

The Vitality of the Hangzhou Dialect of Mandarin

Kai Kandrysawtz, Swarthmore College

ckandry1@swarthmore.edu

December 2017

This paper describes a research project on the language attitudes of Hangzhou dialect (Hángzhōuhuà) speakers in Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China. 25 speakers completed an online survey and four speakers participated in ethnographic interviews on language awareness, usage, and attitudes. The results show two major trends. First, as Mandarin (Pǔtōnghuà) becomes increasingly standard in the public sphere, Hángzhōuhuà is pushed to marginal, domestic social spheres. Second, Hángzhōuhuà is still consistently spoken among the 40-and-over generation but the language is losing younger speakers. Interview data also reveals speakers' mixed attitudes. Most speakers take pride in using Hángzhōuhuà because they associate it with local culture and family roots. However, speakers are unsure of Hángzhōuhuà's suitability in more public domains, such as academic, professional, or literary environments. These trends and mixed attitudes largely stem from the Chinese government's standardization of Pǔtōnghuà, especially in education, which marginalizes China's local dialects and ethnic minority languages. Current government and grassroots language revitalization efforts focus mainly on language documentation. These efforts are beneficial to Hángzhōuhuà language maintenance but they are not powerful enough to change language policy or speakers' internalized negative attitudes towards Hángzhōuhuà. By considering language attitudes within the context of government language policy and language revitalization, this research gauges signs of Hángzhōuhuà's slow decline.

Keywords: Language endangerment, language attitudes, Hangzhou dialect, Chinese dialects

1 Introduction

China is home to a variety of languages with millions of speakers, many of which are already or becoming endangered. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a combination of government policy, education, media, and economic development have promoted the standardization of Mandarin (Pǔtōnghuà). China's local dialects as well as ethnic minority languages have faced pressure from the rise of Pǔtōnghuà. While each scenario of language contact across China is unique, this thesis investigates the vitality of Hángzhōuhuà, the local Wu dialect spoken in the metropolitan area of Hangzhou.

Hángzhōuhuà meets a considerable amount of pressure from Pǔtōnghuà. Due to government education policy, Pǔtōnghuà is the language of education. The banning of Hángzhōuhuà from the classroom has consequently created a sense of taboo surrounding its usage in education. In recent decades there has also been an influx of domestic Chinese immigrants to Hangzhou, driving the predominance of Pǔtōnghuà as a lingua franca.

At the same time, in order to evaluate the extent of language endangerment, we must also consider the language attitudes of Hángzhōuhuà speakers themselves. According to Bradley (2002), language attitudes are a crucial factor in language maintenance. Individual speakers' feelings toward their language as well as the range of domains in which they use the language can reveal an internal perspective on language endangerment. Language is not just a means of communication, but also a tapestry of cultural and historical knowledge (Harrison 2007). It is equally important to research external pressures as well as internal language attitudes in order to determine if the accumulated wisdom of Hángzhōuhuà will continue to be transmitted to future generations.

This thesis will analyze the language vitality of Hángzhōuhuà, first by considering external social and political pressures affecting Hángzhōuhuà, then by evaluating the language attitudes of Hángzhōuhuà speakers. I will analyze the power discourse between Hángzhōuhuà and Pǔtōnghuà as it relates to the future survival of Hángzhōuhuà. Section 2 will discuss the language background of Hángzhōuhuà, the promotion of Pǔtōnghuà, its consequences for dialects, and previous studies on language attitudes. Section 3 will present survey and interview data from my research on the language and usage attitudes of native Hángzhōuhuà speakers. Section 4 will explore current language revitalization efforts. By considering the above factors, I hope to gauge the present vitality of Hángzhōuhuà and then determine whether the current

measures for language revitalization are effective and beneficial towards Hángzhōuhuà.

2 Background

2.1.1 The Hangzhou Dialect

Hángzhōuhuà is a dialect of Wu Chinese, which is a member of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Simons 2017). Despite popular perception, “Chinese” is not one language but many, which are not all mutually intelligible. However, these languages are considered dialects for the sake of political unity (Liu 2010). The existing literature generally refers to Chinese languages as dialects, so henceforth I will use the term “dialect” as well.

There seven major dialect families within Chinese: Mandarin, Wu, Gan, Hakka, Xiang, Min, and Yue (Ramsey 1987) [Fig. 1]. Mandarin dialects encompass northern varieties of Chinese and are almost all mutually intelligible (Ramsey 1987, Liu 2010). Mandarin dialects are spoken by nearly 73% of Chinese language speakers. On the other hand, southern dialects are divided into six mutually unintelligible sub groups. Of these groups, the Wu dialect holds the largest population of speakers (7.2% of Chinese speakers), followed by Min (5.7%), Yue (4.1%), Hakka (3.6%), Gan (3.2%) and Xiang (3.2%).

As of 2013, there were 80 million native speakers of Wu Chinese (Simons 2017). Within the Wu family, there are approximately 1.27 million native speakers of Hángzhōuhuà (Simmons 1992). Hángzhōuhuà is primarily spoken within the urban area of Hangzhou (Zhou & You 2017). Simons (2017) classifies Hángzhōuhuà as a “developing” language, with a rating of 5 on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS).

Map 4: Dialects of Mandarin and Southern Chinese

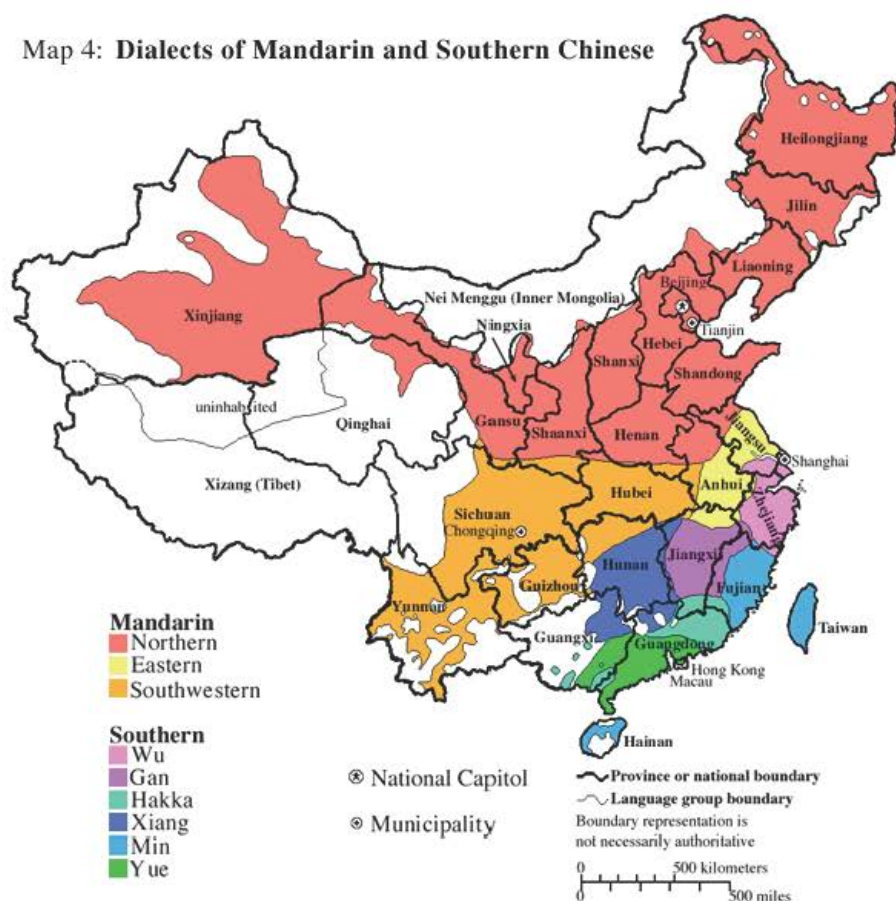


Fig. 1. Map of Chinese Dialect Families (Dartmouth 2013)

<https://www.dartmouth.edu/~chinese/maps/maps.html>

EGIDS measures the status of a language in terms of endangerment or development (Simons 2017). Spoken Hángzhōuhuà is still in vigorous use, but its literature is not sustainable or widespread, nor is the language taught in schools. From my personal experience in the region, there are only a few local television and radio programs that are broadcast in Hángzhōuhuà, such as the local news program Wǒ hé nǐ shuō (我和你说) and Āliùtóu's News Report (阿六头说新闻). Literature purely written in Hángzhōuhuà does not exist, although some people occasionally use Hángzhōuhuà phrases in fiction or blogs.¹ In addition to the non-existent Hángzhōuhuà literature is

¹ Personal communication with Z.L. Zhou, November 2017

the fact that written Chinese characters are primarily used for Mandarin. Hence it is difficult to write Hángzhōuhuà because people have to improvise, modifying the existing writing system by using characters whose spoken Mandarin equivalent phonologically resembles the target Hángzhōuhuà form.

2.1.2 Features of Hángzhōuhuà

According to Simmons (1995), Hángzhōuhuà has the phonological features of Wu dialects and the lexical and grammatical features of Mandarin dialects due to language contact between Wu and Northern Mandarin dialects. Broadly speaking, he characterizes Hángzhōuhuà as a middle ground between a typical Mandarin dialect, such as Beijing, and a typical Wu dialect such as Suzhou (Simmons 1995). The following list of features is not exhaustive or complete. The features that I will introduce are merely to illustrate a few distinguishing characteristics of Hángzhōuhuà that set it apart from typical Mandarin or Wu dialects.

Simmons (1995) borrows Norman's (1988) criteria for dialect classification to show that Hángzhōuhuà shares features from the Beijing (Mandarin) and Suzhou (Wu) dialects [Table 1].

	Beijing	Hangzhou	Suzhou
(1) 3 rd person pronoun = <i>tā</i> or cognate.....	+	+	-
(2) Subordinative particle = <i>de/di</i> or cognate.....	+	+	-
(3) Ordinary neg. = <i>bù</i> or cognate.....	+	+	+
(4) Gender marker is prefixed for animals.....	+	+	+
(5) Tonal register only in <i>píng</i> tones.....	+	-	-
(6) Velars are palatalized before <i>i</i>	+	+	+
(7) <i>Zhàn</i> or cognate for 'to stand'.....	+	-	-
(8) <i>Zǒu</i> or cognate for 'to walk'.....	+	+	±
(9) <i>Ērzi</i> or cognate for 'son'.....	+	+	+
(10) <i>Fángzi</i> or cognate for 'house'.....	+	+	±
(11) 3-way contrast of initial stops.....	-	+	+

Table 1. *Classificatory Criteria for Chinese Dialects and their presence in Beijing, Hangzhou, and Suzhou dialects (Simmons 1995:383)²*

² Pinyin is used here and in the original chart because it compares vocabulary not pronunciation

Phonologically, Hángzhōuhuà has a three-way voicing/aspiration contrast in initial stops and affricates [Table 2]. Wu dialects share this three-way distinction whereas Mandarin dialects only have a two-way contrast between voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops and affricates (Simmons 1995).

	labials	dental-alveolar		pre-palatal	velar	glottal
stops and	p	t	ts	tɕ	k	ʔ
affricates	p ^h	t ^h	ts ^h	tɕ ^h	k ^h	
	b	d		dʒ	g	
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
lateral		l				
fricatives	f	s		ɕ		h
	v	z				ɦ

Table 2. Hángzhōuhuà Initial Segments (Simmons 1995:384)

Chinese languages are characteristically known as tonal languages. Mandarin has four main tones: high, rising, low (dipping), falling, and a fifth neutral tone. Hángzhōuhuà has no less than seven tones: mid dipping, low dipping, falling, mid rising, low rising, high checked, and low checked (McWhorter 2007:129, Simmons 1992).

Another phonological feature that contrasts clearly across the Suzhou, Hangzhou and Beijing dialects is the realization of Middle Chinese (MC) final nasals. Suzhou is representative of most Wu dialects in that the final nasals delete with no trace, whereas they become [n] in Beijing [Table 3]. Hangzhou lies in the middle since it loses the nasals but retains nasalization on the vowels (Simmons 1995).

