwan move toward more freedom in public, more respect for diverse cultures, and more pride in being an independent country. I felt really good that there were TV channels specifically designated for Aboriginal tribes and the Hakka people. These channels broadcast only in the Austronesian languages and Hakka. I saw there were more programs exploring Taiwan and introducing local Taiwanese of outstanding accomplishments. I also applauded the government for adding more information about Taiwan to the textbooks, adding extra curricula for learning our mother tongues, and for changing the names of government businesses or organizations from Chinese to Taiwanese. For example, many aboriginal villages were forced to change names according to the preference of Chiang Kai-Shek. Now they were able to change the names back to the original ones in their tribal languages. Another example was the name of our airport. It was named after Chiang Kai-Shek and now had changed to the name of its location "Tao Yuan" International Airport[37].

I thought everyone would agree with me on the progress the DPP had led Taiwan to make, but this was not the case. I studied the TCSOL program[38] on the weekends. Almost all of my classmates criticized the DPP government and were strongly opposed to grass-root changes of curriculum. I argued that it was really good for our children to learn more about Taiwan and to recover their mother tongues. They claimed that there was really nothing about Taiwan worthy of learning. China has five thousand years of history[39] and there is much more about China to learn.

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[37] Another name for Chiang Kai-Shek is Chiang Jhong-Jheng 蔣中正 and "Jhong-Jheng 中正" is still the name of the major road in each town, county, and city in Taiwan. Every town has a road named "Jhong-Jheng" and another road named "Jhong-Shan 中山" which is the second name for Sun Yat-Sen. In the KMT's Chinese view, only great people with supreme virtue could be named "Jhong-Jheng 中正" or "Jhong-Shan 中山".

[38] TCSOL: Teaching Chinese as a Second Language

[39] We were all taught that China has five thousand years of history. However, it is a false conception.

Our children shouldn't waste their time learning about Taiwan. I told them it was so boring and not practical to learn the ancient Chinese literary language. They told me this learning was necessary and it would develop our children's virtue, perseverance, and obedience. They sarcastically commented that the DPP government was too low-class to earn their respect. I sensed their attitude was hardened and resistant to accepting any other opinions. The longer time I worked, lived, and stayed in Taipei, the more people I encountered who opposed the DPP government. I did not understand why people thought it was not important to learn about the land where we lived.

I did not like to watch political talk shows, nor did I have the political sense of green or blue[40]. I was apathetic about politics or elections. In the past, usually, we received bribes from certain KMT candidates and we followed our parents' lead in voting. I had not voted in elections for many years since I studied overseas. In Taiwan, we have to vote at the district where we register. I was not in Taiwan during the election so I was unable to vote. Also, we were often warned by the elders such as Grandma, uncles, or our parents, "Do not touch anything related to politics" or "Politics is a dirty thing. Don't get involved."

Ending. *Giving information of the classroom seat arrangement provided a picture of language phenomenon in Taiwan in that specific time. Family pedigree assignment had ever since posed a question about my Chinese ancestry. The awareness of my Taigi loss motivated me to learn Taigi from Grandma and Grandma's words later became the turning point for my Taiwanese identity realization. The overseas anecdotes present my strong Chinese ideology. Back to Taiwan, I give information on the pervasive Chinese ideology among Taiwanese and the social*

China's first found written documents by Confucius dated back about three thousand years ago. How did China come up with five thousand years of history?

[40] Blue represents the KMT and green represents the DPP.

climate that still belittled Taiwanese heritage. I also describe how people thought about politics and I believe it was the influence of Stockholm syndrome.

Stage Five: New Understanding on the Past of Taiwan

Beginning. *In stage five, I began to gain a new understanding of Taiwan's past. The books, photos, copies of government documents, radio recordings, and personal experience presented in the Da Hua News brought me new knowledge of the past of Taiwan and how the KMT government had illegally occupied Taiwan and other islands. How the KMT government as the colonizer disguised the history of Taiwan and through the education formed the young generations of Taiwanese into Chinese now started to make sense to me.*

One Saturday night, I was alone and bored at home. I switched TV channels to a show which I had not ever paid much attention. But that night, it had guests discuss Taiwan's history. I had never seen any show talking in such depth about Taiwan's history. Each guest had a pile of books right next to them. When they talked, they demonstrated supporting evidence from the piles of books. It was the history of Taiwan that I had never heard nor learned before. It was hard to believe what they described about Taiwan but they showed photos, graphs, charts, and audio records of the Japanese era. They left not much room for me to be skeptical. Many books and documents they showed were published in Japan, America or Netherlands. I was convinced what they presented about Taiwan's history was very objective by the evidence and research materials provided from these experts. The name of this TV show was Da Hua News[41] (大話新聞). For different periods of Taiwan history, the host invited different scholars, experts, Aboriginals, victims of 2.28 and antique

[41] For films of Da Hua News: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UNVy4rnFhGo&feature=related
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9szDkHur0A&feature=plcp
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHV5JbPzfPE&feature=plcp
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-0kcHE_1VY&feature=plcp

collectors to talk about Taiwan with plenty of artifacts.

From this show, I learned that there were 19 Japanese Governors who had ruled Taiwan. The Japanese government tried very hard to build Taiwan into a model province. They built roads and railroads all around the island, including the Alisan Forest Railway. They set up the hygiene and sanitary sewer system. They hired an English engineer, William K. Burton, to research how to build a tap-water supply in Taiwan (Yufu, 2009). Power plants were built to supply electricity to the whole island. Besides public health centers in every district, ten public hospitals were built in the big cities around Taiwan. Although the Ching dynasty occupied Taiwan for over 200 years, Ching governors did not do much for Taiwan except exploiting the plain Aboriginal people. In contrast, the Japanese built the entire necessary infrastructure in the first decade it ruled Taiwan. Some construction undertook over ten years to complete and hundreds of Japanese sacrificed their lives to help build Taiwan. The famous Wu Shan Tou reservoir was built by Yiochi Hatta[42] (八田與一) and the Japanese construction team.

Because of the Wu Shan Tou reservoir, Taiwan soon became a major exporting province for rice and sugar. By 1905, Taiwan no longer needed Japan's financial support and started to profit from exportation. Close to 80% of Taiwanese were able to attend school by the end of the Japanese era. In contrast to the gender discrimination in Chinese society, families sent both boys and girls to schools under Japan's rule. Many Taiwanese families owned a car. Several big department stores

[42] For films on the Wu Shan Tou reservoir and Yiochi Hatta:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h_Q58xkC3rI
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqP8EcSFMCM,
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-NFNpITaHY&feature=relmfu,
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14uVk4eYFEw&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MpHdrJjrwgs&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLeVJoY72i8&feature=relmfu

were located in prosperous cities[43]. In 1945, when Chinese soldiers came to Taiwan and saw elevators in department stores, they thought it was magic that people disappeared in the boxes and reappeared in different clothing and as different genders. Chinese mainlanders were also curious about tap water. They thought faucets brought in the water so they brought a faucet home, dug a hole in the wall, put the faucet in the hole, and expected water would come out. Bicycles were very common in every family. One guest reported that the Chinese soldiers often stole bikes to sell for metal. Once a soldier got caught stealing a bike, he ran away, carrying the bike on his shoulder instead of riding on it because these Chinese did not know how to ride one.

Reflection. *Knowledge stayed as knowledge without much influence to my life. It was during my research, when the knowledge met Grandma and Father's life stories, the knowledge started to make meaning to me.*

One guest, Dr. Sim, showed the audience copies of the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations which did not have complete signatures from all the presidents who attended the Cairo conference and clarified that when Japan surrendered to the army of the United Nations, it gave up its territory of Taiwan and Penghu Island. Until today, no treaty has been signed to determine Taiwan's future. However, Chiang Kai-Shek took Taiwan as the R.O.C.'s territory, which violated international laws. In the 2.28 Massacre Chiang ordered the death of those knowledgeable elite Taiwanese who knew the truth[44]. From then on, most people in Taiwan did not know about the truth of Taiwan's authority[45]. The guests also talked about how the R.O.C. was exiled from the United Nations and Chiang Kai-Shek refused the invitation from the U.S. for

[43] For information on department stores: http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/w2308955/post/1263712171

[44] Dr. Sim's son was also killed in a car accident. However, Dr. Sim suspected that the accident was actually arranged to kill him but mistakenly killed his son.

[45] It's different now. Many people know.

membership under the name of Taiwan. When I heard this and saw the documents he showed on TV, I was shocked and remembered what the Taiwanese professor told me in the USA. I felt my world crumbled and shattered into pieces. I looked back on the way I was brought up. How many things that KMT taught us in school were lies? I felt angry at the KMT for disguising the "real" history from every Taiwanese in the public school system. I started to understand why my high school geography teacher criticized our "territory" map[46] and how little we learned about Taiwan. I started to realize that our military training class teacher was telling the truth that people she knew disappeared overnight and she needed to be careful for what she said in class because the KMT had spies everywhere. I had believed so faithfully in what I learned at school and in textbooks. I even defended Chiang Kai-Shek passionately in the debate with my friends at the student cafeteria. My Japanese friend was right because what I learned at school really was "crap". At school, we learned how great Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Yat-Sen were[47]. It was disrespectful to call their names like I am doing now. We had to call Chiang Kai-Shek "the very respected grandfather 蔣公"or "the great virtue model 蔣中正". For Sun Yat-Sen, we had to call him "national father 國父" or "the great peak of mountain 孫中山" which also represents the great virtue model. In any test, if a student wrote their real names, instead of the respectful names, he or she surely would not get a good score. Every time when we wrote "the much respected grandfather" or "national father", we needed to make sure to leave a space before their titles to show our respect; otherwise, the teacher

[46] The territory of the R.O.C. includes mainland China, Mongolia, Tibet, Taiwan, and the islands of Chinmen, Mazu, and Pescadores. However, before Chiang Kai-Shek fled to Taiwan, Mongolia had become an independent country. The R.O.C. had ruled only Taiwan, Chinmen, Mazu, and Pescadores for over 40 years. In the other words, its authority could not reach mainland China. Therefore, my geography teacher believed that the KMT government should have accepted the fact and changed our map.

[47] Later it was found out that all the stories were made up.

would subtract a lot of points for the mistake and gave you a big red mark. But now, I realize the R.O.C. should not be my country if Chiang Kai-Shek had not “stolen” Taiwan. Sun Yat-Sen could be the R.O.C.’s national father but not Taiwan’s national father. Taiwan does not have one yet. The Taiwanese don’t really have a country because the R.O.C. should not be our government. The R.O.C. should have died in 1949. To me, it felt like thieves robbed my family, killed my parents, took our property and money, kept us as their children, raised us with assets belonging to our family, but brainwashed us to appreciate how much they had done for us and to worship them as our true parents. They lied to us about the terrible massacre they committed on the Taiwanese 65 years ago. I was educated in their language. I cannot speak fluently the language my parents speak. Under their education, I did not have much knowledge about Taiwan where I grew up. I did not know Taiwan is my mother land and I am a Taiwanese. For my whole life up till today, I thought I was a Chinese!! I felt so sick and so angry!

Ending. *In stage five, I disclose information related to my new understanding of Taiwan’s history which led to my recognizition of Taiwanese nationality, identity, and ethnicity. The information is also related to the KMT’s political power and colonizer manipulation on the oppressed.*

Stage Six: Formation of a New Identity and Connections to My Taigi Loss

Beginning. *Stage six is about the formation of a new identity and connections to my Taigi loss. The search of Taiwan’s history for my thesis confirmed the information I learned from Da Hua News. My study at the University of Manitoba in combination with my research on Taiwan’s history led me to find my new Taiwanese identity and connect the loss of my identity to my loss of Taigi.*

From this point, I recognized that I am Taiwanese and not Chinese, although ethnically, I might still be considered Chinese. However, Taiwan nurtured me and

nourished me to be who I am today. For some people, Taiwan might overlap with the R.O.C. but from now on, to me, Taiwan is not part of the R.O.C. The R.O.C. has haunted Taiwan for decades. Because of it, Taiwan is stuck in the swamp with China. To get out, the Taiwanese need to wake up to colonization. But is this really possible? Take myself as the example. I was very headstrong and I did not change so easily. It took me over thirty years to finally reach the realization and to accept the truth. How can a person change the ideology he/she has lived on all his/her life? Although the awareness of my Taiwanese identity started to sprout, I made no connection to language loss at that time.

In 2008, I came to Canada for my master's program in Second Language Education. In one class, we discussed how learning an additional or second language had an impact on the learner's first language maintenance. In another class, a professor asked us to share what topic we would be interested to do a thesis on. I chose to study Mandarin maintenance among Chinese and Taiwanese second generation immigrants. I did a research project on this topic for my qualitative research class. Although at this stage, I had a better understanding of my nationality and identity, I didn't recognize the KMT as the colonizer and the colonial impact did not connect with my Taigi loss.

In Professor Flora's class, we also shared our thesis topics. Professor Flora and our classmates all encouraged me to write my own story of language loss. I hesitated. Who would be interested in my story? Who am I? Why would people be interested in my language loss experiences? I preferred to stick with my original plan. However, the struggle to write the conclusion for my Mandarin maintenance research project made me think seriously about why I did research on Mandarin. Every time I wrote "mother tongue", I needed to stop and think: "But Mandarin is not my mother tongue!" When I wrote "first language", I had to stop again and think about whether

Mandarin is my first language or not. I definitely would not say Mandarin is my "mother tongue". It did not feel OK to call Mandarin my "first language", either. I did not learn Mandarin as my first language. I started to recall how I was educated in elementary school and recall the stigma of speaking Taigi at school. From reflections through writing my research paper, I was eventually able to sort out that Mandarin is the dominant language in Taiwan's society but it is neither my first language nor my mother tongue. Thus, I switched my focus from Mandarin to Taigi, my mother tongue, but did not think about writing my own experience for the thesis.

In the process of researching Taiwan's history, it became even clearer that I am Taiwanese not Chinese. My ancestors spoke the south island languages, the Austronesian languages, and possibly Taigi as well. We had lost our culture, heritage, and language once. Now we are going to lose it again! What kind of history and encounter would cause a group of people to lose their languages twice?

Since I decided to do research on the language loss of Taigi, I started to read books and articles on Taiwan's history. I had known about Dr. Sim from Da Hua News and learned of his proclamation that almost all of Taiwanese are ethnically aboriginal[48], not Chinese descendants. That was the first time I heard this kind of assertion. It was very interesting and it would be great if the Taiwanese were of Taiwanese ethnicity, not Chinese, because I am so tired of the P.R.C. government oppressing Taiwan with a lineage relationship they believe is inseparable and rooted in thousands of years of history. I further read Sim's (2009) book about Taiwanese ethnicity to learn more detail on his assertion that the Taiwanese are Aboriginals. Then I read Lin's (2010) medical research on blood cell analysis. I concluded my finding from both Sim (2009) and Lin (2010) in my literature review. Their studies made me better understand who I am as a Taiwanese.

[48] Those people have resided in Taiwan before 1949.

I continued reading Taiwan's history to the period of time the KMT took over Taiwan. It was very difficult to read how people were killed in the 2.28 Massacre and later in the "White Terror". I couldn't stop my tears when reading on each victim's family story. Sometimes, I felt so sick and depressed that I had to stop reading for days before I was able to resume. Many people being murdered, killed, incarcerated, tortured in prison only because the KMT believed they had something to do with insurrection. Many of the people killed were doctors, artists, professors, principals, legislators, teachers, and writers. They were the elite of the society. Many of the victims had a long history of fighting with the Japanese government for Taiwanese human rights, fair treatment and democracy. The Japanese government only imprisoned them but the year the KMT troop landed on Taiwan, right after the Taiwanese had held the celebration to welcome the Chinese government, came the 2.28 Massacre. Most of the stories were told by the children of victims. They talked about how terrified they felt and how difficult it was for their widowed mothers to raise children in that era. Some families had to leave their hometowns for a place where no one knew them. In their hometowns, people were scared to do business, to help, to make friends or to speak with them. They couldn't blame their neighbors or relatives for they understood the worries on everyone's mind. Anyone with any relationship with them might be the next victim. Some talked about how the death of their fathers, brothers, or uncles became taboo in the family. The threat had never left the families. They always lived under the shadow with the surveillance of the KMT military police agency. The tragedy was a secret in the family which could never be touched and openly mentioned. My tears would not stop when I read these biographical stories.

Reflection. *I think of my Grandma. How did she go through the hardship to raise her three children after Grandpa was killed? I wish Grandma could wake up and*

tell me more about her stories. I want my Grandma to know that finally, I understand her words, stories, sorrow, and loneliness. But it's too late.

They reminded me of my Grandpa. I had never seen him. He died when my father was six years old. When I asked about our Grandpa, Grandma would furiously dash me and warn me not to say that word "grandpa" ever again. I was frightened and wondered. When Grandma wasn't around, I asked my father about our Grandpa. Father often replied that he knew nothing. He was too little to remember anything. I asked my cousins and my uncle but never received a clear answer. It seemed that Grandpa was in prison and died in there. No one really knew what happened to him. Why was he imprisoned? Was he really a bad person? Why would Grandma be so angry when I mentioned "grandpa"? No one knew. Or no one wanted to tell me. In 2000, when the DPP took office, my parents finally told me a little bit about Grandpa after they attended a ceremony for the 2.28 victims. Father said that Grandpa was one of the protesters for the corruption of the KMT government and had to hide in the nearby hillsides. Grandma would stuff some rice balls in my father's clothes and asked him to bring the food to Grandpa. Since my father was only six years old, Grandma hoped the KMT soldiers wouldn't suspect a little kid. My father talked about how terrified he was when delivering the food to his father. He had to be careful that no one spotted him and followed him. That's all I knew about my Grandpa. Until today, many families of victims still accuse the KMT government of not apologizing with sincerity, not overturning the injustices and not openly disclosing historical documents about the 2.28 Massacre. As an excuse to suppress 2.28, Chiang Kai-Shek ordered martial law in Taiwan for 38 years and two months. During this period of time, the KMT could arrest, execute, and imprison anyone who they believed pose a threat to their sovereignty. This period of time was called White

Terror. The well-known murder cases of Dr. Chen Wen-Chen (陳文成) and family of Lin Yi-Hsiung (林義雄) happened during this time[49].

