Second generation internal immigrants' bilingual practices and identity construction in Guangzhou, China

A dissertation submitted by

Jing Huang

In fulfilment for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy (Linguistics)

Lancaster University

2018

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me. The transcriptions, analyses, and conclusions in this thesis are my own efforts, except where otherwise acknowledged. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

Signed

Jing Huang

May 2018

Acknowledgement

I could not have completed this PhD if I did not have precious guidance and help from my supervisors, Dr. Mark Sebba, and Dr. Johnny Unger. I want to thank Mark for his ample academic and emotional support, his inspiring questions and comments that directed me to rewarding paths. I thank Johnny for introducing me various relevant studies and the meticulousness in his feedback. I also thank Professor Li Wei, Dr. Karin Tustin and Professor Ruth Wodak for their invaluable suggestions on my thesis. I would like to thank Professor Judit Kormos for looking after me and giving me many teaching and life suggestions. I thank all my participants who spared their time to have conversations with me and to share with me their views and thinking. I am sincerely grateful that Professor Geoffery Leech volunteered to chair my confirmation panel when there was very little staff available during summer holiday. His interest and encouragement were great motivators. I probably was the next to the last student to have thesis defense before unmatched Marjorie retired from our department after dedicating her service for more than 20 years, especially for all research students. She has always been reliable since the very first day I arrived.

I feel extremely lucky to have met Mandy Yu. Mandy has been like my sister and always helping me going through highs and lows. She gave me many intelligent advice on my research project and many more on emotional management. We had regular discussions in the postgrad break-out area, exchanging our understandings of and confusions about CDS, our concerns over the socio-political status quo of our home regions, and our ambition to make transformation. This friendship means a lot.

I tended to think that I stayed at the margin of the research student community of my department (which is not necessarily true), but I cannot thank enough for the help I have gained from this community. I give my special thanks to Kristof Savski for

generous advice on my research project, clarification of relevant key notions to my research, insightful views on language policy studies, and other support. I also thank Tony Capstick, Mariam Aboelezz, Carola Perez Arredondo, Vittorio Tantucci, Yueyuan Li, Annchy Rakthong, Sten Hansson and Yixin Cao for having enriching conversations with me and/or helping me with my progress in one way or another. I was taken good care of by Federica Formato, Margarita Calderon Lopez, Virginie Territt, Carolina Fernandez Quintanilla, Zoe Ad, Janina Iwaniec, Pamela Olmos, Joao Almeida, Mameaw Supanfai, Jenny Sanmuang, and Jacky Sitthirak. I have to thank my officemates Hilda Hildago and Nartalie Wong for their understanding all the time. During my writing-up period, Shuo Yu, Tanjun Liu and Bew Charoenchaikorn provided me with a very supportive peer group. Shuo let me worked in her office, bore with me, and has been such a dependable friend. My thanks also go to Amily Wang, Christine Ren, Diansha Wang, Yifan Li, and Shuangfa Huang, for challenging my thinking from perspectives of their disciplines, encouraging and accompanying me to explore new hobbies in sports and music.

I could not have survived my 2014 and the confirmation panel if there wasn't the most lively and friendly musical community I have met so far – Batala Lancaster. Drumming and playing gigs with these people brought me bravery and determination to keep on working on my research and to accept the change in my life. Particularly I want to thank Helen, Anthony, Sarah and Ade (Drum Machine).

Last but not the least, I dedicate my gratitude to my parents. It is the first time they let me go to face all sorts of challenges by myself. Their patience and love during this journey are massive.

In the end, I thank myself, for not giving up and completing this PhD. I rarely had self-confidence, but I see this as a big success and this becomes a reason why I should be confident from now on.

Abstract

Since China's Economic Reform in 1978, there has been huge internal population mobility. The setting of this research, Guangzhou, is one of the cities that host the largest number of immigrants, and the dominant local speech, Cantonese, is unintelligible to immigrants who speak other language varieties, including China's official language Putonghua. Since 2010 debates have arisen on the relationship between the state language policy of Putonghua Promotion which has been launched and implemented for sixty years and the narrower space for Cantonese use. A major discourse employed in the debates is concerned with immigrants associated with a Putonghua identity as a threat to Cantonese. There is little research on how the interaction between local language beliefs and the state language ideologies underlying Putonghua Promotion may influence immigrants' life experiences and identities.