	MC	Suzhou	Hangzhou	Beijing
	-an/am→	-E	~æ	-an
衫	ʃam	sE1	šæ1	shān
板	pan	pE3	pæ3	bǎn
	-uān→	-ø/uo	-ũo	-an or -uan
搬	puān	pø	puõ1	bān
團	duān	dø	duõ2	tuán
貫	kuān	kuø	kuõ5	guàn
	-ien/iwän→	-iɪ1 or -ø	-ĩe or -ũo	-ian/uan
先	sien	siɪ1	ẽĩe1	xiān
典	tien	tiɪ3	tĩe5	diǎn
全	dzɪwän	ziɪ2	dzĩe2	quán
串	tsʰiwän	tsʰø5	tsʰũo5	chuàn

Table 3. Final Nasals in Middle Chinese and their realization in modern Suzhou, Hangzhou and Beijing dialects (Simmons 1995:388)³

Hángzhōuhuà is also known for its *-ér* suffix, which sets it apart from other Wu dialects. While the Beijing dialect also uses an *-ér* suffix, the *-ér* in Hángzhōuhuà forms a separate syllable from the previous one (Simmons 1995). In Beijing dialect, the *-ér* suffix does not form a separate syllable and instead affects the pronunciation of the syllable preceding it.

- 1) 老头儿
lɔ3 . dei2 . er2
'Old man' (colloquial)

- 2) 凳子
ten5 . er2
'Stool'

- 3) 筷子
kʰuɛ5 . er2
'Chopsticks'

Hángzhōuhuà data from (Simmons 1995:393)

³ I am reproducing this table from the original source. [E] is taken to be some front vowel, however the paper did not specify. Transcriptions for Beijing are also given in *pinyin*, not IPA. Tones are given in Chinese tone numbers.

From a syntactic perspective, Hángzhōuhuà shares features with Mandarin dialects. For example, most Wu dialects distinguish between an existential negative ('there is not/do not have') and a non-perfective aspect negative ('not yet'), but Hángzhōuhuà and Mandarin do not make this distinction (Simmons 1995). In the following sentences below, Hángzhōuhuà uses the cognate form [meʔ8 ʔy3] 没有 which corresponds to Mandarin's [mei2iou3] for both types of negatives.

Existential:

- 4) 我 实在 没有 书
 ɲo3 dzeʔ8 dze6 məʔ8ʔy3 sq1.
 1sg ADV NEG books
 'I really **have no** books.'

'not yet':

- 5) 他 还 没有 谈完 吗?
 tʰa1 uõ2 məʔ8ʔy3 ðæ2 uõ2 ma5?
 3sg yet NEG talk-finish Q
 'Has he **not yet** finished talking?'
 (Simmons 1995:394)

In addition, Hángzhōuhuà shares many of the grammatical particles found in Mandarin, but they appear as cognate forms. For example, the Hángzhōuhuà cognate that corresponds to the Mandarin *de* used for the potential and extent or descriptive complements is [təʔ7].

- 6) 我 拿得动, 他 拿不动
 MAND: ʔx3 na2 tɿ tɿŋ4 tʰa1 na2 pu2 tɿŋ4
 HANG: ɲo3 do2 təʔ7 doʔn6, tʰa1 do2 pəʔ7 doŋ6
 1sg hold-DE-move 3sg hold-NEG-move
 'I can move it, he cannot move it'

7) 重 得 连 我 拿不动 了
MAND: ʈ͡ʂʊŋ4 tɿ liɛn2 ʔ x3 na2 pu2 tʊŋ4 lə
HANG: dzɔŋ6 təʔ7 liɛ2 ŋo3 to1 do2 pəʔ7 doŋ6 liɔ3
 heavy DE even 1sg hold-NEG-move PFV/CRS
 ‘It’s so heavy even I cannot move it.’

8) 你 说 得 [很]好
MAND: ni3 ʂuɔ1 tɿ xən2xau3
HANG: ni3 sɿəʔ7 təʔ7 mo2lɔ3lɔ3ho3
 2sg speak DE very-good
 ‘You speak very well.’

Hángzhōuhuà data from (Simmons 1995:395)

Despite these differences and similarities, the extent of the phonological and tonal differences between Mandarin and Hángzhōuhuà are sufficient to create several communication barriers. Hence, Hángzhōuhuà and Mandarin dialects, such as the Beijing dialect (Pǔtōnghuà), are not mutually intelligible.

2.2 The History of Hangzhou

Hangzhou is the capital of Zhejiang province as well as its economic, cultural, and educational center. Hangzhou is situated in the heart of the Yangtze River valley region in northern Zhejiang province [Fig. 2].

During the Southern Song Dynasty in the 12th century, Hangzhou became the capital of the dynasty and many northern Chinese speakers flocked to Hangzhou, inundating the city with their language (Simmons 1992). Thus the northern immigrant dialect became the basis for the northern features prominent in Hángzhōuhuà (Simmons 1992). From the Southern Song Dynasty (12th century) until the 19th century, Hángzhōuhuà gained prestige due to its northern quality and from the city’s status as the political capital (Simmons 1992). The dialect’s prestige enabled it become one of the models for Guānhuà, the traditional, standard dialect spoken by members of the official class during the Qing and Ming dynasties, as well as a model for Báihuà, the

language of traditional vernacular literature during that time period, which was a close relative of Guānhuà (Simmons 1992).

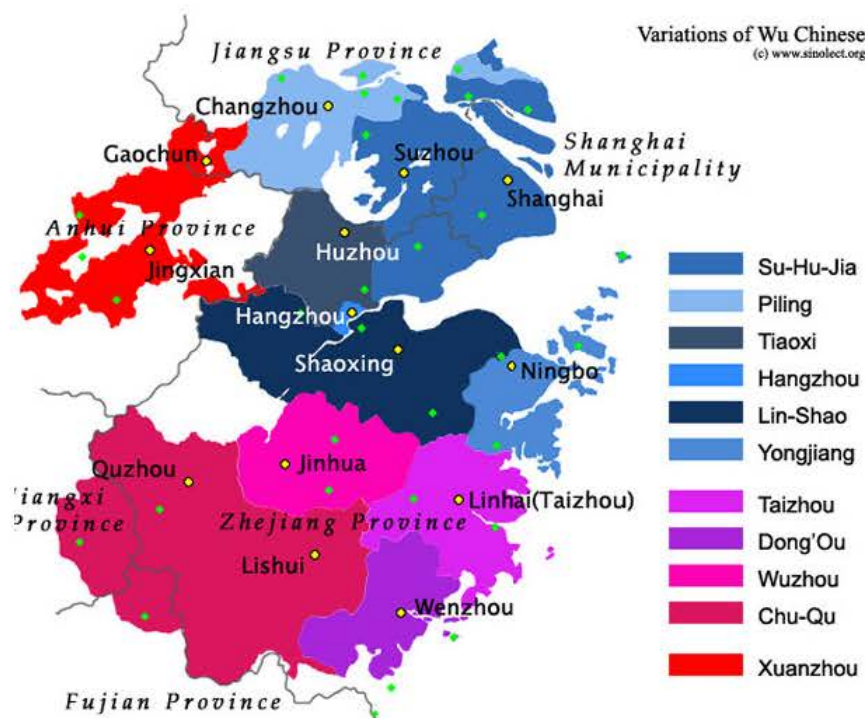


Fig. 2. Map of Wu Chinese Varieties (Adrianna 2015)

<http://www.yurtopic.com/society/culture/most-spoken-languages.html>

Due to the city's geographic location surrounded by Wu dialects, most scholars classify Hángzhōuhuà as a Wu variety. However, others, such as Simmons (1992) argue that Hángzhōuhuà is a Mandarin dialect with superficial Wu features due to its historical roots. As discussed in section 2.1.2, Hángzhōuhuà shares features characteristic of Wu and Mandarin dialects. Understanding Hángzhōuhuà's historical prestige as the language of 12th century government officials provides important contextual comparison for the dynamic status of Hángzhōuhuà over time, especially facing the rise of Pǔtōnghuà.

2.3 The Promotion of Pǔtōnghuà

The current national standard language of China is Pǔtōnghuà (literally translated as ‘common speech’), which is phonetically based on the Beijing pronunciation, lexically based on the northern Mandarin dialect, and grammatically based on classic literary works in modern written vernacular Chinese or Báihuà (Kurpaska 2005).

Since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, one of the primary goals of the government has been promoting Pǔtōnghuà at the national scale. In 1955, the government declared Pǔtōnghuà as the official common language of the PRC (Kurpaska 2005, Liu 2010). In 1956, education policy mandated that Pǔtōnghuà should be taught in all elementary and secondary schools, except in ethnic minority regions (Liu 2010). In 2001, the government declared that “Pǔtōnghuà and the standardized Chinese characters [are] the common language and writing of the People’s Republic of China”⁴ (Quanguo Renda 2001 in Kurpaska 2005).

A variety of tactics comprise the Chinese government’s language planning efforts to spread Pǔtōnghuà. Liu (2010) defines language planning as “the formation and implementation of policies designed to prescribe or influence the languages and varieties of language used in specific contexts.” Language planning contains two related components: corpus planning and status planning (Wiley 1996 in Liu 2010). Corpus planning involves coining new lexical items in the language and reforming spelling and writing systems. Status planning involves the government officially recognizing (or failing to recognize) various languages (Cooper 1989 in Liu 2010). In the PRC’s corpus planning, the government simplified traditional Chinese characters and established the Hanyu Pinyin Scheme as a Romanized phonetic representation of the Chinese writing system (Liu 2010). Status planning includes the government’s efforts to promote Pǔtōnghuà in all public domains, such as broadcasting, media,

⁴ “本法所称的国家通用语言文字是普通话和规范汉字”（中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法的第一章、第二条）。

official government activities, and education. Schooling is a large factor in the spread of Pǔtōnghuà. Zhou (2012) noted the positive correlation between amount of education and percentage of Pǔtōnghuà speakers at that level of education [Table 4]. While this study does not appear to control for other factors such as income and region that can affect amount of education, it is worth noting that these indirect factors may also correlate with Pǔtōnghuà ability.

Educational level	No schooling	Literacy class	Primary	Middle	High	College
Pǔtōnghuà speakers	10.36	14.67	25.49	56.08	75.76	86.77

Table 4. *Level of education and percentage of Pǔtōnghuà speakers (Zhou 2012:5)*

While a secondary goal of the PRC's language planning is to protect national ethnic minority language rights, this goal seems to be merely a statement because Pǔtōnghuà is the primary language of instruction, and minority languages are only supplementary languages (Zhou 2012). Zhou explains that this model is executed in bilingual education where Pǔtōnghuà is the main language of instruction and minority languages are used solely for transitional communication. For example, Perlin (2009) states that the minority language T'runḡ is only used in primary schools to move students towards "bilingualism" in Pǔtōnghuà. There, T'runḡ is only used as necessary for communication, while education shifts increasingly into Pǔtōnghuà. Kurpaska also raises the conundrum wherein the government aims to protect the rights of minority languages not considered Chinese dialects, but while doing so completely ignores the rights of many Chinese dialects (Anshen 2001, Kurpaska 2005). If ethnic minority languages are only somewhat protected at best under government policy, then dialects are essentially subject to the strong influence of the nation-wide promotion of Pǔtōnghuà.

The terminology surrounding ethnic minority languages and Chinese dialects (*fāngyán*) is also problematic. While the government officially recognizes minority languages as separate languages, it fails to acknowledge that Chinese “dialects” are actually several distinct languages. The term “dialect” also places these languages in an inferior or secondary position to Pǔtōnghuà. Calling them dialects is also misleading because they are not mutually intelligible varieties of one common language. For example, a Cantonese (Yue) speaker would not understand a Xiang speaker if they both used their local dialects. The general usage of “dialect” in China also connotes a sense of nationalism. Officially they are called *hànyǔ fāngyán* (Han-language dialects). By grouping the languages together, local language identity is lost to the dominating identity of Han Chinese. While the term “dialect” strives to unify and subjugate vast groups of speakers, it also alienates minority languages as non-Chinese entities. Therefore this distinction between “dialect” and “language” indirectly marks minority languages as other and Chinese dialects as less important relative to the official language of Pǔtōnghuà.