Ending. *In this stage, I disclose information on how my new identity realization and mother tongue loss got connected. I also explain how I changed my research direction to my own mother tongue loss experience. The information of the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror gave social, political, and contextual information on the environment in which my second generation participants grew up.*

Final Stage: My Reflection and Feelings

I travelled thousands of years back to look for my Chinese
great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great…Grandparents.
I looked around the houses, under the animal fur, in the water tank, behind the door, beside the wood burner, on top of the roof…
I looked everywhere...
They told me I wouldn't find any Chinese there.
Go back to 400 years.
There, I might be able to find one or two or more Chinese ancestors,
Or
None *~~by Wan-Hua Lai*

My world broke into pieces after my realization of the KMT's deceptive education. It was terribly painful to find out the government I had trusted gave us false information through the education, and hid a huge part of Taiwan history from all Taiwanese. It is even more painful to encounter people who stubbornly believe

[49] For more about Lin Yi-Hsiung's family please see:
episode 1 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vUw0ThCK4o4 ,
episode 2 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FHCzOoPgZek&feature=watch_response ,
episode 3 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4eCInRAZHhU&feature=watch_response
episode 4 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sHYsFwpSAlM&feature=watch_response
episode 5 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wai13NRZsHA&feature=watch_response
episode 6 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VKulFlf-fnM&feature=watch_response
All episodes are pronounced in Mandarin with Chinese subtitle.
And information on http://www.hi-on.org.tw/bulletins.jsp?b_ID=77377
Lin Huan Chun is the only survivor in the Lin's family killing. To see an autobiography of Lin Huan Chun (written in English): http://www.judylinton.com/judytest.html

and support the government like I did before. In this research, I went back to my life to scrutinize the broken pieces: what is truth and what is false information from the KMT government. Moreover, I searched and learned more about the missing pages of Taiwan history. In this journey, I travelled as if I went back thousands of years ago to search for my ancestors. I cried as if I had just been through the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror. I was stunned to know that the democracy and freedom I receive today are the fruits of many Taiwanese lives and many families' sacrifice.

Several times in studying the history of Taiwan, my tears blurred my vision and I had to stop and cry for the pain my Taiwanese ancestors had to go through. It was shocking to find a different version of history from what the KMT taught us in school. It was even more shocking when I found more and more evidences show that the Taiwanese are biologically Taiwanese not Chinese. I am sad that many elite Taiwanese had to sacrifice their lives for Taiwan's freedom, dignity, justice, and welfare. Today many Taiwanese still do not realize that no matter if they are biologically Taiwanese, Taiwanese are still Taiwanese and not Chinese; because the history we have gone through as a group has bound us together in a literally different experience from the Chinese on the mainland China.

After gaining an in-depth understanding of myself and the past of Taiwan, I interviewed my family members and two other participant families in order to connect my experience with theirs and from the micro-perspective moved to the macro-perspective to look into the multi-dimensional complex language loss phenomenon in Taiwan through my participant's experiences.

Chapter Six: Stories of My Participant Families

The first story is from my family members. It includes three persons: my father (Mofan), my brother (Bo), and my sister (Fish). The second story is about Dafu, Daisy, and Daho. The third story is from Gigi and Jade. I did not organize the stories by individuals; instead, I organized them by family units. In this way, the elements of language phenomenon can be connected through the interaction of family stories in different generations.

Mofan's Family

Mofan is over 70 years old. He reported Mandarin as his mother tongue because the colonizer, the KMT, had forced him to learn Mandarin when he was little. Now he uses Mandarin on most occasions. However, later Mofan clarified that Taigi is his original mother tongue and Mandarin is his current mother tongue. When communicating with his wife, Mofan uses Taigi 90% of the time. With his two daughters, Mofan believes he uses Taigi 70 % of the time and only 50% Taigi when he communicates with his son. Because Mofan's daughter-in-law is the descendant of mainlander-Hakka and cannot speak or understand Taigi well, Mofan speaks in Mandarin whenever she is present. At work or in formal events, Mofan also uses Mandarin. At home or with close friends, he prefers Taigi. Mofan is fully bilingual. He can fluently engage in both Taigi and Mandarin conversations, although he speaks Mandarin with a Taigi accent and prefers to communicate in Taigi. Mofan does not experience any language loss, however, he acknowledges that he does not know how to read and write Taigi. In addition, he admits that there are some words that he does not know how to express in Taigi.

Mofan has two grandchildren in elementary school. From my observations, his grandchildren speak only Mandarin and can barely understand Taigi. However, Mofan reported that his grandchildren understand and can communicate with him in simple

Taigi. Mofan does not expect his grandchildren will be able to acquire Taigi competence in the future without a change in society. He believes that he will be very sad if his posterity loses Taigi. It saddens him more to foresee the death of Taigi in a few generations. Because the Taiwanese government puts very few resources in mother tongue education and society has not yet reached a common agreement to give the same respect and status to all the languages in Taiwan, Mofan does not believe his grandchildren should spend extra time learning their mother tongue. Instead, he believes it is more important for them to learn English and other subjects which are required in the high school and university entrance examination. Due to rigid competition, they should do nothing but reach a better place than other competitors. Although Mofan really hopes his grandchildren keep Taigi, he reported that if his grandchildren have to abandon Taigi because of the limited time and energy they have to allocate on other more important academic learning, he acknowledges the situation and painfully accepts it. Nothing he can do. It is always more important to survive than to keep your mother tongue. Although Taiwan looks like a democratic state, most of the power is still in the hand of the KMT. Mofan is pessimistic about Taigi's future, if the Taiwanese are not awakened from colonization and choose the grass-roots party. He believes politics has much to do with mother tongue retention and the government has a fundamental effect on the future of languages in Taiwan. If people continue to vote for the KMT, Mofan believes the extinction of languages in Taiwan except Mandarin is inevitable.

Bo is Mofan's oldest son. He is about 45 years old and has two children. Bo did not realize Taigi is his mother tongue until he studied in medical school or after he graduated and worked as an orthopedist. Bo does not consider himself to be experiencing the loss of Taigi because he learned Mandarin when he was little and was never fully competent in Taigi. He also recalled that he was fined for speaking

Taigi from second to fourth grade. Since then, Mandarin became his main language. In his opinion, he did not acquire Taigi to full competence and therefore, the portion he did not learn should not count as “loss”. However, when compared to his parents, Bo believes he only reaches 70 % of competence. For Bo’s children, it is much worse. Bo reported that his children could not understand nor communicate in Taigi. Although they do learn Taigi at school, he believes they only know very little vocabulary. At times, Bo needs to communicate in Taigi with his patients. He believes he uses Taigi and Mandarin equally at work. At home, he and his family always communicate in Mandarin. Only when his children ask him questions from their Taigi textbook, do they have the opportunity to converse in Taigi. Bo is not satisfied with the time allocated for mother tongue education in the current elementary school curriculum. However, without a policy change from government, it is not possible for Bo to require his children to spend more time and effort on Taigi learning. There is so much for his children to learn. They barely have time left for Taigi. Besides, the environment they live in is monolingual in Mandarin. There is no motivation for his children to want to learn Taigi. There is no environment for Taigi learning. His children switch off their electronic devices when a Taigi program comes on. Bo believes it is natural to learn a language or to abandon a language, depending on the environment. If his children lived in Japan, he believes they would pick up Japanese easily and quickly. If there was a Taigi environment, he believes his children would have learned Taigi as well. Bo does not want to force his children to learn Taigi if there is no pressure from the high school and university entrance examination. Although he feels sad to foresee his children losing Taigi, Bo considers language merely a tool for communication and without support from the environment and society, it is impossible for a family to reverse the habit of language choice. Language choice is a habit constructed in society. It is a decision made by a group of people. If

the group of people would choose to use Taigi more frequently, his children would follow the decision and they would acquire Taigi competence naturally as well. Bo's wife is very proud that their children speak fluent English and are able to compose an essay on environmental disasters in third grade. However, Taigi is not on their learning agenda. Bo believes his children are very interested in learning Taigi. The Taigi class materials are well designed and encourage Taigi learning. Bo is disappointed that the government allots more funds for Hakka and the Aboriginal Formosan languages but the budget for Taigi is much less than other languages. Bo does not receive any assistance from the community or society when helping his children learn Taigi. Bo commented that there is no resource available for Taigi speaking families.

Fish is Mofan's daughter and Bo's younger sister. She considered Mandarin her mother tongue; until recently, she realized that Taigi is her actual mother tongue. Fish understands basic Taigi conversation but cannot communicate fluently in Taigi. She speaks Taigi with a strong Mandarin accent. Fish also remembers being punished at elementary school for speaking Taigi. Besides government policy, Fish believes her parents' attitude had a great impact on her Taigi loss. Fish's mother was an elementary school teacher. To supervise her children's school performance and to easily care for her children, Fish's mother transferred her three children to the school she taught at. Because the school was not in the nearby neighborhood, Fish remembered she was not able to play with her classmates after school. Due to the isolation, Fish believes the family language played an important role on determining her language preference and competence. At school, Taigi was prohibited. At home, her siblings all spoke in Mandarin and when communicating with her parents, they all spoke in Mandarin, although her parents used Taigi between themselves. Fish remembered in society, there had always been a climate which looked down at

things or people related to Taigi and Taiwan.

Fish is not sure how politics relates to language retention and she does not know if the KMT did colonize Taiwan or how that had an impact on the language loss. However, Fish believes language strongly influences one's ethnic identity and in an ethnic group, when others communicate in a certain language in which she is not competent, she feels awkward among them and also feels insecure on how to carefully choose words to avoid conflicts at her work and in society. Fish considers the mother tongue loss in Taiwan severe but she is not sure if the language will die in the near future. There is hope in her that with the government's current efforts on mother tongue retention, it is possible to reverse language loss. In Fish's view, it is a pity to lose the various mother tongues in Taiwan. She likes to listen to groups of people communicate in their mother tongues which she has no knowledge of. She also likes the "low-class" parts of Taigi because those Taigi are powerful and symbolize the struggle and hardship the Taiwanese have been through in the past decades. Besides efforts to preserve the various mother tongues in Taiwan, Fish proposes that Mandarin should remain its status in society because in her opinion, a unified language is necessary for communication and almost all people in Taiwan know Mandarin well.

Fish got married recently. In the future, she hopes to teach her children Taigi since her husband's family all communicates in Taigi. Because of her in-laws, Fish has started to actively relearn Taigi. She is not very successful but this does not discourage Fish. She considers herself as having no talent for language skills; therefore, she does not expect success will come any time soon.

Dafu and Daisy's Family

Dafu is over 70 years old. He considers Taigi his mother tongue. He graduated from a prestigious high school at Kaohsiung County. He then worked as a mechanic

and eventually owned a car body shop. He used to live in the Pingtung City at the very south end of Taiwan, where he and his wife raised a family of four daughters. All of Dafu's daughters have a bachelor or higher degree and have married and resided with their husbands in various regions of Taiwan. Since Dafu closed his car body shop several years ago, he has been a farmer on his own land in the rural area of Pingtung County.

Dafu recalled that he was seven years old when the KMT government occupied Taiwan. Life was very difficult during the war. The American army bombarded Taiwan, especially in cities. He still vividly remembers that after the bombing there were many dead bodies on the street. At night when it was dark, they had to flee and seek shelter. Many people starved to death. He remembered that the only food his family had was yams and he was always hungry. This situation continued for many years after the war. When he was older, life was still harsh. With no source of meat, just to cook an egg was a very special event in his family. Only an important person in the family who was severely sick or a pregnant woman could eat the egg. Because of his experience from the war, Dafu does not want his posterity to experience the same. He hopes there will never be any war in Taiwan.

Dafu remembered learning Mandarin once he entered elementary school. He can still recite a short Mandarin poem from the first lesson in his first grade. Dafu also experienced being fined for speaking Taigi in elementary school. Now Dafu is fluent in both Taigi and Mandarin. However, he prefers Taigi in everyday usage. Only when he was at school and when he had his car body shop, did he use Mandarin more often than Taigi. After his retirement, Dafu rarely needs to engage in Mandarin conversation.

In Dafu's family, he communicated with his wife in Taigi. His daughters, however, communicated with their parents and each other in Mandarin. None of his

daughters can speak fluently in Taigi, although Dafu believes they must be able to understand Taigi without any problem. Otherwise, there would be a communication gap between the parents and the daughters. Dafu noticed that his daughters always answered him in Mandarin and that their Taigi speaking competency was very low. He never thought this was any problem because the family communication and relationship was not threatened. Now Dafu has four grandchildren. None of them can speak Taigi with him. Dafu does not know if they understand Taigi because when he talks with them, they seldom respond. Dafu tries to speak Mandarin with them but it does not seem to improve much of their relationship. Dafu sighed. He feels frustrated but does not know what to do with the situation. His grandchildren do not live close by and only come to visit him occasionally on holidays. Dafu cherishes the time he has with his grandchildren and does not want to be critical on this issue. Moreover, Dafu feels that he cannot change anything but accept the current situation.

Dafu believes he is Chinese and also Taiwanese. Dafu stated that Taiwan is a part of China and a province of China. However, Dafu believes anyone who lives in Taiwan and who considers Taiwan as his or her home is Taiwanese. It is important for Dafu that everyone in Taiwan should speak his or her mother tongues but other languages are also welcome and the more languages a person can speak the better. In addition, Dafu does not think the loss of Taigi is severe; whereas, he recognizes all his posterity more or less loses the competency of Taigi. Because Dafu still uses Taigi pervasively in his everyday life, he believes the Formosan and Hakka languages to be in danger but not Taigi. He tried to comfort me and told me that technology is so advanced nowadays and he is sure there will be some solutions. There is no need to worry about the loss of Taigi.

Daisy is Dafu's daughter. She is about 45 years old and her husband, Daho, is about 50 years old. Both Daisy and Daho joined my interview. Daisy experiences a

certain degree of Taigi loss. She cannot fluently communicate in Taigi. Ever since she recognized the KMT's oppressive policy in the prohibition of Taigi, Hakka, and Formosan languages, she was angry and decided to make efforts to recover her Taigi. Unlike Daisy, Daho speaks Taigi fluently and is very proud of his Taigi competency. Daho recalled that his mother was not fluent in Mandarin and often relied on him to translate for her. This, Daho believes, is the reason for his Taigi fluency. However, now Daho does not use Taigi often because he is a teacher in an elementary school in a northern county of Taiwan. Mandarin is the mandated instructional language in Taiwan's education system. Very rarely would Daho have colleagues who engage in Taigi conversations with him. Since Daho's parents passed away many years ago, he seldom brought his family back to Kaohsiung, the second largest, southern city where he grew up and where his siblings still reside.

Both Daisy and Daho remember the experience of being fined for speaking Taigi in elementary school. They also remember the humiliation of hanging a sign on students' necks, although neither of them was ever punished this way. Daho does not consider himself as experiencing any Taigi loss; however, he recognizes that the writing and reading of Taigi were lost even before the generation of his parents. He recalled his grandfather read the Chinese Tang poem to him in Taigi when he was little and Daho remembers his grandfather describing how he learned reading and writing in Taigi, which happened almost a century ago. Because Daisy cannot speak Taigi fluently, Daho accommodates and Mandarin is used in over 90% of their family communications.

Daisy and Daho have one son who is 13 years old and according to Daho, their son has only 10% or 20 % of Taigi competency compared to Daho's. Recently, Daisy has been aware of the pervasive loss of mother tongue in Taiwan and requires her son to speak more in Taigi. Nonetheless, she experiences a strong opposition both

from her son and her husband. Daisy complained that her husband often asks her to stop speaking Taigi in the home. Daho explained that he does not want language choice to become a power struggle in the family. Most importantly, he does not want his son to dislike Taigi due to pressure from Daisy. He believes his son will gradually learn Taigi and it is impossible for his son to not be able to communicate in Taigi. Although their son can barely understand Taigi conversation and currently refuses to learn Taigi, Daho is still very optimistic that his son will acquire Taigi competence in the future. Daisy is worried and pessimistic, especially under the current situation that her husband does not work with her to encourage their son to learn Taigi. When Daisy watches a Taigi news program, listens to Taigi radio or songs, and communicates with Daho in Taigi, their son protests and gets very upset. Daho, who appears to be the authority of the family, often complies with their son and asks Daisy to switch programs as well as to speak Mandarin when their son is present. Daisy has to follow because she knows the temper tantrum thrown by her son can create chaos for the family and results in arguments between her and her husband. Daho says that language is only a tool for communication and he does not want any conflict from their language choice.

Daisy reported that her son is not close to his grandfather. They take him to visit Dafu two or three times a year. As their son grows older, he is less interested in visiting his grandfather. Daisy is very disappointed by the aloof relationship between her son and her father. She wishes they could live together or close to her father so that her son can build a good relationship with her father. However, with Daho's job in a northern county, it is not feasible for Daisy's wish to come true. Daisy believes if her son had had the chance to live with his grandparents, he would not have lost so much Taigi. Although Daho does not actively encourage his son to learn Taigi, he reported that he would be really sad and disappointed if his son turns out to lose

Taigi.

Daho reported that currently there is one hour per week of mother tongue education in elementary schools. As an elementary teacher, Daho commented that more parents opposed mother tongue education than welcome it. Many parents complain that mother tongue education is an unnecessary burden to their children. It is interesting to note that in contrast to mother tongue education, English classes are two hours per week. Not only do the parents support English classes, but they also ask schools to start English from the first grade. Moreover, most parents send their children to cram school for extra English education. Nonetheless, there is no Taigi cram school and no parent would send their children to a Taigi or other mother tongue cram school. Daho pointed out that if the high school or university entrance examinations required mother tongue competence, he is sure that all parents would send their children to Taigi cram schools as well. However, asked if he thought mother tongue competence should be required in the entrance exam, Daho was against it and replied why go through all the trouble for extra work. Although Daho recognizes that Taiwanese are losing their mother tongues, he does not think the loss of Taigi is severe and sees no need to worry about the death of Taigi. Daho believes that if many people want to reverse the mother tongue loss in Taiwan, there will be a strong force to push government to set the policy. On the other hand, if most people in society do not care about the mother tongue loss, the mother tongues in Taiwan, especially the Formosan languages, are doomed to extinction. In short, to reverse the threat to the mother tongue requires a strong movement and will not succeed by the efforts of only a few people.

Gigi and Jade's Family

Gigi is about 60 years old. She has two daughters: one speaks Taigi fluently and the other could not speak Taigi at all but has gradually recovered it since ten years

ago. Gigi only had an elementary school education. Taigi is her mother tongue. To survive, Gigi learned some Mandarin at work but speaks it with a very strong accent and in Taigi grammar. Currently, Gigi lives with her two daughters, one grandson, and her son-in-law in Tainan City. When her daughters were little, life was very harsh. Gigi recalled that she has to work three jobs to make their ends meet. In the early morning around 3 am, Gigi needed to purchase fish from the wholesale merchants at Jiali harbor in Tainan and then she sold the fish at the market. By 6 am, Gigi started at a breakfast vendor where she also sold lunch boxes until 2 pm. She then went home to wash and change. At 4 pm, Gigi worked for the catering service. By the time she finished all the cleaning at work and arrived home, it would often be past midnight. She felt very sorry that she was not able to take good care of her two daughters while she managed to balance their household finances.

Because of the heavy workload, Gigi did not notice that her older daughter, Jade, did not communicate with her in Taigi and had lost her Taigi speaking ability. No matter how often Gigi speaks Taigi with Jade, Jade always replies to her mother in Mandarin. When Gigi noticed this situation, Jade was already in high school. Gigi had never complained or said a critical word to Jade about her language choice. Growing up, Gigi's two daughters often laughed at their mother for her strong Taiwanese accent when she spoke Mandarin. For most of her life, Gigi could always sense that she was looked down on because she is a poorly educated Taiwanese and because the language she speaks was considered low-class. Gigi's daughters tried to teach Gigi standard Mandarin pronunciation but were not successful. Even today, Gigi's grandson still teases her for her Taiwanese Mandarin at times. Because of the feeling of humiliation, Gigi only speaks Mandarin when it is necessary.