This study investigates second generation immigrants' bilingual practices and identity construction in individual and small-group interviews conducted in restaurants or cafes. I drew on critical discourse studies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016) to examine participants' use of discursive strategies in narratives of language-use-related life stories to construct social identities. I also use a framework integrating a sequential approach to conversation analysis (Auer, 1995) and membership categorisation analysis (Sacks, 1986b) to explore the role of code choices in accomplishing linguistic identities in interview conversations and naturally occurring service encounters.

Adopting Jenkins's (2008) notion of internal-external dialectics of identification, I found that immigrant participants' identities can be understood as constantly negotiating categories imposed or assigned by others and managing diverse self-identifications in interactions. They resisted, challenged or re-defined an imposed derogatory category, *laau,* which was connected to their use of Putonghua in schools,

workplaces, and other situations and to discrimination against them. They claimed their competence in using Cantonese for the negotiation of the categorization. They aligned with hybrid and complex social groups, and celebrated the seemingly contradictory but unique self-identifications. Meanwhile, they used Cantonese to align themselves with Cantonese speakers and distanced themselves from Putonghua speakers in group interview conversations, while in individual interviews they used Putonghua to highlight the most important information and Cantonese was used for less important topics. And in service encounters they used code-switching for 'doing being' Cantonese speakers or bilinguals. The discourse analysis and conversation analysis show the consistency in their assigning value to Cantonese as well as acknowledging the prestigious status and the practicality of Putonghua.

In summary, this thesis is a contribution to studies of bilingualism and *de facto* language policies in urban China. It reveals that individuals and social groups of a language community can negotiate the Putonghua Policy through imposing the use of Cantonese and Cantonese-related categories to others in mundane talk and institutional interactions. It also contributes to studies of China's internal immigrants in terms of exploring how immigrants' life experiences are affected by conflicting language ideologies, and how immigrants can employ bilingual repertoires to negotiate problematic but taken-for-granted discrimination and manage to be at ease with their unique self-identifications.

Table of Content

Acknowledgement 3
Abstract 5
Table of Content 7
Chapter one Introduction 11
1.1 Background: immigrants in a city with two lingua francas 11
1.2 Who were the immigrants and/or *waidiren* in post-1978 Guangzhou? 15
1.3 Research questions and the process of drawing upon various types of data 18
1.4 The thesis structure 20
Chapter two An introduction to bilingual Guangzhou 22
2.1 Introduction 22
2.2 The geographical, historical, cultural and sociolinguistic background of Guangzhou 22
2.3 A dispute over broadcasting language at Guangzhou Television and the underpinning language ideologies 30
2.4 Teachers' views on the implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy in the school context 36
2.5 Summary 53
Chapter three Theoretical frameworks : 54
3.1 Introduction 54
3.2 Power relations of languages in multilingual contexts 54
3.2.1 Bourdieu's notion of 'linguistic capital' and Bakhtin's concept of 'heteroglossia' 55
3.2.2 Language ideologies and their effects on language use and group differentiation 59
3.3 Critical discourse studies 62
3.3.1 Discourse, power and ideologies 62
3.3.2 CDS and critique, and criticism of CDS 67
3.3.3 Discourse, identity and power 71
3.4 Conversation analysis and code-switching 72
3.4.1 Principles of conversation analysis 73
3.4.1.1 Talk is social action 73
3.4.1.2 Talk is an orderly activity 74
3.4.1.3 Talk is context-shaped and context-renewing, and context is made relevant by participants 75
3.4.2 Conversation-analytical approach to bilingual talk and code-switching (CS) 76
3.4.2.1 Auer's sequential approach to code-switching in interactions 78
3.4.2.2 Sacks's membership categorisation analysis and its application to identity construction in bilingual talk 80
3.4.2.3 CA studies of code choices in Chinese literature 84
3.5 Relevant identity analysis models and Jenkins's framework of dialectics of external-internal identification 84
3.5.1 Self- and other-presentation or *we* vs. *they* 84