2.4 Complications for Dialects

From the point of view of the Chinese central government, language unification is a desirable and practical goal that eases communication between citizens of a vast country. In contrast, dialectologists and linguists, such as Kurpaska (2005:42), consider “the rapid assimilation of dialects to Pǔtōnghuà is rather a sad phenomenon.” Language planning is an inherently political matter, and most Chinese media commentaries will not discuss the possible consequences of language planning: i.e., language endangerment. Most repeat the claim that “the aim of the promotion of Pǔtōnghuà certainly is not to eliminate the dialects, but to remove the estrangement between various dialects” (Quanguo Renda 2001:47 in Kurpaska 2005:41). While this phrasing sounds oxymoronic, the intended message is that dialect speakers should also

know Pǔtōnghuà in order to erase communication barriers. The reality of standardizing Pǔtōnghuà is that it dominates public spaces such as schools, workplaces, and the political sphere, while dialects are pushed to more marginal spaces.

While there is a large pressure to standardize Pǔtōnghuà, dialects are still sometimes used in education because of China's size, population density, language diversity, and regional development disparity (Kurpaska 2005:41). However, similar to the case of minority languages in education as presented in section 2.3, dialects most likely play a similar supplementary role: only for the sake of communication and pushing students towards proficiency in Pǔtōnghuà. We also must consider the fact that China is a vast, heterogeneous country, so it may be difficult to generalize to what extent dialects and minority languages are used in school even though the main goal is moving students to Pǔtōnghuà.

Kurpaska also argues that Pǔtōnghuà strongly influences dialects, but certain dialect features also penetrate Pǔtōnghuà. Thus, language contact is two-way exchange. In my experience in Hangzhou, I learned that there is a hybrid language between Pǔtōnghuà and Hángzhōuhuà, called Hángpǔhuà. This variety is considered to be a local version of Pǔtōnghuà; it incorporates some lexical items from Hángzhōuhuà as well as pronunciation, but it grammatically resembles Pǔtōnghuà. Hángpǔhuà is not the sole example of a localized Pǔtōnghuà variety. As a result of language contact, Pǔtōnghuà and the local dialect may blend to form a hybrid variety. This phenomenon calls into question the concept of a true "standard language." Pǔtōnghuà as officially defined is not supposed to have native speakers, but most Chinese assume Beijing speakers to be model Pǔtōnghuà speakers (Zhou 2001:241). Beijing Pǔtōnghuà is taken to be the true standard but other local varieties of Pǔtōnghuà are still considered Pǔtōnghuà. The entire notion of a language standard does not really exist at all if there is a wide range of "standards." While it may be easier to point out the standard in

written Chinese, the variance in spoken varieties of Pǔtōnghuà seems to negate the platonic ideal of a standard language.

Given the vast difference between regions in China, I expect the standardization of Pǔtōnghuà will have varying effectiveness and rapidity by region. Well-established dialects such as Cantonese (Yue), will most likely co-exist with Pǔtōnghuà and may even influence it under contact, while smaller, less stable dialects, such as Hángzhōuhuà, may be at risk of extinction within a few generations. Language contact is not a simple process, so we must consider region-specific factors, such as speaker population, local media, and language and usage attitudes in order to assess the vitality of Hángzhōuhuà.

2.5 Previous Studies

According to Bradley (2002), language attitudes are views that a speaker community holds towards their language. These attitudes are an integral part of language maintenance (Bradley 2002). Hence, assessing language attitudes is a useful way to understand the level of language endangerment within a particular community. The previous studies that I present below deal with measuring and analyzing language attitudes of several different speaker communities in China.

2.5.1 Cantonese and Shanghainese Language Attitudes

Zhou (2001) discusses language attitude evolution with respect to China's language planning initiatives and compares language attitudes between Shanghainese and Cantonese speakers. Zhou measured overt and covert attitudes among 82 college students in Shanghai and Guangzhou by using an attitude/motivation test series and a matched-guise procedure. The attitude/motivation series measured language use variables such as personal data, family data (including the dialects used by a speaker and their family), and an evaluation of their performance in Pǔtōnghuà courses. It also

measured overt language attitudes through a series of 22 personality traits on which the speaker could rank a Beijing dialect speaker (a stereotypical Pǔtōnghuà speaker). The matched-guise procedure measured covert attitudes by having the participants evaluate recorded Pǔtōnghuà and Shanghainese/Cantonese voices on a set of 19 personality traits associated with social status and group solidarity.

Zhou's (2001) results did not cluster along the original continuum of high social status associated with Pǔtōnghuà and local solidarity associated with Shanghainese or Cantonese. Instead he argued that if the social distance between Pǔtōnghuà speakers and local variety speakers is low, then there might not be as much contrast between the ratings of both languages as there was in previous studies. Zhou (2001) builds on language attitude studies by Bai (1994), and Kalmar (1987). These earlier studies found that speakers preferred their local varieties and held negative attitudes towards Pǔtōnghuà. In other words, the Shanghainese and Cantonese speakers associated high social status with Pǔtōnghuà and local solidarity with their local languages. Bai (1994) and Kalmar's (1987) findings are consistent with the traditional model that contrasts language attitudes along a continuum of social status for the prestige language and local solidarity for the low language (Bradac 1990 and Ryan 1979 in Zhou 2001).

Zhou's argument seems reasonable, especially given the recent economic growth of both Guangzhou and Shanghai, which has attracted labor migration to both cities. Hence, there is a new demand for Pǔtōnghuà in communication across Chinese varieties (Zhou 2001). Another factor driving the demand for Pǔtōnghuà as a lingua franca in those regions, which Zhou did not explicitly mention, is that Pǔtōnghuà is the prestige language compared to the local dialects like Cantonese and Shanghainese. Zhou concludes that changes in language usage in Guangzhou and Shanghai, as well as the increased demand for Pǔtōnghuà, have contributed to changing language attitudes among Shanghainese and Cantonese speakers (2001). At the same time, he argues that changes in language attitudes have contributed to changes in language

usage. Zhou acknowledges that it may be controversial to claim that language attitudes predict language usage, but he asserts that change in language usage can affect language attitudes. However, language attitudes and language usage do not simply exist in a vacuum; external political and economic factors, such as government campaigns for Pǔtōnghuà and rapid industrialization and commercialization in Guangzhou and Shanghai, must have some influence too.

2.5.2 T'runɡ Language Attitudes

A more recent study by Perlin (2009) investigated language attitudes of the T'runɡ ethnic minority in the southwestern province of Yunnan towards the T'runɡ, Lisu, and Mandarin languages. Yunnan is a particularly multilingual region in China. T'runɡ is a Tibeto-Burman language of the T'runɡ minority, Lisu is the Tibeto-Burman lingua franca of the prefecture, and Mandarin is taken to include both the standard Pǔtōnghuà as well as the Southwestern Mandarin dialect.

Perlin interviewed a total of 48 residents in two T'runɡ villages in Yunnan with the help of a T'runɡ-Mandarin interpreter. The 30-minute interviews consisted of a short list of personal questions about age, family, and mobility as well as scaled questions asking participants about the importance of their own children and spouses speaking various languages and about language usage in daily life. There was also a second set of questions requiring “Yes” or “No” answers. Responses like “Maybe” and “Not Sure” were also offered as options.

Perlin's findings unambiguously demonstrated that Pǔtōnghuà was important to T'runɡ speakers. While many T'runɡ people spoke little or no Pǔtōnghuà, they associated the language with modernity, the nation, and economic success (Perlin 2009). Language attitudes towards T'runɡ and Lisu were mixed across generations and gender. Women and older people favored Lisu as the regional lingua franca, while men held more positive attitudes towards T'runɡ. Respondents agreed on a basic standard

of pride for T'runɡ as a part of ethnic identity. Younger people were more outspoken than older people about preserving T'runɡ but were less enthusiastic about supporting T'runɡ language use in more public spheres. On the other hand, elders were most aware of T'runɡ's slow shift towards endangerment; they bemoaned the language ability of younger speakers. Overall, Perlin presented a complex picture of the language attitudes towards various languages and his methodology provided a solid framework on which I based some of my interview questions.

2.5.3 Researching Language Attitudes

My study of language attitudes in Hangzhou will serve as a useful comparison to Zhou (2001) because Hangzhou is a less prominent city than Guangzhou and Shanghai. On the other hand, my Hangzhou results may also be compared to those of Perlin (2009), who conducted his studies in two small T'runɡ villages in Yunnan. My research will be a foray into the linguistic landscape of a middle ground between large metropolitan cities and rural villages. This data is valuable to understanding the local social pressures and attitudes specific to Hángzhōuhuà and potentially wider attitudes across China.

3 Methodology

In order to survey the language and usage attitudes of native Hángzhōuhuà speakers, I adopted both qualitative and quantitative approaches. I conducted ethnographic interviews with four speakers via WeChat video call in Mandarin and English. I also designed a short questionnaire comprised of scaled multiple-choice questions and two optional free response questions. I shared this questionnaire with college-aged and middle-aged adults via WeChat.

Specifically, both survey methods' questions target speakers' general attitudes towards using Hángzhōuhuà as well as the details of where and with whom they use Hángzhōuhuà. Participants were asked to rate their Hángzhōuhuà fluency on an ascending scale of 1 (knowing a few words) to 5 (can speak on any topic). The middle fluency level of 3 indicated ability to hold a basic conversation. My interview questions centered around three main themes: language awareness, usage, and attitudes. In order to get a sense of my interviewees' awareness of Hángzhōuhuà's vitality, I asked them, "What is happening to your language?" I also surveyed the domains in which they speak the language with the question, "What are the situations in which you might speak Hángzhōuhuà?" Finally in order to understand their personal language attitudes, I asked, "What does Hángzhōuhuà mean to you?" If my interviewees had difficulty answering these three broad questions, I asked related probes in order to stimulate responses. In my WeChat questionnaire, I reframed usage and attitude questions as scaled questions for ease and consistency in responses. For details about my methodology and the full list of questions and probes in my interviews and questionnaire, see the appendices.

For the WeChat survey, I used previous existing contacts in Hangzhou and asked them to spread the survey to their contacts. Using this snowball method, I recruited a total of 25 participants. I recruited four interview participants from existing contacts living Hangzhou and in the United States. Snowball sampling does not yield a representative population sample, so it cannot control for factors such as socioeconomic class, education level, age and gender. While further studies can be conducted from a more representative sample, the responses I received still provide insight to current attitudes.

3.1 Questionnaire Results and Analysis

I received a total of 25 survey responses from Hángzhōuhuà speakers ranging from 20 to 53 years old. Among these respondents there was no strong correlation ($r^2 = 0.063$) between age and Hángzhōuhuà fluency [Fig. 3]. Participants self-reported their fluency on an ascending scale of 1 to 5.

The fluency levels among my 25 respondents were not equally distributed; 16% of respondents rated their fluency at level 1, 24% rated level 3, 4% rated level 4, and 56% rated level 5.

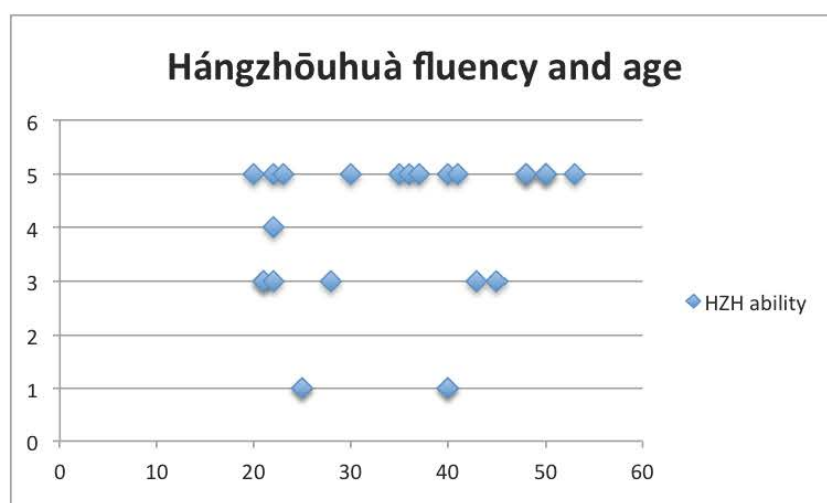


Fig. 3. Hángzhōuhuà fluency and age

While 80% of respondents use Putonghua in daily life, there is a mild positive correlation between Hángzhōuhuà fluency and likelihood of speaking Hángzhōuhuà in various domains, including with parents ($r^2 = 0.224$), with friends ($r^2 = 0.254$), at home ($r^2 = 0.399$), and in public ($r^2 = 0.310$). Across all fluency levels, speakers are slightly more likely to speak Hángzhōuhuà with their parents than with their friends, as well as more likely to speak it at home than in public life [Table 5].