Gigi does not see the language barrier cause for any problems for Jade's relationship with her grandparents. Because they live close by, Gigi's two daughters

have a very close relationship with their mainly Taigi-speaking paternal and maternal grandparents. However, this good relationship does not help Jade to keep her Taigi speaking competence. Gigi's grandson now is in elementary school. Although he speaks Taigi with a strong Mandarin accent, he has no problem communicating with Gigi in Taigi. His Taigi competence ranks on the top of his class. Gigi is very proud of her grandson and is very happy that now she can use only Taigi with her family. Gigi reported that ever since the DPP government took office in 2000 and reinforced mother tongue education in elementary schools, the society seemed to be more respectful to various mother tongue speakers in Taiwan, which made her very comfortable speaking Taigi inside and outside her home. In addition, she feels empowered by her Taigi ability because now her offspring consult with her on Taigi pronunciation. In the interview, Gigi expressed her anger toward the KMT for its prohibition of the mother tongue and how it had humiliated her and other Taigi speakers for over 50 years.

Although Gigi's older daughter lost her Taigi speaking competence, Gigi does not consider the loss of Taigi to be serious in Taiwan. She acknowledged that the Formosan languages are severely in danger but she is very confident that Taigi is not endangered at the current time. Gigi believes that learning English is much more important than learning Taigi.

Jade, Gigi's daughter, is about 35 years old. She speaks Mandarin fluently, is slowly recovering her Taigi speaking competence, and understands a portion of Taigi conversation. Jade considers herself experiencing severe Taigi loss. Although she is making progress to regain her Taigi competence, it is still a struggle for her to speak fluently in Taigi and to speak Taigi without a Mandarin accent. Jade recalled that she lived with her maternal grandparents until she was five years old and was monolingual in Taigi before she started elementary school. Jade remembered

everyday she was fined for speaking Taigi in elementary school. At first, it was fun to be fined because almost everyone in the class was fined. Jade did not understand why everyone had to put money in the box. She just followed. Gradually, fewer and fewer classmates got fined. Jade became the target that her teacher labeled and treated differently. Jade then realized that she was fined for speaking Taigi. She does not remember being fined in fourth grade; therefore, she believes she had mastered Mandarin before her fourth grade.

Jade did very well academically and spoke Mandarin as if she were a Chinese mainlander. In the early years of elementary school, Jade did not understand the concept of mainlanders and Taiwanese. But she recalled that whenever she visited her classmates' home, their parents would ask her if she was a mainlander because her Mandarin was perfect, without any accent, and was very different from the local Taiwanese. Gradually, Jade became proud of her standard Mandarin and started to look down on things associated with Taiwan, such as songs, conversation, lifestyle, and beliefs. Growing up, Jade did not realize that she only spoke Mandarin, even with her mother, who communicates mostly in Taigi. Jade recalled that her sister and she often urged their mother to learn good Mandarin. They laughed at their mother when she spoke Mandarin in a strong Taiwanese accent.

After graduating from university, Jade easily found a job and her imperfect Taigi did not impede any aspect of her everyday life. Mandarin dominated her daily usage until she married her husband. Jade's husband has a very clear Taiwanese ideology in mind and actively supports the independence of Taiwan. Needless to say that he had never adapted to Mandarin in everyday usage. Although he is fluent in Mandarin, he uses Taigi in every aspect of his life. Jade was impressed that the first time she rode in his car, he had all sorts of Taiwanese songs which Jade had considered low-class. He explained to her the meaning of the songs, told her stories of the songs' creators,

and led her to understand what the KMT had done to suppress languages in Taiwan. Because of her husband, Jade started to realize how she had lost much Taigi. Because of not using Taigi since she started public school, Jade found it very hard to recover her Taigi competence, which she fully possessed before entering elementary school.

Jade is resentful over the KMT's language policy, which she believes is the main reason for her loss of Taigi. In addition, after her years of journey to recover Taigi, she knows what is gone will not come back the same. She will never be able to speak Taigi fluently the way her family elders do, no matter how much efforts she makes to relearn it. Fortunately, Jade's relationship with her grandparents and her mother was not impeded due to her lack of Taigi competence. Her mother was able to learn Mandarin. Therefore, she understands Jade's Mandarin. Jade somehow maintains her Taigi listening ability so she understands her mother's Taigi. The language barrier does not pose too much trouble between Jade and her mother. However, it is not the same with her grandparents. Neither Jade's paternal or maternal grandmother knows any Mandarin. Jade relies on others to translate for her when she communicates with her grandmothers. Sometimes, she writes down the words and asks her grandfather when he comes home; other times, she asks whoever is around. Jade believes she has a very good relationship with her grandparents and the language barrier does not hinder their closeness. However, I wonder if she would be much closer with her grandparents if she were fully competent in Taigi.

Meeting Jade's parents-in-law brought Jade to the realization that she really needed to improve her Taigi. Since that day, Jade has asked her mother to communicate in Taigi at all times. In this way, Jade would have more opportunities to practice Taigi. Jade's parents-in-law are either Taigi monolingual or dominant Taigi speakers with very limited Mandarin competence. Their Taigi is so traditional that Jade has a hard time understanding. Surely, Jade makes mistakes in the

communication and the awkward situations encourage even more Taigi learning.

All of Jade's close female friends have experienced some Taigi loss. In their gatherings, they questioned Jade for speaking in Taigi. When Jade urged them to learn Taigi and to speak more in Taigi, they looked puzzled and disagreed with Jade, for they did not see any need to learn Taigi. Jade works in a private afterschool program. She believes that Taigi loss is severe among her students and she hopes our government does more to improve students' mother tongue retention.

Chapter Seven: Field Text Analysis and Interpretation

I analyzed my data by two different approaches: one is a comparative analysis and the other is a thematic analysis. In the comparative analysis, I focused on the features of language loss across generations and in the thematic analysis, I presented organized salient statements about the Taigi loss phenomenon. I hoped to find insights for my three other research questions: 1) What is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 2) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 3) How do political power, colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan?

An interpretation section is included in the end of this chapter to express how I as a qualitative researcher interpreted and understood the field text, what I learned from listening to my participants and the resonances between my autobiography and their stories.

Comparative Analysis

To better understand my comparative analysis, a review on my definition of generation is necessary. In Chapter four, I define four generations under the KMT's colonization. My participants, Mofan, Dafu and Gigi are the second generation. Bo, Fish, I, Daisy, Daho, and Jade are the third generation. Children of Bo and Daisy/Daho are the fourth generation. Parents of Mofan, Dafu and Gigi are the first generation. Information on first and fourth generations was indirectly received from interviews with my participants. For a clear illustration on the generations please see Table 5 on p.66. Ten features are included in the comparative analysis.

Feature one: Complete Taigi loss at fourth generation. In my study, all my participants of the third generation have been going through the process of language loss (Anderson, 1982; Kouritzin, 2006). Since they are more competent in Mandarin, they use Mandarin more often in their family and with their children. The fourth

generation after the KMT colonization is almost completely Mandarin monolingual. Although the generational pattern described by Valdes (2001) was specific to the immigrant society in the USA, in the colonial society of Taiwan, the same pattern was also found in my participants. In other words, the fourth generations lose their mother tongue and become Mandarin monolingual.

Feature two: Similar Taigi loss process in comparison to Valdes' illustration. Valdes (2001) illustrated that the first generation immigrants remained monolingual and only a few of them acquired a limited English ability. Symbol "A" represents the full competence of immigrants' heritage language, while symbol "B" means the full competence of English. In contrast, the lower case "a" and "b" symbolize partial competence of heritage language and English. Through the generations, the language phenomenon changes from A, Ab, aB, Ba, to B monolingual in the fourth generation.

Generally, my participants' language development follows a similar pattern. Almost all of the first generations Taiwanese after the KMT colonization are Taigi monolingual, such as the cases with the grandparents of Jade, Daho, and Daisy. However, if the first generation Taiwanese had a role of family's full financial responsibility, this person would be incipient or partial bilingual, such as Jade's maternal grandfather and Bo and Fish's grandmother.

The second generation Taiwanese, depending on their educational level, could be Taigi dominant or balanced bilingual. Usually if they completed senior high school education or higher, they became balanced bilingual, such as in Mofan and Dafu. For Gigi and Daho's parents who had completed elementary school, they are partial bilingual. Clearly, education definitely plays an important role in their various degree of Mandarin acquisition.

All of my participants in the third generation have a bachelor's degree or higher. They all experienced various degrees of Taigi loss, except for Daho. Therefore,

education could be a factor of their Taigi loss and also a factor for their Mandarin dominant preference. Daho is a balanced bilingual and the rest of my participants, Jade, Daisy, Bo and Fish, are all Mandarin dominant.

In the fourth generation, Daisy and Daho's son and Bo's children are all Mandarin monolingual. Although they do have mother tongue classes at school, the parents reported that their children do not learn Taigi well or even refuse to have any contact with Taigi.

The following is a table of illustration on the information I received from my interview data. I analyzed the changes on Taiwanese language development from first to fourth generation in comparison with Valdes' Illustration. In the table, "T" means the full competence of Taigi and "t" presents partial competence of Taigi; on the other hand, "M" means the full competence of Mandarin and "m" presents partial competence of Mandarin. The difference from my findings is that the full bilingualism of "TM" shows at the third generation in the first possible pattern and at the second generation in the second possible pattern.

Table 7

Taiwanese Bilingualism in Comparison to Valdes' Illustration

	Valdes' (2001) Illustration		My Findings of Taiwanese Bilingualism	
Generat-ion / Patt-ern	Two Possible Patterns on Language Characteristics		Two Possible Patterns on Language Characteristics	
	1st pattern	2nd pattern	1st pattern	2nd pattern
1st	Monolingual in heritage language A	Incipient bilingual Ab	Monolingual in mother tongue T(Note)	Incipient bilingual Tm
2nd	Heritage language dominant Ab	English dominant aB	Mother tongue dominant Tm	Balanced bilingual **TM**
3rd	Heritage language dominant Ab	English dominant aB	Balanced bilingual **TM**	Mandarin dominant Mt
4th	English dominant Ba	English monolingual B	Mandarin dominant Mt	Mandarin monolingual M

Note. Being through the Japanese and the KMT's colonization, the first generation Taiwanese are actually bilingual in Taigi and Japanese and might also be trilingual in Taigi, Japanese, and Mandarin. However, Japanese is not part of my discussion and it is not showed in the table.

Feature three: In contrast with UG Theory, Taigi competence was not "steady". In the universal grammar theory, Chomsky pointed out that children master their first language around age five (cited in Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, p.236) and that "fairly early in life a child's linguistics competence reaches a steady state, after which there are no significant changes" (cited in Jordan, 2004, p.144).

This does not seem to be the case in my participants. Although the third generation of my participants including myself once mastered Taigi before they entered elementary school, their Taigi competence was not in a "steady state". Almost all of them (except Daho) have experienced "significant change" on their Taigi competence and lost their Taigi speaking ability after entering school. This situation is similar to the study by Wong Fillmore (1991) that children increasingly lost their mother tongue to the dominant language after they entered the school system. Therefore, this "steady state" does not happen "fairly early in life". According to Larsen-Freeman and Long, there are many more grammatical structures which children master at an older age (1991) and what Sampson (1997) asserted on language learning to be a continuing process seems to give a better explanation on the situations of my participants.

Feature four: From first, second and third generations to see critical period hypothesis.

For the first generation Taiwanese under the KMT, they were exposed to Mandarin after puberty. If they did learn Mandarin, they seemed not able to reach full competence in Mandarin, such as Bo and Fish's grandmother and Jade's maternal grandfather. Both my second and third generation participants under the KMT were exposed to and educated by Mandarin from the first grade within the time period of CPH. For my 2nd generation participants, they are either fully competent in Mandarin or have reached functional competence in Mandarin.

However, in comparison to the third generation participants, the second generation participants (Mofan, Dafu, and Gigi) all speak Mandarin with a strong Taigi accent and do not speak like native Mandarin speakers. Because of this finding, I question that there might be more salient factors affecting the "nativelikeness" than the CPH. When comparing the second language development of my participants, CHP can be a distinguisher for second language competence but can not be one for the nativelikeness.

Feature five: The better parents' Mandarin competence is, the worse their children's Taigi competence is. Parents' Mandarin competence also has a great influence on their children's Taigi loss. In my second generation participants, their level of Mandarin competence is in accordance with their education. The higher education they received, the better their Mandarin is. Both Mofan and Dafu have good Mandarin competence; whereas, their children Bo, Fish and Daisy as well as Daisy's three other siblings have all experienced various degrees of Taigi loss. In contrast, neither Daho's parents were fully competent in Mandarin. Daho reported that he does not experience any Taigi loss. In Gigi's family, one of her two daughters, speaks fluent Taigi and are balanced bilingual. The other daughter, Jade, however, did lose her Taigi speaking ability as early as in elementary school. Although Gigi understands Mandarin, she is not fluent in Mandarin and communicates in Taigi most of the time. Jade is an exceptional example in this aspect.

Feature six: Peer influence also played a role on Taigi loss. Although there are many factors to Taigi loss, in Jade's situation, peer influence seems to play an important role in her Mandarin acquisition and Taigi loss. Jade reported that she had several close classmates who were from the mainlander families and were fluent in Mandarin. When Jade was little, she seemed to be proud when people praised her good Mandarin pronunciation. Peer influence not only increased Jade's chance to be

exposed in Mandarin, also indicated Jade's acceptance of the mainlander families and Chinese culture, which possibly led to Jade's early Sinic assimilation and her rejection of Taigi as well as Taiwanese culture.

Feature seven: Gender influences language choice and attitude on language maintenance. Gender is a distinct factor to Taigi loss in my third generation participants. I have two male participants in the third generation: Bo and Daho. Bo reported that he only lost about 30% of Taigi and Daho reported that he did not experience any Taigi loss. My female participants (Jade, Fish, Daisy and I) all experienced a much more severe degree of Taigi loss than did the males. In that era, the female was deemed to be more obedient to authority, the representation of Chinese culture. In contrast, the male was encouraged to explore opportunities, which increased their chance to be exposed to Taigi since the majority of population was Taigi-speaking in Taiwan.

Gender difference seems to also make a difference on parents' attitude toward their children's mother tongue maintenance. For Bo and Daho, they both pointed out that they would ask their children to learn Taigi if there was an economic incentive, pressure from academic competition, or an environment require their children to use Taigi. In other words, they support their children's mother tongue learning for practical reasons. In contrast, for Jade and Daisy, they both reported that learning Taigi is important to maintain the Taiwanese culture, identity, and self-esteem of their child. Daisy hopes her son could keep his Taiwanese heritage through learning Taigi and Jade believes she certainly will have her child learn Taigi only because we are Taiwanese.

Feature eight: Age represents a specific socio-political era which imperatively influenced language development across generations. In the third generation participants including myself, age is an indicator of each person's Taigi competence.

In the order from the best Taigi competence to the least, it is also a hierarchy of age from the oldest to the youngest. The only exception is Fish and Jade. Currently, Jade's Taigi competence is much better than Fish's because Jade started to form a clear Taiwanese ideology after her marriage to her husband about ten years ago and ever since she has been in the slow progress of her Taigi recovering. Age reflected the climate of the society. Although the KMT enforced Mandarin instruction in school system, it was until late 60's and 70's, when the KMT started to strictly prohibit Taigi TV and radio programs. All publication of songs, movies, newspapers, and magazines were under extreme scrutiny mainly to control the thoughts and ideology of people. Table 8 is an illustration on the relationship between age and Taigi loss.

Table 8

The Relationship between Age and Taigi Loss

Age	Oldest →					youngest
Participant	Daho	Daisy	Bo	I	Fish	Jade
Taigi Loss	No loss →					severe loss
Participant	Daho	Daisy	Bo	I	Jade	Fish

Feature nine: Parents' education and social status as factors of children's language loss. The second generation of my participants all have different educational levels and accordingly, different social statuses. I did not interview Daho's parents but in the interview, he gave some information about his parents; therefore, I also included his information in the analysis. Mofan has a bachelor degree and his three children lost most of their Taigi among all the families. Dafu has a diploma from senior high school and has a good command of Mandarin. Dafu's daughter, Daisy, also experienced some degree of Taigi loss but she was able to respond fully in Taigi during the interview. Her Taigi is slightly better than Bo's. Gigi

graduated from elementary school and so did Daho's parents. Both Daho and one of Gigi's daughters are fully bilingual while Jade is an exception. Table 9 illustrates the relationship between education, social status and Taigi loss.

Table 9

The Relationship between Education/Social Status and Taigi Loss

2nd generation	Mofan	Dafu	Gigi and Daho's parents	
Education level	University/Bachelor degree	Senior high school diploma	Elementary school graduate	
Taigi loss	severe →			no loss
3rd generation	Bo, Fish, I	Daisy	Jade's sister (Jade: exception)	Daho

Feature ten: Region of original family indicates the critical mass of language population which is another important factor of language choice. My three participant families are located in different regions of Taiwan. Bo's family is in Kaohsiung, the second largest and a southwest city in Taiwan. Fish lives in Taipei County with her husband. Daisy and Daho's family is in Taoyuan County, an adjacent county at the south of Taipei. Thus, Fish, Daisy and Daho reside at the north region of Taiwan. Jade's family is at Tainan City, above Kaohsiung City. Jade and Bo resides at the southern region of Taiwan. However, their original families (Mofan, Dafu, and Gigi) all cluster in the southern region of Taiwan. Although my third generation participants all grew up in the south of Taiwan, there are still differences. Mofan's family was in the city of Kaohsiung. The populations, development, and resources in Kaohsiung make it a city of higher level than Tainan City where Gigi's family is and Pingtung City where Dafu's family is. There seems to be a connection between the

size of cities and the Taigi loss of the children. When evaluating each family as a unit, Mofan's family resided in the first level city and his three children Bo, Fish, and I experienced more severe Taigi loss compared to the other participant families resided in second level cities. Because Daho did not disclose much information on his original family and his siblings, I did not include Daho's original family in this analysis. Table 10 illustrates the relationship between the scale of a city and Taigi loss.

Table 10

The Relationship between the Scale of a City and Taigi Loss

	First level city	Second level city	
City	Kaohsiung	Pingtung	Tainan
Taigi loss	Severe	Moderate	No loss
3rd generation participants and their siblings	Mofan's Children: Bo, I, and Fish	Dafu's daughters: Daisy and 3 other siblings	Gigi's daughters with the exception of Jade

(Note: There is no Taipei, Tainan, and Kaohsiung County now. In 2010, Taipei County upgraded to New Taipei City. At the same day, Tainan County merged with Tainan City and upgraded to a first level city. Kaohsiung County also merged with Kaohsiung City.)

Thematic Analysis

In the thematic analysis, themes one to five are discussions of the parents' attitude in the same generation or across generations. Government, economic and financial considerations, and the environment are four factors which have a great impact on parents' attitude. Themes five to eleven are discussions on how individuals underwent his or her Taigi loss and what they think about Taigi loss in Taiwan.

To illustrate my analysis, I included my participants' statements to support my interpretation of themes. For falsifiability, I quoted directly from the original

transcripts, which are a mixture of Chinese and Taigi along with the English translations, to validate the statements and to facilitate understanding of each theme.

In my theme analysis, the roles of my participants changed back and forth according to the themes. The second generation participants could be parents in one theme but become grandparents in the other theme and the third generation participants could also be parents or children in different themes.