3.5.2 In-between or neither-nor identities 85
3.5.3 The 'third space' 87
3.5.4 Negotiating imposed identities 89
3.5.5 Dialectics of external-internal identification 92
3.5.6 Investigating an act 'identification' and a process 'external-internal identification' from CDS and CA perspectives 98
3.6 Summary 99
Chapter four Methodology 101
4.1 Introduction 101
4.2 Methods of data collection: Interviews and focus groups 101
4.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of interviews 102
4.2.2 Advantages and disadvantages of focus groups/group interviews 106
4.3 Data collection, coding and selection 109
4.3.1 Data collection 109
4.3.2 Information about interviews with migrants 112
4.4 Transcription, coding and data selection 117
4.4.1 Transcription and English translation 117
4.4.2 Coding and extract selection 119
4.5 Methods of data analysis and important concepts 122
4.5.1 The discursive-historical approach and stance-taking 122
4.5.2 Conversation analysis and code choices 126
4.5.2.1 A conversation analytic approach to semi-structured interviews 126
4.5.2.2 Interactional otherness and medium repair 131
4.5.2.3 Language preference as a membership categorisation device (MCD) 132
4.5.3 A corpus-based approach to discourse analysis 134
4.6 An insider's perspective 136
4.6.1 A 2GMG researcher: What does it mean to be an insider? 136
4.6.2 Subjectivity vs objectivity and the constructed dichotomy of insider vs outsider 138
4.6.3 Addressing tension 140
4.7 Summary 141
Chapter five Negotiating the external categorization of *laau* 143
5.1 Introduction 143
5.2 The social meaning of *laau* 143
5.2.1 Categories used to refer to immigrants in Guangzhou 143
5.2.2 Terms involving *laau* 145
5.3 Analysis of immigrants' negotiation of the *laau* category 155
5.3.1 Resistance to and negotiation of categorisation 155
5.3.2 Contradictory stances towards the categorisation and/or minimal negotiation of it 166
5.3.3 Recontextualising/re-conceptualising the category of *laau* 171
5.4 Conclusion 177
Chapter six Language ideologies and immigrants' self-identification 183
6.1 Introduction 183
6.2 Discourse analyses of immigrants' negotiation among identity categories 183
6.2.1 Language beliefs and attitudes concerning the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute and the PPP 184

6.2.2 Negotiation among repertoires of seemingly conflicting identity options 194
6.3 Conclusion 206
6.3.1 An orientation to Cantonese language..206
6.3.2 Negotiating between or among (seemingly) conflicting self-identifications 207
Chapter seven..210
7.1 Switching code to mark dispreferred second pair parts 210
7.2 Switching code to orient to particular language users and social groups...............213
7.3 Code choices and emphasis..220
7.4 Medium repair and an identity of 'not-so-competent Cantonese speaker' 227
7.5 Code choice in service encounters and 'doing being' Cantonese users or/and bilinguals.......230
7.6 Code choices, linguistic identities and the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese in service encounters in Guangzhou..241
7.7 Conclusion: Code-switching and linguistic identities..246
Chapter eight Conclusion..249
8.1 Summary of theories, methods and findings..250
8.2 Significance of this study...255
8.2.1 Implications for studies on bilingualism and language policy in China......................256
8.2.2 Implications for internal migrant studies in China...259
8.3 Reflections and limitations...261
8.4 Future directions 262
References...265
Appendix A Transcription keys for Chapter Seven...294
Appendix B Transcriptions of interview extracts..295
Appendix C Semi-structured interview questions...308
Appendix D Consent form (English) 311
Appendix E Consent form (Chinese) 313

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Information of Interviews with schoolteachers ……….…..…..................40
Table 4.1 Background information of immigrant participants …………..….…......113
Table 4.2 Information of Individual interviews with 2GMGs……………………....115
Table 4.3 Information of Focus group interviews with 2GMGs………...……..…..116
Table 4.4 Uses of the second person singular pronoun *ni* ‘you’ as a shifter………..125
Table 5.1 Occurrences and regions of *laau* categories in posts from the Leidon Weibo Corpus…………………………..…………………...………………..………….150
Table 5.2 The most frequently used collocates of *laau* terms in the Leiden Weibo Corpus……………………………….…………………………….………….150
Table 5.3 Concordances of swear word 死 *sei* that co-occur with *laau* terms……………………………………………………………………………...152
Table 5.4 Concordances of verbs denoting leaving and returning that co-occur with *laau* terms…………………...…………..……………………………….……….153

List of Figures

Firgure 2.1 Major rivers of China ....…24
Figure 4.1 Types of language alternation ……………………………………....…131
Figure 5.1 Auto-completion options for *laau* man on Baidu search engine ……..…148
Figure 5.2 Auto-completion options for *laau* girl on Baidu search engine…..……..148
Figure 5.3 Auto-completion options for *laau* b on Baidu search engine...……..….149