Fluency Level	Avg. w. parents	Avg. w. friends	Avg. at home	Avg. in public
1 (4 speakers)	2.5	2	2	1.5
3 (6 speakers)	3.17	2.33	3.17	2.33
5 (14 speakers)	4.29	3.71	4.43	3.36

Table 5. Usage attitudes: Average likelihood of speaking Hángzhōuhuà in different domains by fluency level

A slight positive correlation holds across fluency levels for the likelihood of transmitting Hángzhōuhuà to the next generation ($r^2 = 0.110$), as well as personal importance ($r^2 = 0.190$) [Table 6]. In other words, the more fluent you are in Hángzhōuhuà, the more likely you are to teach your child Hángzhōuhuà and the more likely you are to value speaking Hángzhōuhuà.

Fluency Level	Avg. transmission	Avg. importance
1 (4 speakers)	3.5	2.5
3 (6 speakers)	3	2.67
5 (14 speakers)	4.29	4

Table 6. Attitudes by fluency level on the average likelihood of teaching a child Hángzhōuhuà and average importance of speaking Hángzhōuhuà

The trends in these tables hold for the vast majority of respondents, but there were a few outliers. One 40-year-old individual with a fluency level of 1 reported that they often speak Hángzhōuhuà with parents and friends and at home (5) and occasionally in public (3). This respondent also reported they would be very likely to teach their child Hángzhōuhuà (5) and said Hángzhōuhuà was personally very important (5). The data from this individual is most likely responsible for the skew in language attitudes at fluency level 1 in Tables 5 and 6. This outlier may be an error in fluency reporting where the respondent misinterpreted the fluency scale. Alternatively, this individual is fluent, but not confident in their language ability resulting in underestimating their fluency level. Another possible explanation for this discrepancy

is that this individual is receptively fluent in Hángzhōuhuà but cannot produce much in the language. In the free response section they wrote, “The local dialect is also necessary” in addition to Putonghua. This response contrasts the response from another 40-year-old individual with minimal fluency that wrote, “Nowadays Pǔtōnghuà is spoken at school and in other public occasions.”

On the other hand, the responses among the fluency level 5 group reflected that speaking Hángzhōuhuà is important because language is an inherent part of local culture. As one respondent wrote, “Dialect is an important part of forming a place’s culture.” A couple of respondents referred to Hángzhōuhuà as “a cultural trace” and a *xiāngyīn* or “a local accent.” While the term *xiāngyīn* can refer to accent as in inflection or pronunciation, it also can be used to refer to any local dialect. Other respondents reported Hángzhōuhuà is “worth protecting” and “should be passed down [to future generations].” Another expressed, “I hope that we don’t lose Hángzhōuhuà” and one respondent even proposed, “Schools should design a local dialect class.” While the majority of respondents in this group felt strongly about preserving Hángzhōuhuà, one respondent contradicted this, writing, “Whether or not one speaks Hángzhōuhuà ultimately depends on with whom they speak; nowadays there are more people who speak Pǔtōnghuà.” This individual reported that they rarely speak Hángzhōuhuà at home or with parents (1), but occasionally speak it with friends or in public (3).

This sample of 25 respondents displays a wide range of attitudes on Hángzhōuhuà. One conclusive trend among the survey data is that there is a slight preference to speak Hángzhōuhuà at home than in public as well as a preference to speak it with parents than with friends. This data suggests that Hángzhōuhuà is moving in two directions: first, as Pǔtōnghuà becomes increasingly standard in public domains, Hángzhōuhuà moves towards private social domains, such as the domestic sphere. Second, Hángzhōuhuà is shifting in that the parent generation still actively

uses the language, but the child generation may not be actively using the language amongst peers, but only to communicate with older family members.

3.2 Interview Consultants

This section discusses my interview consultants and data in more depth. I will further explore language attitudes as well as the larger trends this data supports.

I conducted a total of four interviews with two Hangzhou locals in Mandarin and two individuals with Hangzhou heritage living in the United States in English. Before discussing the results, I will introduce each of the consultants and their language background.

Chen Min⁵ is a 35-year-old female who was born and raised in Hangzhou. She currently works as a school administrative assistant. Aside from her time at college and various work experiences outside the city, she has spent more than 25 years in Hangzhou to date. She considers herself fully fluent in Hángzhōuhuà (5), but she uses Pǔtōnghuà in her daily life, depending on the speakers in her workplace environment.

Amber Qin is a 22-year-old female undergraduate student who grew up in Hangzhou for 14 years and is now living in the United States. She can only produce a few words and basic phrases in Hángzhōuhuà (1), but fully understands the language (5). She also regularly uses English and Pǔtōnghuà in her daily life.

Z.L. Zhou is a 24-year-old male graduate student in linguistics who is from Hangzhou but currently lives in the United States. He lived in Hangzhou until he was 4 years old and intermittently spent a few summers there, spending a total of 6 years in Hangzhou. While Z.L.'s speaking ability is very limited (1), he is receptively fluent in a

⁵ All names used with consultants' permission

variety of basic, conversational topics (4-5). In his daily life, he primarily uses English and sometimes Pǔtōnghuà.

Fan Jiaying is a 22-year-old female undergraduate student who has lived all her life in Hangzhou. Jiaying is fully fluent in Hángzhōuhuà (5) and is comfortable speaking on any topic in the language. She also mainly uses Pǔtōnghuà in her daily life.

Given the educational and professional backgrounds of my interviewees, it is reasonable to infer that the socio-economic status of this sample lies in the middle or upper-middle socio-economic classes.

3.3 Interview Results and Analysis

My interviews revealed several recurring themes, such as Pǔtōnghuà's dominance in public domains, the declining population of young speakers, pride in using Hángzhōuhuà as a form of local solidarity, as well as unease towards its shrinking spheres of usage. Several of these themes reiterate trends in the current literature, but also reveal the complex language attitudes of Hángzhōuhuà speakers today.

3.3.1 Pǔtōnghuà's Public Dominance

All four of my interviewees agreed on the ubiquitous presence of Pǔtōnghuà in public spheres. While my interviewees have varying degrees of fluency in Hángzhōuhuà, they all regularly use Pǔtōnghuà in their daily lives. Chen Min considers herself fully fluent in Hángzhōuhuà; nonetheless, she still primarily uses Pǔtōnghuà in her daily life depending on the speakers in her workplace environment, as most are non-local to Hangzhou. Amber Qin noted that, "If you go out to restaurants or do like transactions on the street, most commonly you would just use Pǔtōnghuà, because you never know, like as a city of a variety of immigrants--mostly like domestic Chinese immigrants, you never know who are not local and who are, so people mostly just use Pǔtōnghuà."

In addition to Hangzhou's large immigrant population, education also drives Pǔtōnghuà's dominance in public spaces. Amber said, "China has been standardizing its language for a while and the result of their policy is that local dialects are not allowed in school. So public schools or teachers actively discourage students from using [dialects] and they don't teach any for sure." Chen Min cites schools as major influence on young children's dialect ability, especially since children begin elementary school at 5 or 6 years of age. She explains, "Hángzhōuhuà is definitely not that popularized...because when children return home and they are with their parents, they might speak Hángzhōuhuà, but they may not necessarily speak it as much in school." Combined, the influence of Pǔtōnghuà in schools and the growing population of non-locals in Hangzhou drive the demand for Pǔtōnghuà in educational, professional, and public settings.

3.3.2 Aging Language Speakers

My interviewees also expressed unease about younger speakers' Hángzhōuhuà ability. This sentiment is characteristic of endangered or soon-to-be endangered language communities. Chen Min estimates that "the majority of five- to ten-year-old children still cannot truly speak Hángzhōuhuà." Even when she speaks to her daughter in Hángzhōuhuà, her daughter responds in Pǔtōnghuà. Z.L. Zhou only knows a few young people in Hangzhou, "and of them, very few speak Hangzhouhua fluently. Very few of them produce it fluently...although everyone I do know is capable of understanding it." Z.L. estimates this age range is even higher than Chen Min's estimate; these people are between the ages of 20 and 30 at this point. Z.L. admitted, "I think I only know one person in Hangzhou who can actually speak Hangzhouhua fluently in that age range." To demonstrate the extent of change, Chen Min said, "When I was little, I thought, oh [children] speaking Hángzhōuhuà is actually a common thing, but nowadays on the contrary, it surprises me." Z.L. also expressed a

similar sentiment of surprise: “My family sort of views me as exceptional for that fact that I am interested in Hángzhōuhuà and am capable of understanding it.” He seems to be the exception in his generation of his family, as his 21-year-old cousin and 18-year-old brother are even less receptively fluent than he is. Z.L.’s grandparents occasionally talk to his cousin in Hángzhōuhuà. However they almost always address his younger brother in Pǔtōnghuà because he understands very little Hángzhōuhuà. Z.L.’s family and Chen Min’s surprise implies that people are already beginning to internalize Hángzhōuhuà as a language of older generations.

In tandem to the observation of the declining population of younger speakers is the fact that Hángzhōuhuà is increasingly perceived as an aging language. Several of my interviewees found it easier to list older people who speak Hángzhōuhuà than younger people. Z.L.’s mother and maternal grandparents are fluent speakers; they are in their 50s and 80s respectively. Chen Min said “Generally if I hear Hángzhōuhuà, it’s usually sixty- or seventy-year-old people speaking it...often while they’re going for a stroll or at the park.” Amber Qin’s impression is that adults “forty and above would use it more, and those people who [I] would probably imagine to be...very local to Hangzhou, like people who trace back several generations.” Fan Jiaying also estimates, “I think adults forty and older like to use Hángzhōuhuà on the street or in public occasions. Then I think younger people speak Pǔtōnghuà more often within their circles. Except when speaking with other local Hangzhou friends.” Overall, these observations point to 40-years-old being the invisible generational divide between those who can and are more likely to speak Hángzhōuhuà and those who cannot speak it.

3.3.3 A Local Edge

Although my interviewees’ comments confirm the larger trends of Pǔtōnghuà dominating public spaces and the declining population of younger Hángzhōuhuà

speakers, speaking Hángzhōuhuà in some local, informal situations is advantageous. Chen Min purposely uses Hángzhōuhuà at the vegetable market. Unlike large markets or department stores, the local merchants at the market or vendor stands determine their own prices. Chen Min worries, “they might overcharge me...so if I present as a Hangzhou local, if I speak Hángzhōuhuà, they’ll know, ‘oh you’re from Hangzhou, you’re not a non-local, perhaps my price won’t fool you.’” Not only does she speak Hángzhōuhuà as a form of local solidarity, she uses it as economic advantage to avoid being cheated when bargaining prices. Z.L.’s grandmother also tends to use Hángzhōuhuà when she frequents certain local grocery stores. Z.L. observes, “I think she’ll speak sometimes to, Hángzhōuhuà, to people there. I think if she knows them and she knows that they can understand it. But if we were to go to a big store, like a Carrefour...that would not happen.”

While Amber and Chen Min commented that Pǔtōnghuà is more ubiquitous in public spaces, especially schools, Jiaying’s interview gave me the impression that Hángzhōuhuà is still fairly widespread in public life. She still often hears Hángzhōuhuà spoken on the bus, at restaurants, movie theaters, and shopping malls. However, her observation could be in reference to hearing older people speak Hángzhōuhuà publicly. That being said, Jiaying only uses Hángzhōuhuà with family and relatives. She admits, “I’m not really accustomed to speaking Hángzhōuhuà with my classmates or friends. I’m used to speaking Pǔtōnghuà with them.” While Jiaying still hears Hángzhōuhuà in public, her personal range of domains where she speaks Hángzhōuhuà is limited to domestic spheres. This dichotomy inevitably points toward the reality that Pǔtōnghuà tends to dominate education and other formal spaces while Hángzhōuhuà occupies more marginal, domestic spaces.