Theme one: Second generation parents' ignorance due to financial factors. The second generation parents ignored their children's Taigi loss because financial burdens or high expectations for future upward mobility encouraged Mandarin learning. For Mofan, Dafu, and Gigi, they noticed their children were not able to fluently communicate in Taigi and preferred Mandarin communication in their adolescence.

Although Mofan believes his children experienced Taigi loss, he also believes that his children still communicate in Taigi with him 50%-70% of the time.

> Mofan: 真正講起來啊,台語啊應該百分之七十左右啦,但是在哥哥那邊啊,台語應該百分之五十,一半一半
>
> Translation: To speak the truth, I use Taigi about 70% of time (with you and your sister), but with your brother, I use about 50% of Taigi. (Mofan Transcript, p.9)

Dafu acknowledged that his four daughters were not able to communicate in Taigi fluently, but said it was not under his control. His wife took in charge of their children's education and he was the bread winner.

> Researcher: 抵你ㄟ處(家),賃大家攏用啥秘語言哩供?

Translation: At your home, what is the language for communication?

Dafu: 攏嘛台語!

Translation: All Taigi!

Researcher: 丫你 m 是供你ㄟ囝仔像我自哩會數(年記)沒撒ㄟ曉供台語?

Translation: Didn't you say that your daughters were not so good at speaking Taigi just like me?

Dafu: …hi 時陣可能愛夢阮太太吧!囝仔四ㄟ,我四ㄟ女兒嘛,丫嘛攏用台語哩供話,概少哩用國語啊,因為國語是自種對外咖五哩 hi le,

Translation: …maybe you should check with my wife on things that happened back then. I used only Taigi at home because Mandarin was the language only to use outside.

Researcher: 所以甘是變做供,你用台語嘎你ㄟ囝仔供,丫你ㄟ囝仔用國語嘎你回,丫你擱用台語嘎伊 n 供丫呢?

Translation: So, did you speak only Taigi with your daughters and they answered you in Mandarin?

Dafu: 我大部分攏用台語哩供咖多啦,四ㄟ囝仔攏是阮查郎嘎教育ㄟ啦!丫我探(賺)錢 nia,做剛(工)啦!我做剛(工)探(賺)錢,丫阮太太負責照顧囝仔,he n!

Translation: Yes! I used Taigi most of the time. My wife educated and took charge of my four daughters. I made money and she took care of our children. (Dafu Transcript, p.8)

Gigi also noticed her daughter, Jade, was not able to communicate in Taigi. She reported that Jade always spoke Mandarin to her and she would continue speaking to Jade in Taigi. Gigi did not like the situation but there was little she could do. She was extremely busy making ends meet and she understood Jade needed to learn Mandarin at school. She wanted Jade to have a good academic performance;

therefore, she did not want to interfere with Jade's learning by giving her extra work to improve Taigi.

Gigi: 我想供伊 n 的國語供阿呢 m 后,阿學台語擱聽無哩你!... 阿伊的完全...hi le 思想的完全攏國語ㄟ啊,阿阮嘛是用台語參郎哩供啊!

Translation: She (Jade) only spoke in Mandarin and did not fully understand Taigi. I spoke Taigi to her but her mind was all in Mandarin. I still used Taigi to talk to her.

Gigi: 因為攏就沒盈(沒時間)ㄟ!后搭日(每天)天嘎(很累)真正... 我 hi 寸呢, 攏阿 ne 作工饋,阿伊 n 阿 ne 去讀冊,阿幾剛(一天)見面沒 guia 點鐘,guia la(好幾)年來攏阿呢 ne!十多年...

Translation: I was so busy. Every day I was exhausted after work. I worked while my daughters went to school. We rarely had time to get together… for more than 10 years… (Gigi Transcript, p.8)

In conclusion, Mofan did not think his children used Mandarin to communicate with him all the time. Dafu did not care very much. His children were highly accomplished academically and they all have good jobs and a good life. This is all he wants for his children. Gigi was not happy to see Jade lose Taigi but, like Dafu's children, Jade received her Bachelor degree, has a good job and enjoys her life. Gigi did not want to complain about Jade's Taigi loss.

Theme two: Accepting Taigi's disappearance across generations. There is not much attention to the missing communication across generations. Parents and grandparents passively accept this condition. Neither Mofan nor Dafu's grandchildren are able to communicate with them in Taigi, the mother tongue which Mofan and Dafu prefer to use. However, Mofan denied this situation. He believes his grandchildren can engage in basic daily Taigi communication, even though later Bo

reported that neither of his children is able to communicate in Taigi with their grandparents.

Researcher: 你的孫子他們跟你講母語台語嗎?

Translation: Do your grandchildren speak Taigi with you?

Mofan: 會講會聽

Translation: They understand and they can speak Taigi. (Mofan Transcript, p.6)

Researcher: 你的孩子他有沒有辦法用母語跟祖父母交談?

Translation: Can your children communicate in Taigi with their grandparents?

Bo: 沒有!不行!

Translation: No, they can't. (Bo Transcript, p.6)

Although Dafu is not satisfied with the silence between him and his grandchildren, he claimed that his children have their own families and it is not very important for him to communicate with his grandchildren in Taigi. Like Dafu, Mofan also feels that grandchildren's Taigi maintenance is the choice of their parents, which grandparents should not interfere with or have any opinion on.

Dafu: 伊攏小家庭啦,攏父母ㄟ關係,lan 做阿公ㄚ沒含伊 n 接觸啊,所以的咖沒哩供話啊,攏是父母ㄟ關係啦,he n!你父母嘎供台語,伊嘛是嘎你聽台語,所以北母ㄟ關係,學校ㄟ關係,阿公阿嬤影響咖少ㄚ呢啦!

Translation: Nowadays, it's all core family. It all depends on the parents. As grandfather, I don't often have contact with them. Therefore, I don't have much to talk to my grandchildren. Their parents make the decision. If parents talk to them in Taigi, they will follow their parents and learn Taigi. Parents and schools play an important role. Grandparents don't have much influence. (Dafu Transcript, p.8)

Mofan: 小孩子的學習啦后,跟父母親的影響力很重啦后,尤其跟他媽媽,跟母親的影響很重啦后…

Translation: Children's learning depends on their parents, especially the mother… (Mofan Transcript, p.10)

For Bo and Daho (parents), they do not see anything wrong with their children being unable to communicate in Taigi with the grandparents since they believe that as long as they can communicate in Mandarin, there should be no problem; besides, they do not live near their parents and communications between grandparents and grandchildren are minimal. Dafu also reported that he is too happy for his grandchildren's visits to criticize their lack of Taigi.

Theme three: Government role on parent attitude. Preserving Taigi is not a priority for Bo, Daisy and Daho's children before the government starts to emphasize on mother tongue preservation. For the third generation participants who have children at school age: Neither Bo, Daisy nor Daho, sees Taigi learning as a priority for their children. Moreover, they all believe that the only way to support the Taigi learning of their children is for the government to include the mother tongue as a subject in the entrance examination for senior high school or university, since there are so many other things for their children to learn.

Researcher: 對孩子學習母語的態度是甚麼?跟學習其他科目跟技能比起來呢?

Translation: What is your attitude toward your children's mother tongue learning compared to other subject?

Bo: 順其自然!

Translation: Just let it be!

Bo: 對!要做的事情很多,沒有辦法!

Translation: Yes! They have so many things to spend time on it. Nothing we can do!

Bo: 就看考試怎麼考,看有多重要啦!就學測不會考,那就趴就好了,學測不會考,那就趴 s 就好了,學測會考,那就要高分啊!

Translation: It all depends on how it will be placed in an exam. How important this subject is. If it is a subject in the entrance exam, then the higher score the better; if not, then just to meet the passing score is good for me. (Bo Transcript, p.6)

Researcher: 啊你對囝仔學母語ㄟ態度是ㄚ呢啦后,啊跟學習其他科目跟技能比起來哩?

Translation: What is your attitude toward your children's mother tongue learning compared to other subject?

Daisy: 因為進嘛沒哩考試,伊可能沒 hi le 意願...

Translation: Because there is no test for Taigi, he probably is not motivated to learn…

Daho: ㄟ...台灣進是 lan 供ㄟ考試領導教學嘛, 考試也領導學習嘛,那五考,當然ㄟ咖注重供叫伊好好啊讀,那沒考的都好的好啊!

Translation: In Taiwan, the test leads the teaching and learning. If it (Taigi) is a subject for the exam, certainly we would put more emphasis on it and would require him to study more. (Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.23)

In Bo's opinion, to learn Taigi is considered a waste of his children's time; while Daho considers his wife's (Daisy's) preservation of Taigi as a source for family conflicts. In conclusion, except for Daisy, both Bo and Daho are resigned to their children's Taigi loss, although both of them reported that they would be sad if their children lost

Taigi.

Theme four: Third generation parents comply with environment. Parents are either passively accepting or in denial of their children's mother tongue loss and they believe the environment as well as a Taigi-speaking population are the main factors in preserving their mother tongue. To Bo, it is very clear to him that his children do not have mother tongue competence. In contrast to Bo's acceptance, Daho denied the possibility that his child is losing Taigi, although his child, 13 years old, barely understands Taigi and strongly resists learning or even having contact with Taigi. Daho is optimistic that his child will eventually learn Taigi; however, he did not report any positive actions he took to help his son learn Taigi.

Researcher: 你的小孩會講母語嘛?你用甚麼語言跟他們溝通?

Translation: Do your children speak the mother tongue? What is the language you use to communicate with them?

Bo: 只會一點點啦!用國語跟他們溝通啊!

Translation: They only know a little bit of Taigi. I certainly speak Mandarin to them! (Bo Transcript, p.6)

Daho: …在我ㄟ想法伊早慢攏ㄟ曉供啊,他早晚會講啦,sooner or later,所以沒需要特別供一定愛很強調說他甚麼時候會

Translation: In my opinion, sooner or later he will learn (Taigi) so it's not necessary to emphasize when he needs to learn.

Daho: 啊咖大漢ㄟ時加減學啊!

Translation: Oh! When he is older, he will catch on more or less. (Daho Transcript: p.25)

Both Bo and Daho believe the environment is the crucial factor for the Taigi loss of their children. Bo believes that if there were an environment in which all

people speak Taigi, his children would have learned Taigi naturally. Daho believes that if a majority of people in society would support it, Taigi would stay. Otherwise, Taigi loss is inevitable. Both Bo and Daho passively surrender to the environment and do not do anything to prevent Taigi loss for their children.

> Bo: 這是環境,整個環境都不重視它的話,一個人重視它也沒有辦法!
>
> Translation: It's all about the environment. If the people in this environment don't care about mother tongue preservation, it won't happen because of one individual's effort. (Bo Transcript, p.6)

> Daho: 啊擱五譬如供伊將來畢業ㄟ時陣,頭加希望供伊ㄟ曉供台語啊,這嘛是蓋重要!變做供幾哩(一個)族群那屋咖多郎供台語,台語的ㄟ咖…
>
> Translation: and also if in the future he graduates from school, his boss wants him to be able to speak Taigi…This is very important. When a group of people speak Taigi, it becomes more important to keep your Taigi… (Daho Transcript, p.31)

Unlike Bo and Daho, Daisy has been trying but feels helpless. Her husband does not support her action for the preservation of Taigi. Bo, Daisy, and Daho all reported that there is no assistance or resources available in the community or society to help guide the learning of Taigi.

Theme five: Parents' attitude across generations. Parental attitude could play an important role on their children's mother tongue maintenance (Amaral, 2001; Shannon & Milian, 2002; Lao, 2004). In my study, both parents of second and third generations seem to be passive about their children's mother tongue learning. To survive and to be financially independent seem to be more important considerations than does the maintenance of their children's mother tongue. Although both generations of participants received Mandarin education at school age, the second

generation participants still maintain a high level of Taigi, even though their parents (first generation) struggled to raise the family and did not have much strength left to care much for which language their children speak. My second generation participants are Taigi-Mandarin bilingual. When the second generation participants became parents, either they (Gigi and Daho's parents) remained in the same situation as their parents who were too busy making a living to care much about their children's language learning or they (Mofan and Dafu's wife) cared so much about their children's education that they not only required their children to speak Mandarin at home but also spoke in Mandarin when communicating with their children, the third generation participants.

Unlike the second generation participants, all my third generation participants except Daho have experienced moderate to severe Taigi loss. In this situation, the parent's attitude seems to be an obvious factor which influences children's language maintenance. If the second generation parents (e.g., Mofan and Dafu's wife) showed the desire for their children to perform well academically, put emphasis on Mandarin learning, and made efforts to speak Mandarin with their children, their children (Bo, Fish, I, Daisy and her sisters) lost Taigi more severely.

Theme six: Pervasive mother tongue confusion and identity loss. Similar to my experience, almost all my participants have experienced mother tongue confusion. Second-generation interviewees, Dafu and Gigi, were certain Taigi is their mother tongue. Only Mofan replied that Mandarin is his mother tongue, because the KMT government forced him to learn Mandarin since he was little. However, later he clarified that Mandarin is his "new" mother tongue and Taigi is his "original" mother tongue.

Dafu: 母語的 hi le 台灣話啊!

Translation: My mother tongue… Taigi! (Dafu Transcript, p.1)

Gigi: 母語喔!阿的供台語阿呢啊!

Translation: Mother tongue… Taigi! (Gigi Transcript, p.1)

Mofan: 中文 Mandarin,中文, 因為我從小時候后,就被中國他們蔣介石帶領國民黨那些政府來占領台灣,所以他們就統治台灣,我們就被迫一定要學中文,把自己的台灣語言母語被屏除…

Translation: Mandarin, because since I was little, Chinese Chiang Kai-Shek led the KMT government to occupy Taiwan and forced us to learn Mandarin. Therefore, my own mother tongue was not taught… (Mofan transcript, p.1)

Mofan: 我把我台語界定是原來的母語,但是後來外族教我的中文我把它界定做新的母語,一個是原來的母語一個是新的母語…

Translation: I define Taigi as my original mother tongue and I define Mandarin, which was taught by the outsider, as a new mother tongue. One is my original mother tongue; the other is a new mother tongue… (Mofan transcript, p.2)

All the third generation participants except Daho expressed they were once confused about their mother tongue. They had believed Mandarin was their mother tongue. In recent years, they gradually realized that their true mother tongue is Taigi. All of my participants who ever had a misconception on their mother tongue are Mandarin dominant and have experienced different degree of Taigi loss. Because language and identity are interrelated and inseparable (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz ,1982; Huang,1993), when my third generation participants, including myself, did not recognize our mother tongue, we not only lost our Taiwanese identity, but also lost our mother tongue.

Researcher: 你還是會覺得母語是台語?

Translation: Do you think your mother tongue is Taigi?

Fish: 最近才開始覺得,以前不覺得,也不是最近啦!這幾年才開始會覺得,以前沒錯啊,就是國語啊.

Translation: Recently, I start to think this way. I did not think Taigi was my mother tongue until recent years. I kept thinking Mandarin was my mother tongue before. (Fish Transcript, p.1)

Bo: 後來才知道的

Translation: I learned it later on.

Researcher: 才知道甚麼?

Translation: What did you learn?

Bo: 才知道台語是母語,後來長大才知道的,高中以後才知道的

Translation: I learned that Taigi is my mother tongue until I was a grown-up, a high school student.

Researcher: 所以我們高中之前…

Translation: So, before the senior high school…

Bo: 不對,高中可能不知道,大學以後,搞不好更晚,都一直覺得國語才是母語

Translation: No..., not high school…after university…probably even later…I have always thought that Mandarin was my mother tongue. (Bo Transcript, p.1)

Jade: 然後我到最後比較有台灣意識,知道說台語(是母語),其實是認識我先生…

Translation: Then I started to form my Taiwanese ideology and learned Taigi (as my mother tongue) after I knew my husband… (Jade Transcript, p.2)

Theme seven: Depreciate Taiwan in society. A belittling attitude toward the Taiwanese culture was pervasive in society. People felt proud of speaking standard

Mandarin and kept a distance from the Taiwanese image. All of my third generation participants reported that they had looked down on Taiwanese culture or they had sensed that the Taiwanese culture was disparaged by society.

Both Jade and I had depreciated Taigi and Taiwanese culture. We once considered Taigi as low-class and belittled the peasants who only spoke Taigi. We had avoided listening to Taigi songs. I even disliked reading articles about Taiwan or written by Taiwanese writers, and watching TV shows with Taigi or Taiwanese content. Among all the third generation participants, Jade and I are the ones who lost Taigi most severely.

> Jade: 對,其實我在我小時候我其實有一度認為台語這個東西(語言)他(它)是很難聽的語言耶!
>
> Translation: When I was little, I once thought Taigi was a bad language. The sound of Taigi was horrible! (Jade Transcript, p.1)
>
> Jade: 欸!然後台語歌后你會覺得就拍聽,就拍聽ㄟ呱…
>
> Translation: Even Taigi songs to me were considered terrible music, not a good choice to listen to.
>
> Jade: 我覺得我國小好像講中文就是很了不起…
>
> Translation: In elementary school, I felt proud when I spoke Mandarin… (Jade Transcript, p.4)
>
> Jade: 我就排斥,因我就覺得說那種語言沒水準,所以那時候都不會覺得說那是一個文化,都不知道…
>
> Translation: I disliked Taigi because I believed it was a low-class language. I didn't think there was any culture embedded in it… (Jade Transcript, p.8)

Fish also experienced severe Taigi loss. Although she did not make light of Taigi, she sensed the climate around her to belittle Taigi and things related to Taiwan. Fish,

however, did not have any sense of being Taiwanese at all until recently.

Fish: 給人家的感覺,我也不知道是以前造成的還是那個,中文給人家感覺會真的比較高調,比較 high class,然後台語會給人家感覺比較鬆(俗)啦! ...我本身是覺得還好,但是有可能社會的氛圍是有一點點造成這種感覺…

Translation: Feelings toward Taigi… I don't know why… but Mandarin did give people an impression of high class. Taigi is more grass-roots and lower. I don't treat them differently but there is the climate in society... (Fish Transcript, p.5)

Daho reported that he sensed a strong message that permeated through society that anything related to Taiwan was depreciated. At special events, people tried to speak Mandarin to make themselves more presentable or mainstream.

Daho: 底哩我讀冊 hi le 過程當中,我 vie 體會的我同學后,伊 n 五幾哩心態,伊 n 后認為供台語是咖沒水準ㄟ, …所以伊 n 攏愛供國語,這就明顯表現底對(在哪裡),伊 n hi 陣啊哩教女冰友ㄟ時陣,伊 n 一定供台語,he n!

Translation: When I was at school, I could sense the attitude of my classmates. They looked down at Taigi and thought Taigi was low class. Especially when they had a date, they loved to speak Mandarin with their girlfriends…(Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.11)

Theme eight: Political power and mother tongue loss. Almost all of my participants claimed that political power has a strong and direct influence on the complete Taigi loss of the younger generation and the communication gap between grandparents and grandchildren.

Daho: 啊,這絕對百分之百ㄟ關係, 因為伊 n 來ㄟ時陣后,hi le 時陣后ㄟ當

理解ㄟ是伊 n 心裡面后沒安全感,因為伊 n 來告新哩所在,日本郎嘎 lan 統治五十年,是比中國大陸進步就多,啊伊 n 來告加ㄟ時陣其實伊 n 就沒安全感,ㄟ五兩百 gua 萬郎來嘛!啊伊 n 就沒安全感,因為伊 n 是統治加(者),ㄚ伊 n 后,想 ve 切凳,想 ve 嘎加ㄟ min gian 洗掉,hi 陣ㄟ郎學ㄟ是日語,處裡供ㄟ是台語,伊甘嘎這攏妨害的中國文化ㄟ學習,ㄚ伊 n 想…lan 細漢常常啊 ne 供嘛,復興中華文化,五 ve!伊 n 攏常常供復興中華文化,啊的是因為伊 n 甘嘎賃加攏已經變做化外之民,今哪力(天)既然是我中國郎來統治記哩所在,阮的愛復興中華文化,侯賃加ㄟ郎向這優秀ㄟ中華文化來學習,伊 n ㄟ想法是安 ne!

Translation: (colonial history and political power) is 100% related to our language loss. My understanding is that they were outsiders, when they first came. They were insecure. Japan had ruled Taiwan for almost 50 years and Taiwan was much more modern than China. At that time we spoke Japanese outside and Taigi at home, 2.5 million of mainlander Chinese were minority in Taiwan. Those insecured mainlander Chinese wanted to delete whatever we had about Japanese thinking, culture, and language so that they could install Chinese culture and language into us. (Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.9)

Daho: 嘛是五啊!因為統治者伊 n 這五記哩權力嘛!啊像我都啊供ㄟ,我記開始的供ㄟ,你供台語罰站,罰錢,啊甚至侯裡掛狗牌啊,后侯裡掛狗牌啊,就多就多ㄟ方式嘛!啊變做恭,lan 囝仔嘛!lan hi 當時啊個囝仔嘛!幾粒仔子 nia,當然是聽老師ㄟ話啊!老師的啊 ne 做,lan 只好的盡量賣供啊!

Translation: (political power) also played an important role. For example, I remember being punished to stand up, to be fined, to hang a doggy name tag (for speaking Taigi) How old were we? We were so little. Definitely we needed to listen to teachers so we had to learn Mandarin and speak Mandarin as much as we could. (Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.10)

Daho: 我覺得是受學校教育影響比較大,學校 lie 底伊啊呢供ㄟ時 lan 受伊ㄟ影響的就大ㄟ啊,那至於說學校為啥秘伊啊呢供的是政治ㄟ影響咖大嘛,政治的影響會比較大…

Translation: I feel education influenced our language loss the most. But what would influence education and school policies? Surely it is the political power… (Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.13)

Bo: 有相關…就我所知道就是殖民的統治者總是希望能夠容易統治,他們是外來的嘛!對對!所以就要把被統治的人他原本的歷史的根把他給切斷,以前日本統治期間就經過一次了嘛!變成皇民化,那國民黨來統治也是一樣嘛,都是做這樣的事情,這是在台灣是這樣發生,我想可能在其他的國家也是同樣都發生過啦!這個就是跟政治力介入是一樣的啦,對呀!

Translation: (colonial history and political power) surely related to our language loss. I understand that for easy control, the colonizers cut off the history connection of colonized people. The Japanese government did it once and the KMT government did the same thing again. I believe this happened in Taiwan and it would also happen to all other colonized countries in the world. This is the power of government. (Bo Transcript, p.3)

Mofan: 絕對有相關,因為假設一個新來的外族族群它要消滅你原來的本地的母語,它會利用它的教育也好,各種政策也好盡其所能來消滅它,然後消滅它以後它才好管制或者控制這個國家

Translation: (colonial history and political power) definitely related to our language loss because when a new ethnic group came from outside to rule you, it definitely had to eliminate your language by utilizing the education and other polices to wipe out the language as clean as possible so that it would be easier

to control the people and to rule this country. (Mofan Transcript, p.4)

When expressing their points of view, some of them (Gigi and Jade) embedded their anger in the conversation; most of them expressed a helpless feeling for survival under the pressure of the KMT power. Dafu is the only one who defended the KMT and claimed that the KMT did not prohibit Taiwanese from using Taigi. However, he remembered that there were many songs prohibited and the KMT put Taiwanese in prison if a neighbor or anyone reported that a person was listening to the radio.

Dafu: 但是...mm…m…國家是用北京話做為國語,本國語言啦,啊所以台語伊呀沒供...伊溫哪沒供嘎你...禁供你毋通供啦!

Translation: But the government chooses Mandarin as the national language, therefore, Taigi … no, government did not prohibit us from speaking Taigi!

Dafu: …沒啦沒啦!伊沒嘎你禁止嘎蓋...

Translation: No, no, no, it (government) didn't prohibit us from using Taigi

Dafu: …咖早五禁啦,五禁…因為伊嘿音樂伊那做嘎很悲哀的啦后,啊唱起來好像很悲哀啊,啊政府...那個文化局就說你這個對人民的心理不好,所以禁唱啦,以前有這樣,但是現在很自由了!

Translation: But the songs that were so sad and the government Information Office said that those songs were not good for our minds and that it had to stop the distribution of those songs. But that was before, it's free now!

Dafu: 咖早 hi 陣聽收音機,hi 陣蓋(戒)嚴ㄟ時,沒賽(不行)歐北(胡亂)聽收音機呢! Hi 陣啊你哪聽收音機,攏五外面那個他們那邊的好像說...甚麼...匪諜啊甚麼東西,現在沒有了啦!

Translation: In an early era, when there was martial law, one was not supposed to listen to the "WRONG" radio station! If you listened to a radio station from

China, the government put you in prison as a ruffian or a spy for China. (Dafu Transcript, p.4)

However, not all my participants acknowledged the KMT as a colonial government, including Dafu, Daho, Daisy and Fish. Dafu believes he is a Chinese and also a Taiwanese; therefore, Dafu does not consider the KMT as the outsider. Although claiming themselves as Taiwanese, Daisy and Daho avoided commenting on the KMT as the colonial government. Fish clearly pointed out that she does not care about politics and has no knowledge if the KMT should be considered as a colonial government in Taiwan.

Dafu: 我攏認同 kia(站)抵台灣ㄟ攏是台灣郎,啊我嘛是供中國郎…

Translation: I believe the people who live in Taiwan should be Taiwanese and I am also Chinese… (Dafu Transcript, p.5)

Fish: 我對於國民黨來台灣算不算殖民,我不是完全瞭解啊! …因為我本身是不太去了解政治這個東西啦!

Translation: I'm not sure if the KMT has colonized Taiwan…I don't understand … because I don't understand politics… (Fish Transcript, p.2)

Theme nine: All third generation participants punished for Taigi speaking.

Being humiliated or punished for speaking Taigi in elementary school is a common memory for many of third generation participants. All my participants remembered being prohibited from speaking Taigi in schools, especially in elementary school. The second generation participants remembered that Taigi was strictly prohibited at school but did not remember if the teachers punished students for speaking Taigi. All the third generation participants remembered being punished for speaking Taigi. The punishment was usually a fine. Some reported other means of punishment such as

extra homework, isolation by standing alone in the class, and humiliation by having to wear a sign around one's neck.

Bo: 對呀!我們小時候會被教育說诶!你講台語是比較粗俗的喔!我記得要罰錢!

Translation: Yes! We were taught that Taigi was a bad low-class language and I remember one would be fined for speaking Taigi.

Researcher: ㄟ那你有被罰過嗎?

Translation: Had you ever been fined?

B: 有啊!

Translation: Yes, I had! (Bo Transcript, p.3)

Jade: 到國小應該也是用台語溝通,但是開始罰錢,對…

Translation: In elementary school, I probably spoke Taigi only but speaking Taigi would be fined…

Researcher: 你有被罰過?

Translation: Had you ever been fined?

Jade: 我印象很深刻就是我每天都要去投錢,對對對…我每天喔!

Translation: I remember clearly that I was fined every day, yes… EVERY DAY!! (Jade Transcript, p.1)

Fish: 就小時候學校推行國語政策啊,然後如果講台語要罰錢或者是要掛狗牌,

Translation: The movement for Mandarin only policy at school…speaking Taigi would be fined or wearing a sign.

Researcher: 你也有被掛過狗牌喔?

Translation: Had you ever been hung with that sign?

Fish: 我沒有被掛過,但是有這樣的情況, …

Translation: no, I didn't but I know it happened. (Fish Transcript, p.1)

Daho: 就多啊!譬如供五當時呀ㄟ叫你罰站,五當時呀是嘎你共手袋仔啊(打手心)!五當時啊是你哪供台語愛罰錢啊!罰機嘎(一角)啊,五嘎(五角)啊,啊ne!啊擱咖五ㄟ時是,必如供:掛機 de 白啊(掛一塊牌子)--請說國語!

Translation: Many kinds of punishment, for example, standing up, hitting palms, fine, or hanging the sign on the necks—speak Mandarin!!

Researcher: ㄟ你甘五行掛過?

Translation: Had you ever worn the sign?

Daho: 我賣掛過啊!

Translation: I had!! (Daisy & Daho Transcript, p.1)

From the day KMT occupied Taiwan, the educational instruction and governmental announcement had been strictly in Mandarin, the textbooks and tests have been printed in Chinese characters, all signs were posted in Chinese characters, and textbooks have been focused only on the Chinese and the KMT's point of view. My participants claimed that they were forced to learn Mandarin quickly to adjust to the environment and to succeed at school. Gigi was angry that the KMT government did not give the Taiwanese time to adjust to Mandarin. She reported that everyone became illiterate all of a sudden and started to be exploited and to be made inferior to the Chinese mainlanders.

Theme ten: KMT's control in memory. Having gone through the "White Terror" era, Taiwanese remember and are aware of the KMT government's control on mass media as well as how strictly Taigi TV/radio programs, newspapers, songs and books were limited. All of my participants except Fish are aware of the extreme

control the KMT held on the mass media.

Jade: 好像是新聞局長宋楚瑜去規定不能講台語這件事情,就是政治力介入啊,…要統治我們台灣人,所以語言文化,就是把你的文化用掉,把你的語言用掉,不要讓你看那些電視和電台,然後你會慢慢去接受他們,所以他是用這個來潛移默化,…

Translation: It seemed to be the head of the Information Office, Song, Chu Yu regulated the prohibition of Taigi. This is the involvement of political power…To rule us Taiwanese, first of all is to wipe out your language and culture, delete your language, don't let you watch those TV programs and listen to those radios. Gradually, you'll accept their way of thinking… (Jade Transcript, p.8)

Daho: 語言對記哩文化,風俗…當然是五影響,譬如供底哩三十八年了后,民國三十八年了,台灣五自(一)段時間伊是禁止你供台語嘛,禁止你供台語,伊甚至禁止你唱台灣歌,甚至你電視節目限制你自(一)禮拜ㄟ駛(可以)自(一)點鐘啊是自剛ㄟ駛自點鐘五供的台語ㄟ節目,譬如供歌仔戲啊啥會(甚麼),…

Translation: Language certainly has an impact on our culture and tradition. For example, since Mingguo 38th year (1947), the KMT government prohibited us to speak Taigi and to sing Taigi songs. Even for the TV programs, the government limited when you could broadcast a Taigi program, how long the Taigi program could last, how often there could be a Taigi show, from what time to what time Taiwanese were allowed to watch a Taigi opera… (Daisy& Daho Transcript, p.13)

Bo: 政治也是啊!政治那時候也是...根本沒有甚麼母語的,對不對!還禁止...還禁止講母語,禁止台語電視,台語歌,台語電台,台語出版品,獨尊國語嘛!

Translation: Politics too!! Nothing about the mother tongue… and it even

> prohibited all the mother tongues: Taigi TV, Taigi songs, Taigi radio stations, and Taigi publication. Mandarin only!! (Bo Transcript, p.3)

The KMT controlled the radio and TV stations. It destroyed or blocked the sale of the music records if one of the songs did not pass its scrutiny[50]. There were only three TV channels during that era. The KMT only allowed one hour of Taigi show time for the three channels to share. Taigi shows were not allowed to be broadcasted during the time most Taiwanese people watched TV and only two Taigi songs could be broadcast every day. In late 70's the KMT even required all the TV shows, songs, books, and magazines to be fully reviewed before they could be broadcast or published. By doing so, as stated by my participants, the colonizer could control the ideology, thoughts, beliefs and identity of the ones being colonized.

Theme eleven: Confidence on Taigi's everlasting. Even though Taigi loss is rampant in younger generations, the Taiwanese are confident that Taigi will not be extinct. It was surprising for me to hear from Dafu and Gigi that they are very confident that Taigi will not die, even though their children and grandchildren have experienced a certain degree of Taigi loss or have become Mandarin Monolingual. Because the environment surrounding them is still Taigi, they use Taigi in all their daily functions. They do not sense any Taigi loss.

> Researcher: 你甘嘎台灣啊,台語漸漸啊沒去ㄟ記哩現象后,甘五嚴重?
>
> Translation: What do you think about the severity of Taigi loss phenomenon in

[50] For information on the songs prohibited by the KMT:
http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/beautful-Taiwan/article?mid=327
http://blog.roodo.com/honeypie/archives/9443277.html
For films on the Information Office: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpW8G1QcmU4
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ez3qYXwvo6s&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OBAXZzCAOdU&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ve8oLpjjclU&feature=relmfu
Films on the songs prohibited: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8kZp_419DUI
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xteYMJxI7bo&feature=relmfu
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNq4xaWcSVE&feature=relmfu

Taiwan?

Dafu: 我甘嘎沒嚴重,沒甘嘎,我沒供嘎供五...hi le 嚴重性,

Translation: I don't feel any severity, no, not at all…I don't think it is severe…

Dafu: 台灣的閩南話,這 ve 供消失掉,這不可能!

Translation: Taiwan's Minnan dialect will be dead… to disappear…it's impossible! (Dafu Transcript, p.9)

Gigi: 浸嘛咖沒哩禁止,咖沒像以前ㄟ時站后…的…的 hi le 咖沒無去啦!

Translation: Now the government does not prohibit (Taigi) like it did before, so Taigi will not become extinct! (Gigi Transcript, p.10)

Gigi: 狄非…wan(我們)記輩ㄟ沒去啊,阿哪沒…阿嘛五擱…是毋好對啦,阿 m 擱嘛大多數擱ㄟ曉供…

Translation: …except…except… we, the older generations all die and surely it's not good… but there are still the majority of Taiwanese who will speak Taigi… (Gigi Transcript, p.11)

In my participants, only Bo, Fish and Jade consider the loss of mother tongues in Taiwan to be severe. Among them, Jade is the only one who actively seeks to recover her Taigi. Daisy did not express her thoughts on the severity of Taigi loss. Daho used his class as an example of how some students speak Taigi well but others do not; however, students who do not speak Taigi might be the descendants of Chinese mainlanders whose mother tongue is not Taigi. Not knowing the ethnicity of his students, Daho could not comment on how severe the loss of the mother tongue in Taiwan. Later in our conversation via Skype, Daho confirmed that the loss of the mother tongue in Taiwan is severe and that mother tongue education is not effective.

Interpretation

Understanding and interpretation as a qualitative researcher. As a qualitative researcher I try to understand and interpret my participants' and my own

experiences from a social constructivist perspective. I gained knowledge by walking in the midst of the field text to deconstruct and reconstruct the information and pieces of life. From the deconstruction, I learned how it was constructed and took out the ingredients I did not need any more. By reconstructing, I learned why and how it is the way it is today and with new ingredients, I can move on with a new perspective. After reconstruction, the past starts with a new meaning and new perspective. I relived the past, participated in my participant's stories and retold the stories. Through the retelling, I am not the I of the past any more but a new I with different perspective and new interpretation toward the old.

Learning through listening. From listening to my participants, I looked into the language loss phenomenon from a personal and family perspective. I learned how political power influences every aspect of life. From my participants, I learned: 1) In education, the KMT controlled the teaching materials and instructional media. Children learned China and Chinese only and were punished for speaking Taigi at school. 2) In society, the KMT created a hierarchy to make the Taiwanese inferior. My participants and I belittled things related to Taiwan or sensed this societal climate from others. 3) In the economy, the KMT made living hard, so there was no time and strength for other things, such as language maintenance, academic learning, entertainment, or rebellion. 4) In terms of ethnic identity, through education and the media, the KMT made us believe we are Chinese. 5) On culture assimilation, my participants remembered that the KMT controlled the media, including print publications. Taiwanese culture was changed to Chinese culture, especially through entertainments. 6) On family, under the KMT's control for decades, my third generation participant parents are not fluent in Taigi. Mandarin became the dominant language even in the private domain. 7) In terms of the personal feelings, my participants did not express many feelings or thoughts for Taigi loss. If Taigi dies,

they would be sad. That's it. Why? There are three possible explanations: 1. The high-pressure KMT control made people obedient. No research makes the severity of high-pressure control aware, and Taigi is not important. 2. Language environment, the KMT has created a Mandarin dominant environment. My participants reported that all living functions can be completed in Mandarin. There is no need for Taigi and the Mandarin dominant environment hinders their children's Taigi acquisition. 3. On parent attitude, for my participants, Mandarin is the ticket for their children's future success. Government policy is crucial for them to encourage Taigi leaning.

Resonances between my autobiography and their stories. My third generation participants and I had similar experiences. We all had the experience of being punished for speaking Taigi in elementary school. We also once had looked down on our Taiwanese heritage or had sensed a social climate against the Taiwanese heritage. It was really sad to hear that we all have similar experiences. It was shocking how powerful government could be so pervasive on such small things.

Before I started my research, I also had the same confusion as my participants. We did not know that Taigi is our mother tongue until recently. We were confused about our Chinese or Taiwanese identity. We were also confused whether the KMT is a colonial government. Moreover, like my participants, I was not aware of the severity of Taigi loss. It was through the research I learned how severe the Taigi loss in Taiwan is.

The stories I received from all of my participants reconfirmed what I learned from my historical research. I collected so much information from my research on the past of Taiwan. At first, I did not fully believe what I found until one day I recalled my grandma's words. When a story happened to a person I know, it is powerful enough to make the picture real. My autobiography and my participants' stories took me back to a past that I once saw from a little child's viewpoint. I now learned the past

from a different perspective through my and my participants' stories. My puzzles of memory were only pieces that did not have meaning to me before. Now I am connected to other's stories and the historical search. All the pieces composed into a multi-dimensional knowledge presentation through which I travelled from the past to present, from inside of me to reach out, from others back to myself to find out why and how we lost our mother tongue.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

In this chapter, I conclude by answering my six research questions: 1) Who I am? 2) What is our mother tongue? 3) How and why did I lose Taigi? 4) What is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 5) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 6) How do political power, colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan?

I conclude my first and second research questions in the individual sections and conclude question three to six under the section of Taigi loss in Taiwan. A section for “Future Research Direction” and “My Journey from Chinese to Taiwanese and my Taigi Loss” also include in this chapter.

Who I am

It was this research led me to find who I am and to tirelessly search historical documents for the answer. At the end of this research, I found that, scientifically, I still need to search for more evidence about biological Taiwanese ancestry. However, the KMT’s manipulation through education can be put aside after my research and a new Taiwanese identity has already formed in the process of deconstruction and reconstruction through my research.