3.3.4 Hángzhōuhuà's Expressivity

Another common theme across my interviews was that my interviewees use Hángzhōuhuà to convey interpersonal closeness and emotional expressivity. They find that Hángzhōuhuà has a more local, intimate quality that Pǔtōnghuà lacks. In Z.L.'s family, Hángzhōuhuà has a certain expressive nature. He recalls, "So when my grandparents and their siblings make jokes, they're making jokes in Hángzhōuhuà. You know, they're talking about funny stories in Hángzhōuhuà. That doesn't happen in Pǔtōnghuà as much." Amber's parents are not highly fluent in Hángzhōuhuà, but they still use it for "comedic effect" or "certain expressions" such as swearing. Amber believes Hángzhōuhuà is "very local in nature" which "conveys a sense of humor and familiarity that Pǔtōnghuà just doesn't do." Jiaying feels that speaking Hángzhōuhuà "makes your relationship closer...or almost more exclusive." She expresses this advantage in the workplace where "speaking Hángzhōuhuà is not a necessity, but it does make doing things or making friends more convenient." Hence, speakers not only use Hángzhōuhuà's expressivity and intimacy for entertaining purposes but they also leverage these qualities for interpersonal gain.

Amber shared another anecdote about Hángzhōuhuà's local nature as an asset in professional settings. One summer, her friend interned at the Hangzhou TV Station and immediately discovered all her colleagues were local to Hangzhou because they spoke Hángzhōuhuà at work. Her friend described that "she felt being from local Hangzhou and understanding [Hángzhōuhuà] was an advantage because, from her understanding, using the dialect is exclusive to people who are not local." Amber expressed shock in that she "never thought of Hangzhou as an exclusive, being the same way as in Shanghai is, like Shanghai people, whenever they're together they always speak Shanghai dialect and it's really annoying." Chen Min reiterated a similar sentiment about exclusivity -- she does not believe Hángzhōuhuà serves as a point of pride in local identity like dialect does in Shanghai. She claimed that speaking

Shanghai dialect is highly related to self-pride, even “a strong sense of individual superiority.” In contrast, Hángzhōuhuà conveys a sense of intimacy, but not to the extent of overbearing pride or exclusivity.

3.3.5 Transmitting Cultural Heritage

The personal language attitudes of my interviewees ranged from ambivalence and detachment to regret about the declining population of younger speakers and a willingness to protect the language. For Chen Min, Hángzhōuhuà is a type of “intangible cultural heritage.” She strongly supports protecting and preserving dialects because “if we lose this dialect...we also lose its cultural heritage.” Specifically, she thinks language preservation needs to start from childhood, that is, parents should influence young children more, “even if [children] understand the language, [parents] should make them speak...they may not speak it fluently...but they should at least speak.”

Amber points out “the only way you’d really know Hángzhōuhuà is if your parents consciously make you say it...it’s like the same with a lot of my Asian American Chinese [friends]...[they] understand Chinese but if their parents don’t make the conscious effort to make them say it, then they wouldn’t be able to form very coherent, intelligent sentences.” Amber adds, “Unless your parents themselves are very fluent speakers in the native dialect, then it’s very unlikely that you would be able to learn it.” Chen Min and Amber’s responses seem to suggest that preserving Hángzhōuhuà relies on the consistent and purposeful language transmission from older to younger generations, so that the younger generations are not only receptively fluent but can also fluently produce Hángzhōuhuà. Individual agency in language maintenance can the form of parents and grandparents assuming the responsibility to teach their children Hángzhōuhuà. However, when analyzing any language endangerment situation, we must consider microvariables such as human resources in

the communities and language attitudes as well as macrovariables such as national language and education policies (Grenoble & Whaley 2006). Individuals may have a certain amount of agency over microvariables, but macrovariables still have considerable impact. While there is a limited range of media broadcasted in the language, Hángzhōuhuà faces external pressures, like the public promotion of Pǔtōnghuà and the banning of dialect in schools, which actively hinder its preservation.

3.3.6 Attitudes Contradict Actions

Interviewees were generally aware of the beginning decline of Hángzhōuhuà, however they held mixed attitudes towards the language itself. Speakers expressed a moderate level of regret about Hángzhōuhuà's endangerment, but none of them seemed outspoken about organized language revitalization programs. For example, Z.L. said, "I've definitely heard sentiments that you know it's kind of a shame that nobody speaks--that young people don't speak Hangzhouhua anymore...[but] it never goes so far as to be like, oh I wish they would teach it, per se, no one ever says that." Although there is a sense of regret surrounding the decline of Hángzhōuhuà, Z.L. is not aware of any "strong revitalization sentiments" nor are other interviewees aware of any formal revitalization efforts.

Z.L.'s mixed attitudes may be internalized as a feeling of despair towards the inevitable promotion of Pǔtōnghuà over dialects. He acknowledges that the PRC's standardization of Pǔtōnghuà "is only natural in a way, but it sort of makes it difficult to appreciate the culture of the non-north essentially." He points out that some literature has been written in Hángzhōuhuà, but it attracts very little interest. According to Z.L., an alternate possibility is that, "very few people are interested in expressing themselves in it...As someone who is very interested in literature, you know, it seems sad that this potential source or method of expression is like not being

used or is going to go away.” In correspondence after our interview, Z.L. clarified that while some people “occasionally use some phrases of Hángzhōuhuà in essays, there is no [literature] purely in it.” This limited written usage is justified in a way because most Chinese people see written Chinese characters primarily used for Pǔtōnghuà. If they were to write Hángzhōuhuà, they would have to use similar sounding characters to represent the target Hángzhōuhuà form. Since there is no separate writing system for Hángzhōuhuà, it is an easy jump for most speakers to conclude that Hángzhōuhuà is not official enough or worthy of using Chinese characters because they already associate them with standard Pǔtōnghuà. While it is linguistically incorrect to assume writing systems are the pure form of a language, this belief can aid the internalization of covert negative language attitudes towards Hángzhōuhuà as well as other dialects that may be represented using Chinese characters but simply are not.

Whether or not writing exists in Hángzhōuhuà, the negative attitudes held towards Hángzhōuhuà writing suggest that people appreciate Hángzhōuhuà for its expressive, local nature. However, no one takes it seriously enough to want to produce work written in Hángzhōuhuà. A contributing factor to this lack of interest is the difficulty involved in writing Hángzhōuhuà with Chinese characters. The fact that that no one sees Hángzhōuhuà as suited to literary or academic spheres, let alone to Chinese characters themselves, seems to devalue Hángzhōuhuà’s status as a widely important or useful language. Instead, speakers tend to see Hángzhōuhuà as an appropriate language in local, conversational, and domestic spheres only.

Z.L. compared the language situation in Hangzhou with that of Cantonese in Hong Kong. After the 1997 handover of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government (HKSAR) implemented a policy of “bi-literacy and tri-lingualism” (Lee & Leung 2012). Bi-literacy refers to written Chinese and English and tri-lingualism refers to spoken Cantonese, English, and Pǔtōnghuà. Under this policy, Cantonese assumed legal status in Hong

Kong. According to a HKSAR census, 89.2% of the population (5.72 million) used Cantonese as their main daily language in a wide range of domains including with family, colleagues, friends, on the street, shopping, in the workplace, in government affairs, and as the medium of instruction in schools (Lee & Leung 2012). The language is also broadcasted on a few television and radio stations, and is used in movies and popular music. While Cantonese certainly plays a major role in daily life, and enjoys a range of usage much wider than Hángzhōuhuà, there have been political efforts after the 1997 handover to shift to Pǔtōnghuà as the language of government and education.

Z.L. cited Hangzhou and Hong Kong as well as the relative newcomer Beijing as “the three historical cultural centers of eastern China.” Z.L. nods toward Hangzhou’s historical prominence as the Southern Song Dynasty capital as discussed in Section 2.2. He said, “it’s great, I think, what Hong Kong has been able to do to keep their language and keep their culture alive and keep their literary tradition alive as well, but it’s such a shame that Hangzhou hasn’t been able to do that as much.”

3.3.7 Mother Tongue

On a more personal level, Hángzhōuhuà represents a connection to family and hometown for some of my interviewees. Z.L. has an emotional connection to the language because it reminds him of his family. He lamented, “I wish I were able to produce more, because I feel like that would be nice, and it would make me feel more connected to this very mysterious past of [my family].” It would also allow him to communicate more openly with his grandparents about their experiences living in China through the 1950s, which he feels “just isn’t the sort of thing you talk about in Pǔtōnghuà.”

Echoing the sentiments in section 3.3.4, Z.L. said that there is “sort of an innate associate between Pǔtōnghuà and formality and Hángzhōuhuà and informality as well as interpersonal closeness.” For that reason, he feels that he often speaks in Pǔtōnghuà

with family about superficially serious topics, such as schoolwork, exercise, or health. On the other hand, speaking in Hángzhōuhuà insinuates a sense of intimacy, which makes it easier to talk about personal family stories. Z.L.'s comments highlight the ironic dichotomy between Pǔtōnghuà and Hángzhōuhuà: while Pǔtōnghuà is a publicly used language of formality; truly serious personal matters are best accessed through the more informal, familiar medium of Hángzhōuhuà.

For Jiaying, Hángzhōuhuà is "a way of communicating with family members--a more intimate way of communicating than Pǔtōnghuà." She said, "That is to say, a young person leaves their hometown when they are small, and then when they grow old they return to their hometown. When they hear their *xiāngyīn*, they feel very moved returning home."

Hángzhōuhuà's association with family life reveals two aspects in language attitudes. First, many see Hángzhōuhuà as a point of pride in their family heritage and their connection to their hometown. Second, such a strong connection between family and Hángzhōuhuà may limit language usage in other spheres. If speakers are accustomed to only thinking about Hángzhōuhuà in relation to domestic life, their usage may not extend much further than the home.

3.4 Discussion

My data from my four interview informants and 25 survey participants supports the impression of an overall slow decline of Hángzhōuhuà. First, the number of speakers is slowly shrinking, because the language is not necessarily being fully transmitted to younger generations. A smaller percentage of today's youth are fluent in Hángzhōuhuà than the generation 30 years ago. Of those younger speakers who may still be receptively fluent, progressively fewer of them can actually produce the language. I expect that Hángzhōuhuà may become seriously endangered within two or three generations if the current younger generation has limited spoken fluency and

may only be able to pass a few words or phrases on to their children's generation. Many Hángzhōuhuà speakers lamented the fact that young people cannot or do not speak Hángzhōuhuà as much, which is a similar sentiment shared among T'ung elders in Perlin's (2009) research. Second, the range of domains where Hángzhōuhuà is spoken is also shrinking. There is a shift from public to private domains. Although it is still fairly common to encounter older people conversing in Hángzhōuhuà publicly, Pǔtōnghuà has become the common language of communication in most public spaces, especially schools. Hangzhou's large population of domestic immigrants also drives the demand for Pǔtōnghuà in public. Like the T'ung respondents, the vast majority of my Hángzhōuhuà respondents agreed that Pǔtōnghuà was important in public spaces. Consequently, Hángzhōuhuà is pushed to more local and marginal spaces such as the local vegetable market. In rarer cases, Hángzhōuhuà is still spoken in the workplace, but only among colleagues who are all Hangzhou locals. Increasingly we find that Hángzhōuhuà is solely spoken with family at home.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) characterize this situation as gradual attrition, wherein a slow shift from the local language towards a language of wider communication drives language loss over generations. At first, many Hangzhou locals seemed to hold positive language attitudes towards Hángzhōuhuà, expressing pride in their linguistic and cultural heritage, as well regret surrounding language loss in younger generations. My survey data suggested a correlation between positive language attitudes and stronger language ability. Respondents who were more fluent in Hángzhōuhuà indicated that they were more likely to pass the language on to their children. Respondents who had limited fluency expressed more feelings of indifference towards Hángzhōuhuà. However, these positive attitudes are more mixed in reality. While speakers say they attach pride and importance to the language, they do not necessarily have a strong desire to use Hángzhōuhuà beyond local or domestic

settings, such as in literary or academic settings. Thus, the shrinking number of domains in which Hángzhōuhuà is actively used contributes to its gradual attrition.