What Our Mother Tongues are

The mother tongue for the Taiwanese could be Formosan languages, Taigi, Hakka or Mandarin. However, for me, the mother tongue means Taigi. It was through my research that I had the opportunity to learn that neither Taigi nor Minnan is a branch of Chinese languages and Taigi might be one of the languages that our Aboriginal ancestors used.

Similar to my situation, many of my participants were not aware that Taigi is our mother tongue. It was after the social climate changed in the recent years that

they gradually recognized what their mother tongue is.

Taigi Loss in Taiwan

We are losing Taigi. From the study of my three participant families, I learned that the young parents in the families do not use Taigi to communicate and we are losing Taigi. Taigi is the language mostly used by grandparents and does not pass on to younger generations. According to the degrees of endangered languages defined by UNESCO, Taigi is severely endangered in Taiwan. From my literature review, Taigi is not the only mother tongue that is suffering. All the mother tongues in Taiwan under the KMT's colonization fall into different categories of endangerment, from vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered, and extinct.

Similar process compared to immigrant community. Taigi loss is a similar process in colonized Taiwan, compared to first language loss in the western immigrant community. The fourth generation after the KMT's colonization among my participant also lost their Taigi competence. Moreover, the pattern of Taigi attrition and Mandarin acquisition appears to be similar to Valdes' (2001) bilingualism Illustration, although a slight variation is observed in the balanced bilingualism in my second and third generation participants.

Factors of Taigi loss. In my comparative analysis, I found that parents' Mandarin competence, peer influence, gender, age, education, social status, and original family region all played a role in Taigi loss. When parents are of higher Mandarin competence, education, and social status, their children lost more Taigi. When the child was immersed in an environment with more friends using Mandarin, that child could also lose more Taigi. My female participants seemed to lose more Taigi than the male participants. Age indicates a specific socio-political context of my participants and they also lost Taigi in different degrees according to their ages.

The original family region suggests the critical mass (Linton, 2004) of Taigi population. Usually there are fewer people using Taigi in the cities; therefore, my participants who resided in the big cities lost more Taigi than the participants in smaller cities. When compared to the UG theory (Chomsky, 1986), I found that children's first language acquisition is not as stable as Chomsky asserted. Many of my participants acquired Taigi before school age but lost it after they started school. I also found that among my second generation participants, learning Mandarin early in elementary school did not make them reach the "nativelikeness" in the CPH (Krashen, 1975; Lenneberg, 1967).

Educational control and identity loss. The two sets of data, from my autobiography and phenomenological study plus the historical materials, present how the KMT government controlled the Taiwanese. Political power has umbrella effects that cover all aspects of people's lives. The Mandarin-only policy at elementary school was the most effective control, which not only directly prohibited Taigi learning and speaking but also created an inferior image of Taigi. All my third generation participants remember being punished for speaking Taigi in elementary school. Taigi became low class and not worthy of learning. Through education, the KMT transformed Taiwanese ideology into Chinese ideology. The confusion among my participants of what our mother tongue was indicates that the KMT successfully educated Taiwanese into Chinese. Therefore, most of us did not know Taigi was our mother tongue until the recent mother tongue movement.

Socially devalued Taigi and social hierarchy. Through the control of military, political power, education, economic resources, and mass media, the KMT successfully created a social hierarchy in which the Chinese are superior and the Taiwanese are inferior, in a state that defined by EV theory (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Even till recent years, the comments belittling Taiwan still appeared on the

news and in statements by the government officials (BillyPan, 2009). In 1949, the KMT fled to Taiwan with a group of mainlanders who took over important government positions and appointed their friends or relatives to government jobs, as school principals, train station directors, etc. Because of not being able to speak Mandarin, the Taiwanese were put in lower positions. The Taiwanese were deprived of their original position and placed in an inferior one. My participants reported that they depreciated their Taiwanese heritage or have sensed a social climate which devalues Taigi. They also remember the KMT's strict control of Taigi use on TV, in radio programs, movies, or publications. The political power which created the inferior images of Taiwanese and a social climate which belittled all languages other than Mandarin also played a role on the Taigi loss in Taiwan.

Economic factors on parents' attitude. In the Japan era, Taiwan was rich and modernized but the KMT came and robbed the Taiwanese. On June 15th, 1949, the KMT government issued a new Taiwanese currency. The Taiwanese had to exchange $40,000 in old money for $1 in new money (Wong, 2008). This policy made all Taiwanese devastatingly poor overnight. Armed with violence, the KMT took over the economic resources and redistributed the wealth of the Taiwanese to the mainlanders. In that era, when survival became the main concern, the financial burden resulted in parents' ignorance on their children's Taigi loss. On the other hand, driven by the economic desire for upward mobility, parents required or encouraged their children to speak Mandarin at home. Economic factors also played an important role in parents' attitude toward mother tongue preservation in Taiwan.

Parents' attitude influenced by other factors. There is no doubt that parents' attitude heavily influences their children's language choice and development. However, parents' attitude can be influenced by many factors, including educational policy, social pressure, government policy, economic considerations, resources in the

community, language environment, and the trend in the society. My participants reported that there is no environment for their children to use Taigi; therefore it is not a practical goal for their children to learn Taigi, and without government policy to make Taigi a subject for the school entrance exam, Taigi is not the priority on their children's to-do list. Because Mandarin is the lingua franca in Taiwan, in the family, in finding a job, or in fitting into society, there is no communication problem caused by lack of fluency in mother tongues. Therefore, there is no immediate need to learn Taigi or other mother tongues. Without economic incentives and a critical mass (Linton, 2004) of a Taigi environment, parents are not interested in having their children learn Taigi. Many people in Taiwan oppose the mother tongue program in elementary school. They believe that the mother tongue should be acquired from the family instead of the educational system. However, educational policy is still the most effective means to revitalize mother tongues in Taiwan. Through education, the KMT government wiped out our mother tongues. Similarly, education should be the first step to rebuild the mother tongue competence.

Physical genocide. At the beginning of the KMT's occupation, it committed the 2.28 massacre which killed thousands of Taiwanese. In the White Terror, the totalitarian Chiang Kai-Shek also ordered the deaths of many mainlanders suspected of connection with communism[51]. But according to Tsao Jung Chin, the ratio of victims of the White Terror is 35% of Chinese mainlanders to 65% of Taiwanese[52] (Pan, 2009). The majority of victims of the 2.28 massacre and White Terror were Taiwanese. Most of Taiwanese led miserable lives under the KMT government. There was a clear line between Chinese mainlanders and the rest of the Taiwanese

[51] Most of them devastatingly missed their families remained in China and sent letters to their families or connected with their families through other means but were killed or imprisoned

[52] According to Chang Mao Hsiung 張茂雄, the updated number of victims of White Terror is 12,541. (He, 2011)

residents. The Taiwanese who survived had to obey the KMT government. In that era, you had to hide your true feelings and thoughts. If not, you could disappear the minute you spoke your real thoughts. To protect their posterity, grandparents chose not to disclose the brutal deaths of their love ones. For example, I did not know anything about my grandfather's death and I am not alone[53]. Physical genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Crystal, 2000) is also a factor of language loss in Taiwan.

Survival mentality on language attitude. The Stockholm syndrome (Fuselier, 1999) is another explanation for why most Taiwanese are obedient to the KMT government and are so passive about language loss. There was no strong feeling expressed in my interview. Some people feel sad but they cannot help it; others are optimistic, even though their youngsters have already lost Taigi. All through their lives, they obey authority. Obedience, once was a matter of survival, has become a habit, which the Taiwanese cannot get rid of unless they have grown their Taiwanese identity from the bottom of their hearts. After decades of being belittled under the KMT regime, Taiwanese are not self-confident. In consequence, Taigi is not seen as worthy of learning compared to Mandarin or English. This is the explicit as well as implicit impression that penetrates most of my interview sessions.

Different regimes on our language outcome. From the archival materials in my historical account, it was very interesting for me to compare the difference of language development in the Dutch, Ching, Japanese, and the KMT regimes. The comparison made it even clearer to me how political power could determine a language's life or death. Colonial history has played a crucial role on language loss in Taiwan since the 17th century. During the lengthy Ching regime, the Aboriginal Taiwanese lost about half their Austronesian languages by the mid 19th century (Li,

[53] Please see films (in Mandarin-Taigi mixed language) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PeemaTgs_b4

2010). Most of the plain Aboriginal Taiwanese were assimilated into Chinese and were classified as Minnan and Hakka according to the languages they spoke. In 1895, when Taiwan was ceded to Japan, no Taiwanese spoke Mandarin (Hong, 1992, p.52). By the end of the Japanese regime, 57% of Taiwanese were bilingual in Taigi and Japanese and over 85% still spoke Taigi (Hong, 2002). In 1945, when the KMT occupied Taiwan, very few Taiwanese spoke Mandarin, but 45 years later, over 80% speak Mandarin. Different colonial regimes played different roles in language control and language control heavily influences the preservation or attrition of a language. For 50 years of the Japanese regime, 85% of Taiwanese maintained Taigi as the language of their preference; however; in contrast, 50 years later, under the KMT regime, only 43% of Taiwanese younger than 30 years old could fluently speak Taigi (UND, 2002). The colonial government of Japan did not prohibit Taigi in daily life, no matter in schools, in public, or in government service. In contrast, the KMT government harshly prohibited all the mother tongues in Taiwan. Therefore, all mother tongues in Taiwan became endangered under the KMT government.

Future Research Directions

A big scale survey on mother tongues in Taiwan. Due to the negligence of the KMT government and the climate of society, there is very little research on mother tongue loss in Taiwan. Although many linguists focus on the Minnan dialect, their studies do not bring language loss in Taiwan to the picture. A current and large scale investigation on the ratio of different language populations will increase understanding of the severity of language loss in Taiwan. Taiwanese do not consider Taigi loss to be severe partly because there is not enough information to make them aware of the severity of Taigi and other mother tongue loss.

Revitalization. Mandarin has become the dominant language in Taiwan and mother tongue attrition will only speed up. Nowadays, most Taiwanese use

Mandarin as their preferred language. Mother tongues are not even used in private domains since many parents have lost their mother tongue speaking competence. If we do not start to preserve our mother tongues, many will be extinct soon and Taigi will be critically endangered. How to reverse mother tongue loss and preserve mother tongues should be the focus for further research.

Government policy and involvement. Family is very important to help children maintain their mother tongue. However, since the majority of parents have lost their mother tongue competence, government should step in to assist families who would like to maintain their mother tongues. To speak the mother tongue at home is the first solution. However, it is not enough to merely use it at home since language is multi-dimensional and should be acquired through different linguistic functions of social and cultural activities. How government should integrate the resources in society and make changes in the current educational system to effectively preserve mother tongues in Taiwan is another direction for future research.

My Journey from Chinese to Taiwanese and My Taigi Loss

It took me many years to transform my Chinese ideology to Taiwanese ideology. The formation of my Taiwanese ideology did not immediately connect me with my Taigi loss. Doing research for my thesis enabled me to make the connection between my Taiwanese identity and the recognition that Taigi is my mother tongue and that I lost my Taigi speaking ability. This is a meaningful journey for me, to search for who I really am and what the language my mother tongue should be. Through the retelling of my lived experience, I had a chance to live again the way I was brought up and the way I was educated. This opportunity enabled me to reconstruct my shattered self and to transform me into a new person with more understanding of my country, my people, my family, our past and our languages. Together with stories from my participant families and archival materials, I learned in detail about Taigi loss in

Taiwan. I have gained more understanding from multi-dimensional aspects of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan through this research. The realization of who I am and what my mother tongue is strengthens my efforts to recover my mother tongue, Taigi. I believe in order to motivate the Taiwanese to preserve their mother tongues, they should have a clear understanding of Taiwanese identity. I hope my research can bring a new understanding of who we are as Taiwanese and how we lost our mother tongues. Through this understanding, we will start to cherish our mother tongues and preserve them as treasures. To learn about the loss of languages is to find the reasons behind and make changes to create a better environment for mother tongue revitalization.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions (parents) 家長問卷

1. What is your mother tongue?

   你的母語是什麼?

2. How well can you use your mother tongue?

   你能夠多流利的使用你的母語?

3. Do you prefer Mandarin or your mother tongue in the daily usage? When do you use your mother tongue?

   在日常使用中,你偏好母語或中文?你會在什麼情況下使用母語?

4. Have you experienced any level of language loss?

   你自覺經驗過任何的語言流失嗎?

5. Could you tell me why you lost some levels of your mother tongue?

   請你告訴我為何你會流失某些程度的母語呢?

6. How do you feel about losing your mother tongue?

   對於你自身母語的流失,請問你的感受為何?

7. Do you use different languages with your parents and your children? Why?

   你跟你的父母親始用和種語言交談?和你的孩子呢?為什麼使用同樣或不同的語言呢?

8. Can your children speak their mother tongue? Why?

   你的小孩會講母語嗎? 為什麼?

9. How do you feel that your children cannot communicate with their grandparents in the language that their grandparents are most familiar with?

   你的孩子無法用母語和祖父母交談,你的感受和想法為何?

10. What is your attitude toward your children's mother tongue learning compared to other subjects or skills? Why?

    你對孩子學習母語的態度為何?跟學習期他科目或技能比起來呢?為什麼?

11. What are things that influence your attitude toward your children's mother tongue preservation?

    甚麼事情影響了你對孩子母語保存的態度?

12. What do you think might influence your children in their mother tongue learning?

    你覺得哪些事會影響你的孩子在母語上的學習?

13. In your home what is the language your family used to communicate? Why?

    在你家,你們都用什麼語言在交談?為什麼?

14. Are your children interested in learning their mother tongue? What do you think about it?

    你的孩子對學習母語有興趣嗎?你有什麼想法和看法?

15. What are/were the obstacles that you encounter(ed) when facilitating your children learning their mother tongue?

    當你協助你的孩子學習母語,你曾經經歷了麼樣的困難?

16. How do (did) you overcome those obstacles?

    你如何克服這些困境?

17. Can you find support from the community? What kind of assistance have you gotten?

    在社區或大環境裡,你能夠尋得學習母語的資源或協助嗎? 有哪些資源?

Appendix B

Interview Questions (grandparents) 祖父母問卷

1. What is your mother tongue?

   你的母語是什麼?

2. How well can you use your mother tongue?

   你能夠多流利的使用你的母語?

3. Do you prefer Mandarin or your mother tongue in the daily usage? When do you use your mother tongue?

   在日常使用中,你偏好使用母語或中文?你會在什麼情況下使用母語?

4. Have you experienced any level of language loss?

   你自覺經驗過任何的語言流失嗎?

5. Why did you lose some levels of your mother tongue?

   為何你會流失某些程度的母語呢?

6. How do you feel about losing your mother tongue?

   對於你自身母語的流失,請問你的感受為何?

7. Can your grandchildren speak their mother tongue? Why?

   你的孫子講母語嗎?為什麼?

8. What is your attitude toward your grand children's mother tongue learning? Why?

   你對孫子學習母語的態度為何?為什麼?

9. What are things that influence your attitude toward your grand children's mother tongue preservation?

   甚麼事情影響了你對孫子母語保存的態度?

10. What do you think might influence your grandchildren in their mother tongue learning?

    你覺得哪些事會影響你的孫子在母語上的學習?

11. In your home what is the language your family used to communicate? Why?

    在你家,你們都用什麼語言在交談?為什麼?

12. Are your grandchildren interested in learning their mother tongue? What do you think about it?

    你的孫子對學習母語有興趣嗎?你有什麼想法和看法?

13. How do you feel that your grandchildren cannot communicate with you in your mother tongue?

    你的孫子無法用母語和你交談,你的感受和想法為何?

Appendix C

Consent Letter (For my family members)　同意書 (家人)

University of Manitoba
Faculty of Education

Research Project Title: The Language Loss Phenomenon in Taiwan

研究計畫:台灣語言流失的現象

Researcher(s): Wan-Hua Lai

研究者:賴婉華

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, Professor of Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

指導教授: Kouritzin, Sandra 博士, 曼尼托巴大學教育系教授

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent.　It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask.　Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

這份同意書的副本將會留給您做為您的紀錄和參考,這只是取得您同意的過程中的一小步驟, 這份同意書應該提供訊息給您關於此研究的基本架構以及您所需要參與協助的部分.如果您對於同意書中所提內容需要了解更多細節,或您認為資料提供不夠詳盡,請您不吝指正.請您仔細詳讀這份同意書並確認您了解所有細節和內容.

I,_____, agree to take part in Wan-Hua Lai's research project on the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan. This study will lead to a better understanding on these questions: 1) what is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 2) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 3) How do the political power, the colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? I understand this research will include three sets of data from autobiographical, phenomenological, and archival research. I understand the researcher is in need of my assistance to collect data for her autobiographical and phenomenological research.
I understand that my participation will involve

- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview about my attitude and beliefs on language loss, particularly in Taigi.
- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview to review and provide feedback on my interview transcript
- Some of our conversations related to the language loss experience will be recorded and included in the study
- I'm also invited to help with the member-checking when the composition of my section is complete.

我,_____,同意參與賴婉華對台灣語言流失現象的研究計畫. 這個研究是要了解台灣母語流失的現象進而了解下列問題: 1)台灣語言流失的程度和範圍, 2)人們如何看待及感受語言流失的現, 3)政治力,殖民歷史及其他社會文化背景如何影響台灣的語言流失. 我瞭解此研究計畫需要收集三組資料包含:自傳,現象和檔案的研究. 我了解研究者需要我協助她來收集資料以供自傳和現象上的研究

我了解我將配合參與兩次訪談:

- 一次 60-120 分鐘經錄音的談話，內容關於我對台語流失的態度和看法
- 一次 60-120 分鐘經錄音的談話，內容針對我前一次發言紀錄的檢視和修正並提供其他改善的建議

- 我們與語言流失相關的談話將被錄音並被研究
- 當研究者完成我這一部份的寫作後,我將受邀研讀初稿來做成員的檢測

I understand that to help protect my anonymity, I will be asked to read and review my interview transcript. This process will allow me the opportunity to correct any mistakes, as well as to edit any information that I feel is too sensitive or that I feel would serve to identify me. I understand that my specific answers and comments will be kept confidential. I understand that my name will not be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. I understand, however, my identity might still be revealed due to my relationship with the researcher. I understand that only the principal researcher, the project supervisor Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, and two other thesis committee members: Dr. Yi Li and Dr. Terry Russell will have the access to the information collected during the study. Moreover, since both Dr. Yi Li and Dr. Terry Russell read Chinese characters, they will be invited for the member-checking of the translation from Chinese characters into English. I understand that direct quotes from the data I provide maybe used in the research and that there is no anticipated benefit for participation. I understand that the taped-recorded data as well as the transcribed information will be stored in the researcher's password protected laptop plus back-up hard drive and will be removed to the recycle bin to be forever deleted two years after the completion of this study

我了解為了保護我的身分，我將被要求詳讀並檢視訪談紀錄的初稿，這個過程讓我有機會修改任何我覺得過於敏感或讓其他人可以指證我的資訊。我了解我的回答及評論將受到保護,而我的名字將不會在任何與此研究有關的報告或演說中被辨識出來。然而，我了解我的身分仍可能因我與研究者的關係而洩漏。除了研究者之外,僅有本案的指導教授 Dr. Sandra Kouritzin 博士及指導委員會委員 Dr. Yi Li 博士及 Dr. Terry Russell 博士能夠閱讀此研究中所收集的資訊，除此之外,由於 Dr. Yi Li 博士及 Dr. Terry Russell 博士能讀中文,因此他們將被邀請來做中譯英翻譯文的成員檢測，我了解我所提供的資料將可能在研究撰寫中被直接引用， 而

我並不會因為參與此研究獲得物質上的利益,我了解此研究中訪談的錄音資料以及記錄下來成為文字稿的資訊將被妥善儲存在研究者密碼保護的手提電腦及備份硬碟中並在研究完成兩年後移除至資源回收桶並被永久銷毀。

I understand that the interview transcripts will be analyzed and summarized as the research results which might be presented in local, national, or international conference; or which might be published in professional and scholarly journals. There is no compensation for the participation in this research project. However, summary of the final report will be sent to me via e-mail or in hard copy if I am interested.

我了解訪談初稿將經分析整理,總結成研究結果而呈現在區域,國家,或國際性研討會中,或者研究成果也可能被發表在專業的學術期刊裡,參與此研究計畫並沒有任何補償,但我若有興趣將可透過網路郵件或郵寄取得一分此研究報告的總結。

I understand that there are no known risks or discomforts in participating in this research project. I can withdraw from the participation at any point without any penalty simply by notifying the researcher through phone call, email, or face-to-face communication. Once I withdraw from the study, the researcher shall immediately remove data collected from the interviews and conversations to the recycle bin and deleted them forever. I should feel free to ask any questions about the research project and to express my concerns related to this study. If I am not comfortable on certain interview questions, I can refuse to answer them.

我了解參與此研究並不會有任何未知的風險或不適,在任何時刻我都可以以電話,網路郵件,或當面告知研究者來離開此研究的參與而不用擔心受罰,一旦我決定退出此研究,研究者應該立即將與我訪談的所有資料移除至資源回收桶並永久刪棄,在任何時候我都應該能夠自在的反應我對此研究的問題或疑慮,我也可以拒絕回答在訪談中使我感到不舒服的問題.

I understand that I should not make the decision under the pressure of my relationship with the researcher. I can reject to participate in this study for any reasons and I am not obligated to participate in this study because I am the researcher's family member. I should give my consent under my free will.

我瞭解我不應該在與研究者的人情壓力下做決定,我可以因為任何原因理由而拒絕參與此研究.即使因為我是研究者的家人,我並沒有義務要參與此研究.我應該要在我的自由意志下來同意參與研究.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

在同意書上簽名表示您已充分了解參與此研究計畫相關的訊息並同意參與, 然而此舉並未移除您法律上應享的權利, 也並未免除研究者,贊助者以及其他與研究有關的機構應盡的法律責任和學術上的專業責任. 您可以在研究中途退場離開, 也可以拒絕回答您不想要的問題, 您後續的參與過程應被告知充足的資訊就如同您簽這同意書一開始般的詳盡完整, 因此在整個您參與的過程中,請務必隨時提問來解答您的疑惑或提供您新的資訊.

If you have any question or concern about this study, please contact:

若您對參與此研究計畫仍有疑問,請聯絡:

Researcher: Wan-Hua Lai
Phone number: 296-6067
E-mail: law2001@yahoo.com

研究者:賴婉華

電話: 296-6067

網路信箱: law2001@yahoo.com

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin
Phone number: 204-474-9079
E-mail:kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

指導教授: Dr. Kouritzin, Sandra

電話: 204-474-9079

網路信箱: kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

This research has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board in the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin at 204-474-9079 or email her at kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca or contact the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail at margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

這個研究計畫已經曼尼托巴大學教育及護士道德委員審查會審議通過, 若您對這個研究計畫仍有任何疑問或不滿需要投訴, 請聯絡這個研究者的指導教授 Dr. Kouritzin, Sandra,電話: 204-474-9079, 網路信箱: kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca 您也可以與人文道德審查委員會秘書處聯絡, 電話: 204-474-7122, 網路信箱: margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca 這份同意書的副本應交給您做為您的紀錄與參考.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature 參與者簽名 Date 日期

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature 研究者簽名 Date 日期

After the first interview, the research will send me the interview transcript for me to review.

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript via e-mail:

address_____

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript in hard copy:

address_____

I would like to receive a copy of the final report.

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report via e-mail: address_____

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report in hard copy: address_____

第一次訪談後,研究者將會給我訪談紀錄的初稿讓我來閱讀檢查

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的地址: _____

我希望收到此研究報告的最後結果.

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的地址: _____

Appendix D

Consent Letter 同意書 (Participants of relatives and friends 親友參與研究者)

University of Manitoba
Faculty of Education

Research Project Title: The Language Loss Phenomenon in Taiwan

研究計畫:台灣語言流失的現象

Researcher(s): Wan-Hua Lai

研究者:賴婉華

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, Professor of Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

指導教授: Kouritzin, Sandra 博士, 曼尼托巴大學教育系教授

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I understand that my participation will involve:

- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview about my attitude and beliefs on language loss, particularly in Taigi.
- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview to review and provide feedback on my interview transcript

我,_____,同意參與賴婉華對台灣語言流失現象的研究計畫. 這個研究是要了解台灣母語流失的現象進而了解下列問題: 1)台灣語言流失的程度和範圍, 2)人們如何看待及感受語言流失的現, 3)政治力,殖民歷史及其他社會文化背景如何影響台灣的語言流失. 我瞭解此研究計畫需要收集三組資料包含:自傳,現象和檔案的研究. 我了解研究者需要我協助她來收集資料以供現象學上的研究.

我了解我將配合參與兩次訪談:

一次 60-120 分鐘經錄音的談話，內容關於我對台語流失的態度和看法

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I understand that to help protect my anonymity, I will be asked to read and review my interview transcript. This process will allow me the opportunity to correct any mistakes, as well as to edit any information that I feel is too sensitive or that I feel

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conference; or which might be published in professional and scholarly journals. There is no compensation for the participation in this research project. However, summary of the final report will be sent to me via e-mail or in hard copy if I am interested.

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I understand that I should not make the decision under the pressure of my relationship with the researcher. I can reject to participate in this study for any reasons and I am not obligated to participate in this study because I am the researcher’s relatives or friends. I should give my consent under my free will.

我瞭解我不應該在與研究者的人情壓力下做決定,我可以因為任何原因理由而拒絕參與此研究.即使因為我是研究者的親友,我並沒有義務要參與此研究.我應該

要在我的自由意志下來同意參與研究.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

在同意書上簽名表示您已充分了解參與此研究計畫相關的訊息並同意參與, 然而此舉並未移除您法律上應享的權利, 也並未免除研究者,贊助者以及其他與研究有關的機構應盡的法律責任和學術上的專業責任. 您可以在研究中途退場離開, 也可以拒絕回答您不想要的問題, 您後續的參與過程應被告知充足的資訊就如同您簽這同意書一開始般的詳盡完整, 因此在整個您參與的過程中,請務必隨時提問來解答您的疑惑或提供您新的資訊.

If you have any question or concern about this study, please contact:

若您對參與此研究計畫仍有疑問,請聯絡:

Researcher: Wan-Hua Lai
Phone number: 296-6067
E-mail: law2001@yahoo.com

研究者:賴婉華

電話: 296-6067

網路信箱: law2001@yahoo.com

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin
Phone number: 204-474-9079
E-mail:kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

指導教授: Dr. Kouritzin, Sandra

電話: 204-474-9079

網路信箱: kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

This research has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board in the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin at 204-474-9079 or email her at kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca or contact the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail at margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

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\

_____ _____

Participant's Signature 參與者簽名 Date 日期

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature 研究者簽名 Date 日期

After the first interview, the research will send me the interview transcript for me to review.

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript via e-mail: address_____

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript in hard copy: address_____

I would like to receive a copy of the final report.

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report via e-mail: address_____

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report in hard copy: address_____

第一次訪談後,研究者將會給我訪談紀錄的初稿讓我來閱讀檢查

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的地址: _____

我希望收到此研究報告的最後結果.

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的地址: _____

Appendix E

Consent Letter 同意書

(Participants recruit from the public 社會大眾參與研究者)

University of Manitoba
Faculty of Education

Research Project Title: The Language Loss Phenomenon in Taiwan

研究計畫:台灣語言流失的現象

Researcher(s): Wan-Hua Lai

研究者:賴婉華

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, Professor of Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

指導教授: Kouritzin, Sandra 博士, 曼尼托巴大學教育系教授

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

這份同意書的副本將會留給您做為您的紀錄和參考,這只是取得您同意的過程中的一小步驟, 這份同意書應該提供訊息給您關於此研究的基本架構以及您所需要參與協助的部分.如果您對於同意書中所提內容需要了解更多細節,或您認為資料提供不夠詳盡,請您不吝指正.請您仔細詳讀這份同意書並確認您了解所有細節和內容.

I,_____, agree to take part in Wan-Hua Lai's research project on the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan. This study will lead to a better understanding on these questions: 1) what is the scope and extent of the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? 2) How do people think and feel about the language loss phenomenon? 3) How do the political power, the colonial history and other sociocultural contexts play a role in the language loss phenomenon in Taiwan? I understand this research will include three sets of data from autobiographical, phenomenological, and archival research. I understand the researcher is in need of my assistance to collect data for the phenomenological research.

I understand that my participation will involve:

- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview about my attitude and beliefs on language loss, particularly in Taigi.
- A 60-120 minutes audiotaped interview to review and provide feedback on my interview transcript

我,_____,同意參與賴婉華對台灣語言流失現象的研究計畫. 這個研究是要了解台灣母語流失的現象進而了解下列問題: 1)台灣語言流失的程度和範圍, 2)人們如何看待及感受語言流失的現, 3)政治力,殖民歷史及其他社會文化背景如何影響台灣的語言流失. 我瞭解此研究計畫需要收集三組資料包含:自傳,現象和檔案的研究. 我了解研究者需要我協助她來收集資料以供現象學上的研究.

我了解我將配合參與兩次訪談:

一次 60-120 分鐘經錄音的談話，內容關於我對台語流失的態度和看法

一次 60-120 分鐘經錄音的談話，內容針對我前一次發言紀錄的檢視和修正並提供其他改善的建議

I understand that to help protect my anonymity, I will be asked to read and review my interview transcript. This process will allow me the opportunity to correct any

mistakes, as well as to edit any information that I feel is too sensitive or that I feel would serve to identify me. I understand that my specific answers and comments will be kept confidential. I understand that my name will not be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. I understand that only the principal researcher, the project supervisor Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, and two other thesis committee members: Dr. Yi Li and Dr. Terry Russell will have the access to the information collected during the study. Moreover, since both Dr. Yi Li and Dr. Terry Russell read Chinese characters, they will be invited for the member-checking of the translation from Chinese characters into English. I understand that direct quotes from the data I provide maybe used in the research and that there is no anticipated benefit for participation. I understand that the taped-recorded data as well as the transcribed information will be stored in the researcher's password protected laptop plus back-up hard drive and will be removed to the recycle bin to be forever deleted two years after the completion of this study.

我了解為了保護我的身分，我將被要求詳讀並檢視訪談紀錄的初稿，這個過程讓我有機會修改任何我覺得過於敏感或讓其他人可以指證我的資訊。我了解我的回答及評論將受到保護,而我的名字將不會在任何與此研究有關的報告或演說中被辨識出來。除了研究者之外,僅有本案的指導教授 Dr. Sandra Kouritzin 博士及指導委員會委員 Dr. Yi Li 博士及 Dr. Terry Russell 博士能夠閱讀此研究中所收集的資訊，除此之外,由於 Dr. Yi Li 博士及 Dr. Terry Russell 博士能讀中文,因此他們將被邀請來做中譯英翻譯文的成員檢測,我了解我所提供的資料將可能在研究撰寫中被直接引用， 而我並不會因為參與此研究獲得物質上的利益，我了解此研究中訪談的錄音資料以及記錄下來成為文字稿的資訊將被妥善儲存在研究者密碼保護的手提電腦及備份硬碟中並在研究完成兩年後移除至資源回收桶並被永久銷毀。

I understand that the interview transcripts will be analyzed and summarized as the research results which might be presented in local, national, or international conference; or which might be published in professional and scholarly journals. There is no compensation for the participation in this research project. However, summary of the final report will be sent to me via e-mail or in hard copy if I am interested.

我了解訪談初稿將經分析整理，總結成研究結果而呈現在區域,國家，或國際性研討會中， 或者研究成果也可能被發表在專業的學術期刊裡， 參與此研究計畫並沒有任何補償， 但我若有興趣將可透過網路郵件或郵寄取得一分此研究報告的總結。

I understand that there are no known risks or discomforts in participating in this research project. I can withdraw from the participation at any point without any penalty simply by notifying the researcher through phone call, email, or face-to-face communication. Once I withdraw from the study, the researcher shall immediately remove data collected from the interviews and conversations to the recycle bin and deleted them forever. I should feel free to ask any questions about the research project and to express my concerns related to this study. If I am not comfortable on certain interview questions, I can refuse to answer them.

我了解參與此研究並不會有任何未知的風險或不適，在任何時刻我都可以以電話,網路郵件,或當面告知研究者來離開此研究的參與而不用擔心受罰，一旦我決定退出此研究，研究者應該立即將與我訪談的所有資料移除至資源回收桶並永久刪棄.在任何時候我都應該能夠自在的反應我對此研究的問題或疑慮，我也可以拒絕回答在訪談中使我感到不舒服的問題.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any

time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

在同意書上簽名表示您已充分了解參與此研究計畫相關的訊息並同意參與, 然而此舉並未移除您法律上應享的權利, 也並未免除研究者,贊助者以及其他與研究有關的機構應盡的法律責任和學術上的專業責任. 您可以在研究中途退場離開, 也可以拒絕回答您不想要的問題, 您後續的參與過程應被告知充足的資訊就如同您簽這同意書一開始般的詳盡完整, 因此在整個您參與的過程中,請務必隨時提問來解答您的疑惑或提供您新的資訊.

If you have any question or concern about this study, please contact:

若您對參與此研究計畫仍有疑問,請聯絡:

Researcher: Wan-Hua Lai
Phone number: 296-6067
E-mail: law2001@yahoo.com

研究者:賴婉華

電話: 296-6067

網路信箱: law2001@yahoo.com

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin

Phone number: 204-474-9079

E-mail:kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

指導教授: Dr. Kouritzin, Sandra

電話: 204-474-9079

網路信箱: kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca

This research has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board in the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin at 204-474-9079 or email her at kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca or contact the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail at margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

這個研究計畫已經曼尼托巴大學教育及護士道德委員審查會審議通過, 若您對這個研究計畫仍有任何疑問或不滿需要投訴, 請聯絡這個研究者的指導教授 Dr. Kouritzin, Sandra,電話: 204-474-9079, 網路信箱: kouritzi@ cc.umanitoba.ca 您也可以與人文道德審查委員會秘書處聯絡, 電話: 204-474-7122, 網路信箱: margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca 這份同意書的副本應交給您做為您的紀錄與參考.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature 參與者簽名 Date 日期

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature 研究者簽名 Date 日期

After the first interview, the research will send me the interview transcript for me to

review.

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript via e-mail: address_____

_____I prefer to receive my interview transcript in hard copy: address_____

I would like to receive a copy of the final report.

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report via e-mail: address_____

_____I prefer to receive the summary of the final report in hard copy: address_____

第一次訪談後,研究者將會給我訪談紀錄的初稿讓我來閱讀檢查

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到訪談紀錄的初稿,

我的地址: _____

我希望收到此研究報告的最後結果.

_____我希望經由網路郵件收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的網路郵件地址:_____

_____我希望經由傳統郵寄收到研究報告的最後結果,

我的地址: _____

Appendix F Stories of the 2.28 Massacre and White Terror Victims and Their Families



*Figure 13.*林界 Lin, Jie

林界 Lin, Jie (1910-1947)
-Director of the printing company for "Taiwan Sin Shen Newspaper"
-the warden of Ling Ya District in Kaohsiung.
On March 6th , 1947 Lin, Jie joined the peace missionary team with 6 other people to negotiate with Meng Ci Peng(彭孟緝), Chief Commander of KMT Kaohsiung legion in hope of cease-fire on civilians but never returned home. Government record showed that Lin, Gai was killed on March, 23rd, 1947.
Permission by Lin LI Chi, Taiwan National Federation of 228 Massacre Care Association. Retrieved from Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation
http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame12.htm

Lin Jie is Liao Jhong Shan's father-in-law who had never met Liao.
Lin Jie is Lin Li Chi's father "in the picture".
Because of Lin Li Chi, Lin Gai and Liao Jhong Shan had a relationship.

Lin Li In and Lin Li Chi were orphans after 2.28 Massacre when their father was killed and mother committed suicide years later.
The two sisters who were separated and brought up by different relatives did not know things about their father.

Until Lin Li Chi married to Liao Jhong Shan who proposed Taiwan's independence told Lin that he saw her father's name in the prohibited political magazine.
All the puzzles finally started to put together…
The pain that she had always been called the bad luck for cursing her father's death at one year old and mother's death at nine finally was answered by the disclosure of her father's death at her age of 42.
The past can never be replayed. The stolen happiness can never be repaid. Her parents' lives buried with deep sorrow can never be returned.



*Figure 14.*廖中山 Liao Jhong Shan (1934-1999)Permission by Lin LI Chi, Taiwan National Federation of 228 Massacre Care Association. Retrieved from
http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame48.htm

林界，是廖中山未曾蒙面的丈人
林界，是林黎彩「相片裡的爸爸」
林界與廖中山，因為林黎彩而有了關係

林黎影與林黎彩，是 228 的孤兒
父親遇害、母親吞鹽酸
這對被親屬分開扶養的姊妹並不知情

直到林黎彩與廖中山結婚
主張台灣獨立運動的廖中山，告訴林黎彩在黨外雜誌看到父親林界的名字

一切的謎團，才逐一解開
為何被人說成「一歲剋死父、九歲剋死母」的掃把星
這段永遠無法 Replay 的過去，被偷走的世代，永遠回不來了…

By Aries on 2009 06 03 adapted from
http://www.228.net.tw/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3832&Itemid=72



Figure 15. 林黎彩與林界 Lin, Li Chi & Lin, Jie
Permission by Lin LI Chi, Taiwan National Federation of 228 Massacre Care Association.. Retrieved from http://www.228.net.tw/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3832&Itemid=72

Painful scream from family of 228 victims

By Lin, Li Chi (林黎彩)

…at the end of March, a solider came to our house. He told my mother that he knew where my father's body was but he asked for a huge amount of money to exchange the information. My mother spent all the savings and went through all the hardship to finally find my father.

…my father's body was facing down and both hands were tied at the back. When it saw my mother, surprisingly, the swollen decayed body started to bleed from eyes, ears, nose, and mouth as if it was crying and telling my mother the injustice my father had endured.