Similar to Perlin's (2009) study on T'ung attitudes, I observed the same trend that Hángzhōuhuà speakers were in favor of preserving the language, but they didn't actually use it as much in public spaces. The lack of interest in the literature as well as the lack of strong revitalization sentiments reveal that attitudes may seem positive but are in fact more indifferent. Alternatively, speakers may face too many obstacles to have the energy to invest in the needed level of activism. Attitudes in some circumstances could be read as negative because speakers tend to devalue Hángzhōuhuà as a serious language suitable for wide usage. An important factor is the difficulty of writing Hángzhōuhuà using Chinese characters, because most speakers see the characters as meant for Pǔtōnghuà. Hence, no literature purely written in Hángzhōuhuà exists and speakers dissociate the language from writing and other official or academic spheres. Instead they only see Hángzhōuhuà for its expressive, sentimental qualities in conversation in local or family settings.

My study was fairly different from that of Zhou (2001) because our frameworks for studying language attitudes were inherently different. Zhou's matched guise tests were designed on the basis of testing for attitudes that revealed associations with social status or local solidarity. Zhou found that attitudes did not cluster along the traditional association of social status with Pǔtōnghuà and local solidarity with the local dialects due to low social distance between Pǔtōnghuà speakers and local dialect speakers. Conversely, my results settled along different dimensions than those considered by Zhou. My results shed light on the discrepancies between attitudes and actions. In other words, speakers said they were in favor of preserving or passing down Hángzhōuhuà, while their actions revealed that they did not use Hángzhōuhuà as much in public domains. For the purposes of evaluating language and usage attitudes, this paradox was a crucial factor that unveiled true usage attitudes.

Regardless of whether language attitudes are positive or negative, attitudes themselves cannot alter the reality that Hángzhōuhuà's usage is declining over generations as younger generations are primarily speaking Pǔtōnghuà. While positive language attitudes and individual initiative can help pass down Hángzhōuhuà within the family, these efforts have limited efficacy when public domains support the widespread use of Pǔtōnghuà.

4 Language Revitalization Efforts

According to Grenoble and Whaley (2006), language revitalization is the process of increasing the relative number of speakers of a language and expanding its current domains of usage. In most cases, community language attitudes must be changed in order for language revitalization to occur (Grenoble & Whaley 2006). While changes in external influences such as laws governing language use in public domains can certainly help or hinder language revitalization, this process also relies on the motivation of the future speakers and the local communities themselves. In this section, I will discuss government-led and local initiatives surrounding language revitalization nationally and in Hangzhou. I will then evaluate their possible impact on the future vitality Hángzhōuhuà.

Currently, the Chinese Ministry of Education, in partnership with the Center for Preserving and Researching Chinese Language Resources at Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU), is implementing the Project for Preserving Chinese Language Resources (*Zhōngguó yǔyán zīyuán bǎohù gōngchéng*). This project invites linguists and dialectologists to conduct fieldwork and language documentation across all provinces. In addition to surveying Chinese dialects, the project aims to survey national ethnic minority languages and the linguistic and cultural background of ethnic

minority groups (Zhongguo Yuyan 2017). BLCU expects the project to be completed in 2020.

At a more local level, language revitalization sentiments have appeared on Internet forums and social media platforms, such as WeChat official accounts, which I will introduce below.

爱上杭州话

WeChat ID:
aishanghangzhouhua



杭州人怎么能不会杭州话呢？加入我们，一起爱上杭州话！

Fig. 4. Àishàng Hángzhōuhuà's WeChat account slogan in Mandarin, translated as "How can Hangzhou people not speak Hángzhōuhuà? Follow us, fall in love with Hángzhōuhuà together!"

Àishàng Hángzhōuhuà (爱上杭州话) is an account on the social media platform, WeChat [Fig. 4.], whose purpose is to "set up a platform for people to study Hángzhōuhuà and to understand Hangzhou culture, to make people fall in love with Hángzhōuhuà, and to pass on Hangzhou stories from generation to generation."⁶

Àishàng Hángzhōuhuà was created on February 19, 2017 and was active daily until March 9, 2017. It is currently no longer active.

The account posted articles in Pǔtōnghuà on topics such as Hángzhōuhuà vocabulary and phrase lists with recordings of pronunciations [Fig. 5], external resources for learning Hángzhōuhuà [Fig. 6.], the history of the dialect, as well as two

⁶ Translated from the 19 February 2017 post on Aishang Hangzhouhua "我们希望通过这一个平台，为更多的朋友们搭建一个学习杭州话、了解杭州文化的平台，让更多的人爱上杭州话，让杭州故事世代相传。"

short tests. The Hángzhōuhuà language media resource list was fairly limited; it listed three television programs: Āliùtóu's News Report (阿六头说新闻), Wǒ hé nǐ shuō (我和你说), Happy Tea House (开心茶馆), as well as two web forums: Báidù's Hángzhōuhuà Web Forum (百度贴吧中的杭州话贴吧) and 19Lóu Hángzhōuhuà Web Forum (19 楼的杭后话贴吧).

The second WeChat account concerning language conservation is Zhèjiāng Xiāngyīn. This platform is designed to disseminate and communicate news about the Zhejiang Province Preserving Language Resources Project (*Zhèjiāngshěng Bǎohù Yǔyán Zīyuán Gōngchéng*). While not exclusively specific to Hángzhōuhuà, Zhèjiāng Xiāngyīn focuses on the language preservation of all dialects spoken within the province. The mission of the account is specifically to “make everyone together preserve language and inherit and pass on Chinese civilization” [Fig. 7].



Fig. 5. An example excerpt from a vocabulary list. 1) “Thank you” xièxiè in Pǔtōnghuà, jiājiā in Hángzhōuhuà 2) “Mouse” shǔ in Pǔtōnghuà, lāochǔ in Hángzhouhuà

◎我和你说

身边的事情实在多,挑出几桩我和你说

《我和你说》是杭州电视台生活频道自办的一档"新闻脱口秀"节目。

《我和你说》节目内容主要来自于杭州市民关注度极高的本地"新闻热线",用主持人脱口秀的方式传播新闻内容,连接新闻现场。节目独特的观点,平民的视角,是这个节目的特色之处。

《我和你说》的两位主持人翁仁康和徐筱安,前者使用绍兴话主持,后者使用杭州话主持,也是练习杭州话听力不错的材料。

播出时间: 每天晚上9:00~9:30

推荐指数: ★★★★★



Fig. 6. Short description of *Wǒ hé nǐ shuō*, a television local news program broadcast in *Hángzhōuhuà*.

浙江乡音

WeChat ID: gh_0d183d53140c



“浙江乡音”是浙江省语言资源保护工程宣传和展示的平台，也是浙江省语言保护工作者沟通和交流的平台。这里会留下你的乡音乡韵，也会记住你的乡愁乡情。让我们大家一起，“保护语言资源，传承中华文明”！

Fig. 7. *Zhèjiāng Xiāngyīn's* account description

Zhèjiāng Xiāngyīn has been active since December 5, 2016, posting articles on progress updates from of the Preserving Language Resources Project, local news

stories of language conservation, public announcements seeking dialect speakers with requirements and contact information.

All three examples of language revitalization efforts above are beneficial but realistically have limited efficacy towards maintaining Hángzhōuhuà's vitality. The Preserving Chinese Language Resources Project and Zhèjiāng Xiāngyīn seem to place heavier emphasis on language documentation. While documentation is an important part of language preservation, it does not actively change existing government policies promoting Pǔtōnghuà in schools and other public domains. In this case, language documentation may emerge as a response to the limited options available for changing the official status of Hángzhōuhuà. At the least, linguists and dialectologists are conducting fieldwork to survey dialects locally and at large across the country. On the other hand, Àishàng Hángzhōuhuà attempted to take a more active role in teaching the language and promoting awareness of other language resources available to those interested in learning Hángzhōuhuà. While the number of followers for Àishàng Hángzhōuhuà is unknown, the account seemed to create an informal but consistent platform for language learning and appreciation. The account was only active for a brief month, but it still managed to produce a substantial archive of resources. While these three revitalization efforts may not have much sway in the political sphere, they do have a role in changing on-the-ground language awareness, by disseminating information and making language resources more widely available.

Overall, these efforts are well intentioned, but they are probably not enough to affect the decline of Hángzhōuhuà. As sections 2.3, 2.4, and 3 have shown, the future of Hángzhōuhuà hinges on government language policy as well as speakers' language and usage attitudes. The language revitalization efforts above are important, but they are not powerful enough to change language policy or shift speakers' underlying attitudes and values towards Hángzhōuhuà.

5 Conclusion

The research outlined and analyzed above shows the language attitudes of Hángzhōuhuà speakers, whose language is still vital but starting to show signs of sharp decline. My survey and interview data reveals two trends for Hángzhōuhuà. First, Hángzhōuhuà is pushed towards marginal social domains, whereas Pǔtōnghuà is increasingly standard in public domains. Second, the language is losing younger speakers. While the older generation still actively uses Hángzhōuhuà, increasingly fewer young people are speaking the language. The younger people who still speak Hángzhōuhuà primarily do so in order to communicate with older family members. My interview data also unveils speakers' mixed attitudes towards Hángzhōuhuà. Most speakers take pride in speaking Hángzhōuhuà; however, they believe that the language is most suitable for domestic, conversational settings, and is not serious or formal enough for academic, literary, or more public settings. The association between Hángzhōuhuà and informality as well as interpersonal closeness reinforces the suitability of its usage within family settings, but also limits the language's range of usage beyond the domestic sphere.

The language attitudes expressed above acknowledge the external pressures enacted upon Hángzhōuhuà, such as the standardization of Pǔtōnghuà in public, especially in education, as well as the increased demand for Pǔtōnghuà as a common communication medium between Hangzhou's domestic immigrant population. These factors contribute to the slow decline of Hángzhōuhuà, but they are not the ultimate deciding factors in the language's fate. Speakers' internalized language attitudes also play a major role in maintaining and revitalizing the language. The Preserving Chinese Language Resources Project and smaller local revitalization efforts led on social media are certainly beneficial in documenting the language and spreading cultural awareness of the language. However, these efforts are not powerful enough to change internalized

language attitudes or the non-existent political status of Hángzhōuhuà. For revitalization to be truly successful, speakers would need to deeply reconsider their beliefs and values held towards Hángzhōuhuà and commit to passing on the language and actively using the language in a wider range of domains. Language attitudes may not be powerful enough to enact language policy change, yet revitalization is nearly impossible without the motivation of the speakers themselves.

While my research is not a comprehensive sample of Hángzhōuhuà speakers, it sheds light on a small slice of the Hángzhōuhuà speaker community. I hope this thesis raises awareness of Hángzhōuhuà's declining condition and also spurs wider-scale work on Hángzhōuhuà that would improve the language's future prospects.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview questions (English/Mandarin)

Ethnographic Interview: Hángzhōuhuà Language Attitudes

杭州人对于杭州方言的态度

For my senior thesis I am studying the vitality of the Hangzhou dialect. I am interested in understanding the language attitude of native Hangzhou speakers towards their dialect. I would like to do a 20 min interview about your thoughts. Your participation is completely voluntary.

我的本科语言学论文题目即杭州方言的生命力。我想了解讲杭州话的人对于杭州话的态度。我想使用 20 分钟跟你讨论你的想法。你参加这个采访是自愿的。

May I use your first name, or would you prefer I use a pseudonym?

Do I have permission to record?

我可不可以用你的名字？如果你不允许我用你的名字，我会用假名。

我可不可以记录我们的采访？

Requirement: Participant must be a native speaker of Hángzhōuhuà

要求：被访者的母语是杭州话

This interview is comprised of two sections -- section 1 surveys participants background information and language ability, section 2 surveys participants language attitudes about Hángzhōuhuà and surveys their Hángzhōuhuà use.

此问卷分为两个部分，第一部分是为了了解被访者个人的具体情况。第二部分是为了了解被访者对于说杭州话的态度以及被访者使用杭州话的场合种类。

Expected interview time: 15-20min

采访时间：15 到 20 分钟左右

Section 1

1. How long have you lived in Hangzhou?

你住在杭州多久了？

2. How old are you?

你多大？

3. What is your occupation?

你做什么工作？

4. How well do you speak Hángzhōuhuà?

你会讲流利的杭州话吗？

1 (know a few words 知道几个生词)

2

3 (can hold basic conversation 会讨论简单的题目)

4

5 (can speak about anything 什么话题都会讨论)

5. Do you use Pǔtōnghuà in your day-to-day life?

你在日常生活讲普通话吗？

(Y/N) (讲／不讲)

Section 2

What's happening to your language?

你觉得杭州话正在发生什么变化？

- Where do you hear Hángzhōuhuà spoken?
你平时在哪里听到杭州话？
- Who speaks Hángzhōuhuà in your community?
你平时听到谁讲杭州话？
- Elders?
老年人？
- Children?
小朋友？

What are the situations in which you might speak Hángzhōuhuà?

你平时在哪些场合讲杭州话？

- Do you speak it with your parents?
跟父母吗？
- Do you speak it with you friends?
跟朋友吗？
- Do you speak it while shopping? At home? At work? At school?
在超市、家里、工作单位、学校呢？

What does Hángzhōuhuà mean to you?

对你来说，杭州话有什么意义？

- Is being able to speak Hángzhōuhuà important to you?
对你来说，能够讲杭州话重要不重要？
- Do you think speaking Hángzhōuhuà shapes your identity as a Hangzhou native? If so, why?
你觉得能讲地道的杭州话是不是杭州人身份的象征？如果是，为什么？
- Do you think dialect serves as a cultural heritage?
你觉得方言是文化遗产吗？

Appendix B: Questionnaire (English/Mandarin)

WeChat Survey: Hángzhōuhuà Language Attitudes

微信问卷调查：杭州人对于杭州方言的态度

For my senior thesis I am studying the vitality of the Hangzhou dialect. I am interested in understanding the language attitude of native Hangzhou speakers towards their dialect.

我的本科语言学论文题目即杭州方言的生命力。我想要了解讲杭州话的人对于杭州话的态度。

Do you consent to participate in this research?	Yes/No
你同意参加该调查吗？	同意 不同意

Requirement: Participant must be a native speaker of Hángzhōuhuà
要求：被访者的母语是杭州话

This survey is comprised of two sections -- section 1 surveys participants background information and language ability, section 2 surveys participants language attitudes about Hángzhōuhuà and surveys their Hángzhōuhuà use.

此问卷分为两个部分，第一部分是为了了解被访者个人的具体情况。第二部分是为了了解被访者对于说杭州话的态度以及被访者使用杭州话的场合。

Section 1

1. How long have you lived in Hangzhou?
你住在杭州多久了？
2. How old are you?
你多大？
3. What is your occupation?
你做什么工作？
4. How well do you speak Hángzhōuhuà?
你会讲流利的杭州话吗？
 - 1 (know a few words 知道几个生词)
 - 2
 - 3 (can hold basic conversation 会讨论简单的题目)
 - 4
 - 5 (can speak about anything 什么话题都会讨论)
5. Do you use Pǔtōnghuà in your day-to-day life?
你在日常生活讲普通话吗？
(Y/N) (讲/不讲)

Section 2

1. How often do you speak Hángzhōuhuà with your parents?
你平时跟父母讲杭州话吗？
Never 1 2 3 Occasionally 4 5 Always
一点都不讲 偶尔 总是
2. How often do you speak Hángzhōuhuà with your friends?
你平时跟朋友讲杭州话吗？
Never 1 2 3 Occasionally 4 5 Always
一点都不讲 偶尔 总是
3. How often do you speak Hángzhōuhuà at home?
你平时在家里讲杭州话吗？
Never 1 2 3 Occasionally 4 5 Always
一点都不讲 偶尔 总是
4. How often do you speak Hángzhōuhuà in public life?
你平时在公共场合讲杭州话吗？
Never 1 2 3 Occasionally 4 5 Always
一点都不讲 偶尔 总是
5. If you were to have a child, how likely would you teach your child to speak Hángzhōuhuà?
如果你有孩子，你会教孩子讲杭州话吗？
Unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 Likely
不会 肯定会
6. How important is being able to speak Hángzhōuhuà to you?
对你来说，讲杭州话很重要吗？
Unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 Very important
不重要 非常重要
- a. Why? (optional)
为什么？
7. Anything else you want to share? (optional)
关于杭州话，你有没有其他的想法跟我分享？

Appendix C: Transcript of Interview with Z.L. Zhou
Recorded on 14 Oct 2017

00:26

Kai: How long have you lived in Hangzhou?

ZL: Well uh... I lived here until I was for and then I've lived there for a few summers ever since, so in total I probably have spent, I don't know, maybe something like six years, maybe six years or so.

K: And how old are you?

Z: I'm 24 now

K: And what's your occupation, I guess just for the record?

Z: Yeah, I'm a graduate student

K: And then how well for you speak Hangzhouhua? If I had a scale from 1 to 5....where would you rate your speaking ability?

Z: probably a 1, probably a 1

K: What about your receptive fluency?

Z: yeah I think I'd be at least a four maybe a five. I probably wouldn't understand on any topic...like politics for example would probably be entirely beyond me. But if you were to start telling me about things that I could see for example, you know, like oh this tree and then here's a story about it, that would be, um I'm sorry, I don't know if you can hear that [helicopter noises]

02:12

K: Yeah, uh I can. So you were saying...do you mind repeating that bit? ...That tree or like politics were beyond you.

Z: I think I could understand politics as long as we worked up to it. But if you started talking about you know like, the issues inherent in communist theory...I don't know what's going on. But if you were to be like you know how like this person's the premier and has this policy, I'd be like okay yeah I follow.

K: Fair. And then the last question I have is do you use Putonghua in your daily life?

Z: Yeah, more or less.

03:05

K: So, can you tell me a little bit about what's happening to your language, Hangzhouhua?

Z: hmm okay so uh, I should preface this by saying I don't know that many young people in Hangzhou, but I know a few. And of them, very few speak Hangzhouhua fluently. Very few of them produce it fluently. Uh although everyone I do know is capable of understanding it. So these would be the people I'm thinking of are between the ages of uh, wow at this point, 20 to 30. So that decade. And I think I only know one person in Hangzhou who can actually speak Hangzhouhua fluently in that age range.

K: Is this a family member or just a different friend?

Z: He's a friend of the family's

K: So otherwise, from your experience in Hangzhou, who do you mainly hear speaking Hangzhouhua?

Z: Definitely older people. So my mother and my aunt are fluent speakers. My mother is, this year she is turning 58...no 54. This year she's turning 54, sorry. And my father, my father doesn't speak it. My aunt does, my aunt is I think three years younger, so in their fifties. Uh they're both in their fifties now. As well as of course my grandparents on my mother's side...who are both now in their eighties.

05:17

K: Great, so obviously as you said before, you aren't native -- you can't produce, but...so I guess this question is more like, the situations in which you hear other people around you speaking Hangzhouhua.

Z: Well, I normally hear Hangzhouhua as like a, as a conversational language. Oh sorry I have to--

[break]

06:40

Z: Okay, so, sorry what was the question again?

K: Sure, um what are the situations in which you hear others, or in which you would speak Hangzhouhua?

Z: Yeah, so I definitely think of it as a conversational language and a language that's spoken at home. Uh so when I'm in Hangzhou, if we're like at my grandmother's or aunt's house, for example, a lot of conversation is carried on in Hangzhouhua. So you know like...oh you got here so late! What was happening? or uh, like I'm making shrimp, come help me take the heads off...Also you know when we're out, especially my grandmother and her friends, you know, are like at the park for example, she runs into some friends, she'll be like, oh let me show you, this is my grandson. Normally I would expect that to be in Hangzhouhua as well. Uh sorry is that loud? [water running]

....

[moves to a different room]

08:25

Z: ...family members or close friends um, when my mom calls my grandmother they speak in Hangzhouhua of course. But it's very...so like my cousin, she's turning 21 this year, and she ... I think you know it's very much like my family knows that I'm interested in the language, so if I'm around and it's just me and a bunch of older people, uh they'll speak it more normally because they're all like, ZL, he's fluent you know, so he can understand us.

K: Fluent being like receptively fluent, right? Do you speak it back to them, or no?

Z: I mean very, very little. Like I can say, I don't want this, you know, stuff like that.

K: Fair

Z: But they're like, ZL can understand us, so we can speak to him in this. But so my cousin, who's turning 21, is I think a little less receptively fluent, you know she's spent a lot of her time at boarding schools, so when she's around, they'll still talk to her in Hangzhouhua for some like really obvious things. Like, time to eat, stuff like that. But if they're like speaking to her, probably a bit less.

K: Then what language would they use with her?

Z: They would use Putonghua, or something, yeah. And uh my brother who's turning 18, or he actually just turned 18, he speaks no Hangzhouhua and doesn't understand it very well either, so when they speak to him, they would only speak to him in Putonghua.

K: That's interesting. Are there any other situations in which you'd hear it or just the few you mentioned?

Z: Well I think you know so my grandmother frequents certain grocery stores or uh things like that. So the grocery store near her house is a pretty old one, I think it's been around for a while. And I think she'll speak sometimes to, Hangzhouhua, to people there. I think if she knows them and she knows that they can understand it. But if we were to go to a big store, like a Carrefour...

K: 一个大卖场

Z: right, exactly. That would not happen...

And I think there's a certain sense of formality or a certain sense of informality that Hangzhouhua has. Um so my grandparents are both very...I think they're very proper people, they have very strong ideas of like how to behave, and so for example, when we leave the apartment area, and you know like say hi or good morning to the guard person...I'm pretty sure my grandmother always says hi in Putonghua.

12:09

K: So which--you associate formality with which language, versus informality...?

Z: Putonghua, yeah Putonghua

K: But then like Hangzhouhua, from what you've been talking about...has a sense of informality, right?

Z: Yes. I would think so

12:37

K: ...So with your friends in China, what language do you speak in?

Z: Uh, Putonghua

K: Yeah, that makes sense given...all the government efforts to promote Putonghua in education...

So you would not speak Hangzhouhua in school

Z: Yeah, yeah, you know, I think uh I, my family sort of views me as exceptional for that fact that I am interested in Hangzhouhua and am capable of understanding it.

I've definitely heard sentiments that you know it's kind of a shame that nobody speaks--that young people don't speak Hangzhouhua anymore. Um you know, it never goes so far as to be like, oh I wish they would teach it, per se, no one ever says that. They do say like, uh young people just can't understand.

K: That leveling is really helpful to me, like people are expressing a sense of pity or shame or loss, but it's not like, from your perspective, people have been like, oh we should teach it in schools.

Z: Yeah, no, I don't think there are any strong revitalization sentiments that I'm aware of.

14:40

K: That's good to know...yeah great, then my last question is, what does Hangzhouhua mean to you?

Z: Well, uh I mean that's a very complicated question... so in my professional capacity, it's a fascinating point of data, which is in danger of being lost forever. Uh you know there are lots of disagreements about Hangzhouhua. Is it a Mandarin language? Is it Wu? What's going on? You know, stuff like that. But on a more personal level, I think it's like a sense of connection to the past. You know...mandarin has really become the standard through the efforts of the government and I think this is only natural in a way, but it sort of makes it difficult to appreciate the culture of the non-north essentially. Like literature has been written in Hangzhouhua, uh it exists to some extent, but very few people are interested in it. Or very few people are interested in expressing themselves in it. Which is like, I feel like, kind of a shame, as someone who is very interested in literature, you know, it seems sad that this potential source or method of expression is like not being used or is going to go away.

It's also a sense of connection to my family, um obviously, I think, you know, because of the settings where I hear it, whenever I hear Hangzhouhua, I'm pretty excited. And it's very--I think that's one of the reasons why I would consider myself a native speaker, even though I'm really only receptively fluent. Uh, because you know that feeling when you've been abroad for a long time, and you've learned French for example, but you don't speak it that well, and you've been in France for a month and you hear someone saying something in English and you're like, oh my god! you're a native English speaker!