In 1955, I was in 3rd grade. A neighbor came to my classroom and told me: "Your mother committed suicide!" I said: "Nonsense!! She was reading a newspaper when I left home this morning!" I rushed home only to see my dying mother. Hydrochloric acid burned her chin, neck and chest. I held my mother's icy cold hand. She looked at me, at the time 9 years old, with deep sorrow and unease for leaving me and with the resentment to KMT army for killing my father. Forty some years have passed. I often dream of the day when my mother passed away and wake up to find my pillow is all wet.

1955 年我小學三年級的某日，當上課鈴聲響起，突然有鄰居到教室門口跟老師說話，老師一臉錯愕的高喊「林黎彩」時，我還不知道到底發生什麼事，鄰居說:「你母親自殺!」「黑白講，我來讀冊時，還看到阮阿母在看報紙。」無知的我回到家後，看到一堆人，個個臉色凝重。我走到家母身旁，看到她坐在走道的地上，因喝了濃硫酸使得她的下巴、脖子到胸前一遍焦黑，但仍未斷氣，我牽起母親冰冷的手，她神智仍清楚，我至今仍記得她臨終前眼神中對於軍方無限的怨恨，以及對年僅 9 歲的我的不捨與無奈，四十幾年此景仍常在夢中出現，醒來時枕頭也總是濕了一大片。

Adapted from Taiwan National Federation of 228 Massacre Care Association
http://www.wretch.cc/blog/twn228care/6777568



Figure 16. 黃溫恭 Huang Wen Kung (??-1953)
Permission by 九袋長老, Retrieved from http://blog.nownews.com/article.php?bid=670&tid=309543

Huang Wen Kung was a trained dentist in Japan. He later was sent to China to work for the Japanese army but captured by the Chinese communist troops. Huang agreed to join the communist party in exchange for his freedom. Huang returned to Taiwan and worked as a dentist until 1952 when the KMT soldiers arrested him for insurrection, a false accusation based on Huang's membership of the communist party. Huang was sentenced to 15 years in prison but Chiang Kai-Shek ordered his execution after reviewing his file. Huang left five letters to his family but the KMT government never gave Huang's family the letters. In 2007, Huang's granddaughter found the letter to her mother in the "Good Bye! Chiang Kai-Shek" exhibition and Huang's family finally retrieved the five letters on July 14th, 2011.



Figure 17. Chiang Kai-Shek ordered to execute Huang Wen Kung.
Permission by 九袋長老
http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/little-angel/article?mid=98723&prev=98790&next=-2&page=1&sc=1#yartcmt

"My dear Chun Lan,
You were still in your mother's tummy when I was arrested. Oh! Nothing is more miserable than not being able to meet my newborn daughter! Although I have never seen you, I love you so much! I am so sorry that I cannot fulfill a father's duty to care for you. Could you please forgive your pitiful father?"

Looking at her father's letter, full of tears, Huang Chun Lan cried, "For 56 years, this is the first time I feel my father cares about me and loves me!" Huang Chun Lan was five months old when her father was executed. The KMT government took away all their property, leaving the family very little to live on. Huang's family had ever since lived under the KMT's close scrutiny and discrimination from society. After graduating from university, Huang Chun Lan received admission from West Michigan University on a scholarship. But the KMT refused to issue her a passport. Huang Wen Kung's wife, at the age of 90, had severe Alzheimer's disease and couldn't remember her children, but was still scared of the KMT.

Please view an interview with Huang Chun Lan and her daughter:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNT08zseKw8&feature=player_embedded
Film in Mandarin and Taigi without subtitles.





Figure 18. 林茂生 Lin, Mao Sheng 1

Figure 19. 林茂生 Lin, Mao Sheng 2

Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://www.228.net.tw/index.php?option=comcontent&task=blogsection&id=19&Itemid=98

林茂生 Lin, Mao Sheng (1887-1947)

-The first Taiwanese with Ph.D.

-In 1916, Bachelor of literacy, Tokyo Imperial University (University of Tokyo)

-In 1928, Master of literacy, Teacher's College, Columbia University

-In 1929, Ph. D., Teacher's College, Columbia University

Lin found the "Citizen Newspaper" which relentlessly criticized the KMT government. In the 2.28 massacre, Lin's friends advised him to hide but he replied "I did not do anything wrong. What could they accuse me for?" On March 10th, 1947, eight soldiers surrounded Lin's house and arrested Lin, Mao Sheng. Lin never returned home since that day. Up till today, no one knows how Lin was killed.

林木杞 Lin Mu Chi (1921-2005) Please see film for more information
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV5iokll5kk&feature=related

…We're tied in a nine-person roll and there were nine rolls. So, there were 81 people in our batch. The wire poked into our palms and legs to tie all nine people together. I was the last one in my roll. After the soldiers tied us up, they covered our eyes with the rag. I couldn't see anything but heard the gun shot "bam…bam…" I thought to myself "It's about time…I'm gonna die…good bye…" The eight dead bodies dragged me into the ocean and the wire was pulled by their weight. All of a sudden, the wire through my legs got loose. I struggled to move and get loose from the wire. In the dark, I swam far away to the cliff. I waited until it got quiet before I sneaked up to the shore.

…我們被綁成 9 排，每排 9 人，等於我們那一批共有 81 人。每個人的雙手雙腳都被兵仔用鐵線反綁起來，手從手掌穿過手背，雙腳則從脛骨那裏穿過。

…9 個人串成一排，我被串在一排 9 人的最後一個。…手腳都被綁起來之後，兵仔又用布綁住我們的眼睛，我什麼都看不見了，…聽到碰碰的槍聲，我心想，差不多了，沒命了，再見了。

…8 個死去的人拖著我跌入海裏，鐵線受重力拉扯，落水後，我雙腳的鐵線鬆了，可以胡亂掙扎，才有活命。漆黑裏，我只靠雙腳亂划水，游到遠處的岩壁，四周較安靜後，才偷偷上岸。

Adapted from 台灣二二八事件與阮美姝
http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/228-228/article?mid=189&page=0#447



Figure 20. 陳澄波 Chen, Cheng PO
Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame27.htm

陳澄波 Chen, Cheng PO (1895-1947)
-1926 the first Taiwanese art work "Gia Yi Street" being selected into the 7th Japanese Imperial Art Exhibition.
-1927 "Summer Street" being selected into the 8th Japanese Imperial Art exhibition
Chen was in the Gia Yi peace missionary team of 12 people to negotiate with the local KMT legion. Nine of the 12 people were killed. The commander did not allow the families to take home their love one. The dead bodies were exposed under the sun for days.

My father was killed around 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning but the soldier did not allow us to take his body home until after 4 or 5 pm. They were showing the dead bodies to the public as a warning for rebellion to the KMT government. My father was not against the KMT. He was only enthusiastic to help people in need. We went to the hospital to borrow the stretcher. No one dared to help us. We took off our door as the stretcher to carry our father home. Although my father had died for many hours, when we took his body home, he was still bleeding from the wound. We needed cotton to stop Father's bleeding. No one dared to sell it to us. Every 20 minutes, the KMT soldier with gun or a military truck would patrol in front of our house. Besides father's brothers, no one dared to come for father's funeral. To prevent the children from being killed, my mother didn't allow us to be in the funeral, either. (p.182, p.185)
Life was very difficult after father died. Not just my family, many other families lived under the hardship several times more difficult than the Japanese era. After the KMT came, I remembered we never had enough rice to eat and when we ate rice, we had to eat very slowly because there were many rocks in the rice. For each bowl of rice, I usually collected a spoonful of rocks. There was no dish to go with the rice. The only thing available was one small cubic of pickled tofu for each person a day. (The pickled tofu is usually 2 cm on each side.) I ate half of the tofu for breakfast and the other half for lunch. In the Japan era, life had never been so poor and difficult. The KMT government often told us that Taiwan was very poor when the KMT came and the KMT government built Taiwan into a rich and modern country, which is not true. Actually, the KMT government destroyed Taiwan's economy and brought down the living standard in Taiwan. (p.186) –Oral history by Chen Chung Kuang 陳重光 son of Chen, Cheng PO
Adapted from Chang, Y. H. (Ed.) (1995). Jia Yi Yi Chian 2.28 [2.28 Massacre at Jia Yi Train Station]. Taipei: Wu San Lien Foundation.
嘉義驛前二二八，張炎憲等採訪記錄，台北：吳三連基金會

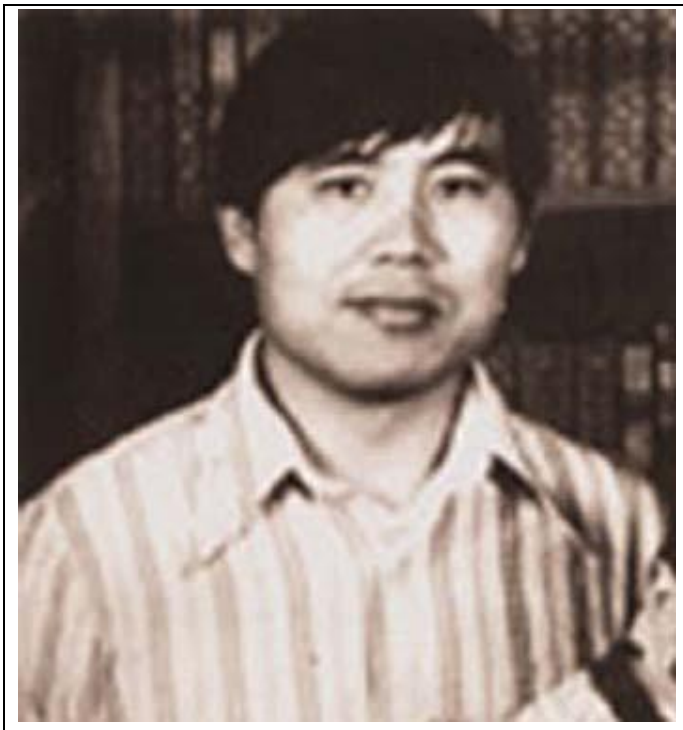


Figure 21. 陳文成 Chen, Wen Cheng

Permission by Dr. Chen Wen-cheng Memorial Foundation. Retrieved from Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame41.htm

陳文成 Chen, Wen Cheng (1950-1981)
--Bachelor and Master of mathematics from National Taiwan University
--1975-1977 PhD. of University of Michigan
--professor of Carnegie Mellon University
Dr. Chen participated in protests for Taiwan's independence while he studied at the University of Michigan. He also donated money to Mei Li Island Magazine, which promoted democracy for Taiwan.

On May 20, 1981, Dr. Chen took his wife and one-year-old son back to Taiwan for a visit. Since then, the KMT government refused to issue him permission to leave Taiwan. On July 2nd, 1981, three secret service police came to take Dr. Chen. On July 3rd, 1981, Dr. Chen was found dead on the grass field of National Taiwan University. Today, Dr. Chen's case is not solved and the KMT government denied its involvement.

Adapted from Dr. Chen Wen –Chen Memorial Foundation http://www.cwcmf.org.tw/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&task=section&id=11&Itemid=34

To know Chen We-Chen more in detail please see films:
episode 1 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGHEG5iIAMA&feature=relmfu
episode 2 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNeGph2Sbj4&feature=watch_response
episode 3 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhcJcoPMq64&feature=watch_response
All episodes are pronounced in Mandarin with Chinese subtitle.



Figure 22. 阮朝日 Juan, Chao Jih
Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame10.htm

阮朝日 Juan, Chao Jih
(1900-1947)
--executive of Pingtung Bank
--manager of Taiwan New Life Newspaper
--co-founder of「日之丸式木炭自動車株式會社」及「朝日式木炭自動株式會社」which manufactures parts of cars

Juan was very sick and lying on bed when the 2.28 Massacre exploded. Juan's daughter asked him to flee from the KMT's arrest. Juan replied "I did not do wrong. Why should I flee from the KMT?" Right at this moment, five strangers came and asked in Mandarin, "Is Mr. Juan home?" Juan was taken away that day. Since that day, Juan never returned home and his family has never received any information about Juan's death.

I remembered vividly…on August 15th, my father skipped home with joy. He told me we never needed to be Japanese anymore. We now returned to our mother country, China. But I was not happy. I thought to myself "You recognized your mother country, China, but not me. Since I was born, I already believed I was Japanese!" I was angry and not happy…
After 2.28 exploded, I told my father "Papa, our friends said you should run away from KMT's arrest!" My father replied, "I am not feeling well and I did not do anything wrong. I worried more about my staff in the newspaper office. I heard many of them have been arrested…" While my father was still talking, people knocked on the door. I told them my father was sick and he's not yet eaten his breakfast. But Father obediently went with them, in his pajamas…Until today, it was my whole life of pain for I was the one holding my father's hand to these mainlanders…
We were a very wealthy family in the Japan era. My mother gave birth to five children and we had seven babysitters, many servants, drivers and a chef. My mother never needed to do any house chores. After Father died, all of our properties were taken by the KMT. My father had two houses and three factories. They were all gone. Mother couldn't maintain our living in Taipei. We moved to the country side. Mother learned how to feed pigs, chicks, and grow vegetables to bring up her children. Recently, a close aunt told me after Father died, for a long time, late in the nights, Mother would hold a pillow to knock on this aunt's door, screaming and crying that she was going insane, she couldn't sleep or stop crying, and she felt like she would commit suicide soon. The aunt would hold my mother, comforting her like a baby and crying with her, rubbing my mother's back until she fell asleep. I had never known how Mother was able to go through the hardship without my Father.

Adapted from Film: Interview with family of 2.28 victims—Juan Mei Shu, daughter of Juan, Chao Jih
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LYS4aGttYik and
http://vcenter.iis.sinica.edu.tw/watch.php?val=aWQ9TkUzYk13PT0=



Figure 23. 潘木枝 Pan Mu Chi
Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame35.htm

潘木枝 Pan Mu Chi (1902-1947)
--Graduated from Japan Tokyo medical school, resident at Tokyo 長谷川內科 hospital
--1935 returned to Gia Yi, Taiwan and opened Siang Shen Hospital
--1946 elected for congressman of Gia Yi legislature

Pan was a doctor with a big heart. He often took in poor patients without charging them any fee. In the 2.28 Massacre, he was a member of the peace missionary team. On March 25th, 1947, Dr. Pan, together with 12 other people, was shot to death in front of Gia Yi train station.

I'm Pan In San, the third son of Pan Mu Chi.
When the KMT troops came to Taiwan, I was in elementary school. All the students went to welcome the KMT troops. We were really shocked when we saw them carry pots, pans, and umbrellas on their shoulders. They wore ragged clothes and shoes made of straw or just went barefoot. They were very smelly and dirty. We were disappointed and wondered how such shabby Chinese troops could win the war with Japan. We were much happier and wealthier in the Japanese era. After the KMT came, life was very difficult. I witnessed that the KMT soldiers killed people, robbed the stores, and raped females. My older brother and sister were also put in jail after Father was arrested. My second brother was shot to death before Father was executed. Father sent us letters and told us that he was in a room without a roof. The weather was rainy and cold. They only gave Father salty water and very little rice to eat. I didn't know how Father could survive. One night, a policeman came and gave us a cigarette box. On the cigarette paper, Father wrote his final words: My dear wife, our family now has to rely on you. Please do not feel overly sad and take good care of yourself. Please help me to care for my aged mother. Our nine children now depend on you. I am so sorry to bring you this hardship. Please forgive me. My soul will stay close by and watch over you. I am honored to die for the Gia Yi citizens. Don't be sad and take care! (p.213)The next day, I wanted to go to where Father would be executed. I was short and couldn't run fast enough. When I came close to the crowd, someone held me. I heard the gun shot "Bam!" and I jumped into the crowd. I saw my Father, skinny and bony, a huge hole in his chest, bleeding. I held my Father, sobbing. I told Father of the changes to our family after he got arrested. Father's eyes opened wide with tears. I told Father to go peacefully without worry. We would take care of ourselves. Father then closed his eyes and died in my arms. (p. 200, p. 203, p. 207)

Adapted from Chang, Y. H. (Ed.) (1995). *Jia Yi Yi Chian 2.28 [2.28 Massacre at Jia Yi Train Station].* Taipei: Wu San Lien Foundation. 嘉義驛前二二八，張炎憲等採訪記錄，台北：吳三連基金會



Figure 24. 鄭南榕 Cheng, Nan Jung 1



Figure 25. 鄭南榕 Cheng, Nan Jung 2
Permission by Deng Liberty Foundation. Retrieved from Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame49.htm

鄭南榕 Cheng, Nan Jung (1947-1989)
--founder of "Free Time Magazine"
--openly announced "I'm Cheng, Nan Jung. I stand for Taiwan's Independence.", while Taiwan was still under KMT's martial law control.
--1987, found "2.28 peace movement organizations" requested the KMT government to disclose the truth, to overturn the injustice, and to make 2.28 a memorial day.
--requested 100% freedom of speech, advocated democracy in Taiwan, and protest 38 years of martial law control under KMT

Although Chiang, Ching Kuo (son of Chiang, Kai-Shek, the sixth and seventh president of R.O.C.) announced the abolishment of martial law on July 14th, 1987, the nature of KMT did not change. On December, 10th, 1988, Cheng published "Proposal of Taiwan Constitution" written by Dr. Hsu Shih Kai 許世楷 in the Free Time Magazine and was accused by the KMT for insurrection. On the morning of April, 7th, 1989, when a troop of police went to arrest Cheng, he poured gas on himself and burned himself to protest the KMT's dictatorship and colonization.

To know more on Cheng, Nan Jung, please see films:
Episode 1
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C1HHNhz5z00&feature=watch_response_rev
Episode 2
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQMI8LcGulE&feature=watch_response
Episode 3
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqsK_2Yt1xo&feature=watch_response
Episode 4
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnshnlBXPbY&feature=watch_response
Episode 5 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQh-YSriJrs&feature=watch_response
All films are pronounced in Mandarin with Chinese subtitle.

"Father is like the sun, when the sun disappears, I would scream, I would cry, but I can't get my Sun back!" Poem written by Cheng, Geo Mei, daughter of Cheng, Nan Jung. To view films on interview with Cheng, Geo Mei,
Episode 1 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBloUZa1KCk
Episode 2 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xAnRzbOodHM
Episode 3 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxVE91ZwMjg
Episode 4 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=je676K-r3jU



Figure 26. 王天灯 Wang, Tien Teng
Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame05.htm

王天灯 Wang, Tien Teng

(1901-1947)
--1930 Head of Taiwan autonomy ally
--1946 Congressman of Taiwan Provincial Parliament

In the early morning on March 11th, 1947, the police soldiers surrounded Wang's house and dragged him out of his house while he was sleeping. In the trial, Wang refused to surrender to the false accusation. He was splashed with gas and burned to death.



Figure 27. 張七郎 Chang, Chi Lang
Taiwan Tati Cultural and Educational Foundation with permission. Retrieved from http://taiwantt.org.tw/taiwanspirit/frame/frame17.htm

張七郎 Chang, Chi Lang

(1888-1947)
-Congressman of Taiwan Provincial Parliament
-Head of HuaLien legislation
-Founder of Hualien Renshou Hospital

Doctor Chang together with his two sons (Chang, Tsung Ren and Chang, Kuo Ren; both were doctors) were all killed in the 2.28 Massacre for false accusation made up by the KMT legion.