K: Yeah [laughs] like, my people!

Z: Exactly, exactly. So you know I feel that sense of excitement when I hear someone speaking Hangzhouhua.

So I think there's definitely an emotional connection there for me. And you know it's also like I think...my parents and grandparents' generation, right, they're very reserved in a lot of ways. Both because of the general Chinese inclination towards that, but also the hardships they've gone through. So I feel like there's a lot of things I don't know about their past. And Hangzhouhua seems to me like an aspect of that. So, I try to ask my grandmother like, how do you say this in Hangzhouhua? Like stuff like that. But it goes very slowly... and um you know I wish I were able to produce more, because I feel like that would be nice, and it would make me feel more connected to this very mysterious past of like...you know I just--I have a lot of questions which I don't think I'll get properly answered...I'm sorry is that vague?

K: No, I'm agreeing there....

19:26

Z: ...I guess what I mean is like, my grandparents both lived through the revolution and that was a very complicated time. My grandparents' generation is very large, so my grandmother had five sisters and two brothers and so they have all together an enormous range of experiences relating to life in China in the fifties and what that means. And I feel like this just isn't the sort of thing you talk about in Putonghua.

I don't mean to say that my grandparents aren't fluent in Putonghua, actually they're both extremely fluent as former literature professors, so they really do speak Putonghua very well. But because of the sort of innate association between Putonghua and formality and Hangzhouhua and informality, also Hangzhouhua and interpersonal closeness, I feel like when we talk in Putonghua, it's always about more serious, like not serious per se, more like surface level serious stuff, you know it's always stuff like, how's school going? Like have you been exercising? Like I feel like your father looks very tired, is he sleeping enough? Like it's always stuff like that.

K: Then what role does Hangzhouhua play?

Z: So I feel like Hangzhouhua has more of an emotional, like expressiveness in our family. So when my grandparents and their siblings make jokes, they're making jokes in Hangzhouhua. You know, they're talking about funny stories in Hangzhouhua. That doesn't happen in Putonghua as much.

...

22:12

Z: There's a master's dissertation that was written on Hangzhouhua in the late eighties, I think

K: Yeah Richard Simmons, yeah that was the only thing that came up when I searched Hangzhouhua

Z: Yeah it feels like--it really is!

K: It's kind of sad

Z: And it's very, it's so distressing to find that there really hasn't been a lot of literature on Hangzhouhua, because from like a cultural standpoint, I feel like the three cultural centers of eastern China--I don't know anything about western China, so I can't say--but I feel like the three historical cultural centers of eastern China have been Xianggang, Hangzhou, and Beijing. And really, Beijing was the newcomer to that scene. It was Xianggang and Hangzhou for a really long time. So it's great I think what Hong Kong has been able to do to keep their language and keep their culture alive and keep their literary tradition alive as well, but it's such a shame that Hangzhou hasn't been able to do that as much.

Appendix D: Transcript of Interview with Fan Jiaying
Recorded on 19 Oct 2017

02:30

徐：我想知道，你觉得杭州话现在发生什么样的变化？

范：我觉得，是不是现在说杭州话的年轻人比较少。我觉得 40 岁以上的人在路上的时候，在公共场合最喜欢说杭州话。然后年轻人，我觉得他们在他们的圈子里面更多说普通话。除非是和杭州的同样地方的朋友。要看他们在什么样的工作环境下工作。

03:28

徐：比如说，你平时在哪些地方会听到杭州话？

范：公交车上，然后吃饭的地方、看电影，还有。。。对，还是很多，在商场里。

徐：那我感觉不错。那你在那些地方的时候，你会听到谁讲杭州话？

范：谁呀？

徐：比如说，年纪大的人、小朋友。。。什么样的人？

范：一般来说是年纪大的人更多，但是我觉得也会碰到三四十岁的人，他们在工作的时候，他们觉得和另一个职业的人交流就觉得用杭州话交流更亲近，更方便。就好像，其实我觉得很容易会让人有，有比喻的差异感。因为他们说杭州话，就会把他们周边的人给排斥表的感觉。

徐：哦真的？

范：我觉得有。

徐：比如说，如果你说杭州话，但是我只可以说普通话，你会排斥我吗？是这个意思吗？

范：这是一个题外话。你还记得，有一次我丢钱包的时候，然后那个警察和边缘？说的是杭州话吗？然后我们说的是普通话。然后我觉得他们在这个时候说杭州话就拉近了他们之间的关系。就更亲近。。。其实更方便，对他们来说。办事情的时候。

。。。。

我觉得让他们的关系更亲近。

06:22

徐：你在哪些公共场合有没有听到小朋友说杭州话？

范：好像没有。对没有影响小朋友。

徐：但是父母还会向他们的孩子说杭州话吗？

范：也比较少，我觉得。因为父母和小孩子，那父母应该三十岁，然后我之前说，差不多要四十岁以上会说杭州话。我觉得我碰到带小孩子的爷爷奶奶可能更多说杭州话。

07:17

徐：你平时在哪些场合讲杭州话？

范：我自己的话，我只是跟我的家人和我的亲戚朋友讲杭州话。我不太习惯和同学和朋友讲杭州话。我习惯跟他们讲普通话。

徐：比如说，在这里，在浙工大，你不太会讲杭州话。

范：对

徐：那比如说，在你的实习，你会讲什么样的语言？

范：普通话。

徐：那上课的时候也会说普通话吗？

范：对，对。

徐：那你，比如说以前上课，你会讲什么样的语言？

范：这是一个习惯，我从小到大都习惯和同学说普通话。但是我在上初中、高中的时候，其实同学 shou 了以后一般都会说杭州话。对我是有一点个例。对。。。。

徐：那你，在你的家里谁也能讲杭州话？

范：都可以，所有的人都可以。因为都比我大。

徐：你没有其他的兄弟姐妹，对吧？

范：对

徐：只是你。对，那你的亲戚都大概是四十岁以上吗？

范：我的哥哥姐姐他们也都会说。。。他们。。。我算一下。。。二十四、二十五、二十六都有。其实比我大从两岁开始。比我大到五六岁的。

徐：他们说流利的杭州话吗？

范：对，流利的。

徐：而且，你的父母都可以说杭州话吗？

范：对

徐：爷爷奶奶，外公外婆呢？

范：对。其实，有一些如果是从其他地方过来杭州生活的。他们都是后来才学杭州话。就算是三四十岁。。。因为可能有结婚了以后，嫁到杭州。有的是因为工作以后在杭州生活的时年这样子的。

徐：所以你的父母也是本地杭州人吗？

范：对，是的。

11:00

徐：对你来说，杭州话有什么意义？

范：我觉得这是个和家人交流的一种方式。比普通话更亲近的一种交流方式。

这是一个家乡的声音。有一个词语讲乡音。就是说，一个年轻人很小就离开家乡去外面，然后她老了以后回到家乡，然后她说她听到乡音，然后觉得很感动回到自己的家乡的感觉。

徐：对你来说，你觉得能够讲杭州话重要不重要？

范：我觉得重要。现在好像很多小朋友都不太会说杭州话。这样的话，就会，杭州话会慢慢的。。。怎么说呢？现在还不会面对这样的问题，但是过几十年，没有人会教自己的小孩子杭州话。

徐：你觉得现在父母还在教孩子杭州话吗？

范：现在可能只爷爷奶奶说得更多吧。

徐：所以爷爷奶奶还在教小朋友这个方言吗？

范：我不太知道，因为好像这边没有小孩子，然后他的父母在教她讲话。我觉得现在我是面小孩子都是在学普通话。我不知道他们在家里的父母怎么教他们说方言。

徐：你觉得能讲地道的杭州话是不是杭州人身份的象征吗？

范：我觉得不是。

徐：为什么？

范：因为我之前说有人是结婚过来，有人是因为工作的需要，然后他们说的是杭州话。所以很多人会说杭州话不代表他是真的杭州人。

但是我不知道你说地道是一个什么样的意思！能不能说他的杭州住的是能不能说他是地道的杭州人。我不知道！

徐：明白了，有一点奇怪，我只要问一下。但根据你说的是，它的功能是比较实际的，对吧？

范：对

徐：因为你说有一些人结婚以后搬到杭州或者为了他们的工作必须说杭州话。也有这个功能。

范：对，不是必须，但是说杭州话让他们做事情、交朋友会更方便。

徐：啊，明白了

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, my research would not have been possible without my interviewees, Chen Min, Amber Qin, Z.L. Zhou, and Fan Jiaying, as well as the 25 anonymous WeChat survey participants. A huge thank you to my advisor Emily Gasser for her guidance and second readers Jonathan Washington and Kate Collins for their invaluable feedback. I am also grateful to Donna Jo Napoli, David Harrison and Sonja Dahl for their encouragement and support throughout this process.

References

- Anshen, Frank. 2001. Language Planning. In Mark Aronoff [&] Janie Rees-Miller (eds.), *The Handbook of Linguistics*. Beijing: Waiyu Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu Chubanshe/Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Bai, J.H. 1994. *Language attitude and the spread of standard Chinese in China*. Language Problems and Language Planning 18(2):128-138.
- Bradac, J.J. 1990. Language attitudes and impression formation. In H. Giles and W.P. Robinson (eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 387-412.
- Beijing Language and Culture University. 2015. *Institute of Language Resources*. <http://english.blcu.edu.cn/art/2015/7/22/art_9655_1100439.html>
- Bradley, David. 2002. Language attitudes: The key factor in language maintenance. In D. Bradley & M. Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance*. London: Routledge Curzon, 1-11.
- Cooper, R.L. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grenoble, L. A., and Whaley, L. J. 2006. *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kalmar, I., Young, Z., and Hong, X. 1987. *Language attitudes in Guangzhou, China*. Language in Society 16:499-508.

- Kurpaska, Maria. 2005. *The Language Policy of the People's Republic of China and the Dialects of Chinese*. Linguistic and oriental studies from Poznań, Adam Mickiewicz University 7(2005): 39-44.
- Lee, Kwai Sang and Leung, Wai Mun. 2012. *The status of Cantonese in the education policy of Hong Kong*. Multilingual Education 2(2):1-22.
- Liu, Na. 2010. *The Chinese Language and Language Planning in China*. Heritage Briefs Collection. Center for Applied Linguistics.
- McWhorter, John H. 2007. *Language interrupted: Signs of non-native acquisition in standard language grammars*. Oxford, UK:Oxford University Press.
- Norman, J. 1988. *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perlin, Ross. 2009. *Language attitudes of the T'ung*. Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 32(1):91-113.
- Ramsey, S. Robert. 1987. *The languages of China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ryan, E.B. 1979. Why do low-prestige language varieties persist? In H. Giles & R.N. St. Clair (eds.), *Language and social psychology*. Baltimore: University Park Press. 145-157.
- Quanguo Renda Jiao Ke Wen Wei Weiyuanhui Jiaoyubu [&] Jiaoyubu Yuyanwenzi Yingyong Guanlisi [National People's Congress' Education, Science, Culture and Public Health Committee's Education Office [&] Ministry's of Education Administrative Department of Language Application] 2001. *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Tongyong Yuyan Wenzi Fa Xuexi Duben* [A handbook of the People's Republic of China law of the country's common language and writing]. Beijing: Yuwen Chubanshe.
- Simmons, Richard VanNess. 1992. *The Hangzhou Dialect*. Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences 53(8): 1-22, 285-322.
- Simmons, Richard VanNess. 1995. *Distinguishing characteristics of the Hangzhou dialect*. New Asia Academic Bulletin 11:383-398.
- Simons, Gary F. and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2017. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth Edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <<http://www.ethnologue.com>>
- Wiley, T. G. 1996. Language planning and language policy. In S. McKay & N. Hornberger (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 103-147.
- Zhou, Minglang. 2001. *The spread of Putonghua and language attitude changes in Shanghai and Guangzhou, China*. Journal of Asian Pacific Communication 11(2): 231-253.

Zhou, Minglang. 2012. *The contact between Putonghua (Modern Standard Chinese) and minority languages in China*. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 215(2012):1-17.

Zhou, Zhenhe and You, Rujie. 2017. *Chinese Dialects and Culture*. Salt Lake City: American Academic Press.