Chapter one Introduction

This research is situated in Guangzhou, a city located on the southeast coast of China, where both the Chinese official language, Putonghua, and a local language variety, Cantonese, are commonly used. In this thesis, I present how second-generation immigrants talk about their life experiences vis-à-vis language use and how they choose languages in interactions in Guangzhou. In doing this, I aim to investigate their beliefs about language use, and the relationship between their language beliefs and the ways in which they construct identities, as embedded within the language ideologies that permeate this city. This research is intended to contribute to the debate on the relationship between vigorous implementation of the national language policy of Putonghua Promotion and space for the use of Cantonese in Guangzhou. This debate is not an exception but manifests the general status quo of regional language varieties in China. Meanwhile, nearly four decades after China started its economic reform and the huge changes to domestic population mobility began, I plan to investigate the diversity of migrants' life experiences and how they position themselves in host cities. Taking an integrated framework of critical discourse studies and conversation analysis, this thesis attempts to understand how migrants' identities are constructed through their use of discursive strategies and their code choices in the processes of engaging in interactions. In this introductory chapter, I describe the language environment of Guangzhou, present the basic information of migrants in China, but particularly those in Guangzhou, raise my research questions and introduce the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Background: immigrants in a city with two lingua francas

After the chaos period of the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution, in 1978, China launched the Economic Reform and Opening up Policy in order to boost its economic

growth. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping and his idea of 'let some people get rich first', provinces on the southern and eastern coasts were prioritised. Guangzhou is among fourteen coastal cities that were targeted for development in order to encourage foreign direct investment (Gong, 1995). It was expected that the wealth produced in these areas would trickle down into the central and west regions. However, the west and central regions turned out to be lagging behind their more advanced counterparts. In 1998, the central government implemented a series of strategies aiming to helping the west and central regions thrive and catch up with their counterparts (Fan and Sun, 2008: 8-10). But this did not help much. The GDP growth rate of the Pearl River Delta (*Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou*, a highly inhabited region of Guangdong Province, currently containing nine developed cities, including Guangzhou and Shenzhen, surrounding the Pearl River estuary, with Guangzhou at the centre) from 1980 to 2000 was 16.9%, which was much bigger than that of the State (9.6%) (Ye, et al., 2003: 57).

Since the reform started, there has been huge population mobility, primarily from the central and northern regions to the southern and eastern ones, where economic development has been much faster. Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province on the southeastern coast, is one of the most populous cities. The population of Guangzhou has more than doubled in the past three decades, from 5.3 million in 1983 to 13 million in 2014 (Guangzhou Bureau of Statistics, 1984, 2015). The immigrant population has soared from less than 1 per cent to almost half of the whole population. The first issue many immigrants have to deal with is communicating with locals who speak Cantonese, the local language variety of Guangzhou. Cantonese is the standard variety of Yue *fangyan* (dialect), one of seven major *fangyan* of China,[1] and it is mainly used in Guangdong province, a small part of neighbouring Guangxi province, Hong Kong and Macau. The complicated links between seven dialect groups can be compared to the interconnections between Romance languages, such as French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian (Ramsey, 1989: 6–7). Cantonese is barely or not at all

[1] The most commonly acknowledged scheme of Chinese dialects classifies seven dialect groups: Beifang (Northern Dialect, also known as *Guanhua* or Mandarin), Wu, Yue, Min, Hakka, Gan, Xiang. Except for Beifang, all other dialect groups can be referred to as Southern Dialect. Putonghua is a variety of Northern Dialect.

intelligible to users of other dialects. Despite the fact that the central government of China launched a state policy of promoting its official language Putonghua in 1956, Cantonese was the main language of Guangzhou for a long time before the huge population mobility began and during the early years of it. It was considered a ‘strong dialect’ (*qiangshi fangyan*) in the 1990s (Zhan, 1993), because it was not only seen as a ‘common language’ in Guangdong province, including both Cantonese-speaking and non-Cantonese speaking regions (Lin, 1998: 17), it was also very popular across the whole state – many people in other dialect regions were enthusiastic to learn Cantonese, and advertisements for Cantonese classes are very common in large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai (Chen 1999: 51). While the language barrier created problems for immigrants in Guangzhou, the arrival of large numbers of immigrants together with the continuous campaign of Putonghua Promotion contributed to the popularization of Putonghua (Chen 1999; Zhan 2001, 2003; Zhang and Xu 2008). Currently, Putonghua is a comparable language variety to Cantonese in Guangzhou in terms of range of domains (Guo et al., 2005; Tang, 2006; Miao and Li, 2006; Wang and Ladegaard, 2008; Hu, 2009; van den Berg, 2010).

Many Guangzhou people think that the ever-expanding distribution of Putonghua has produced a narrower space for the use of Cantonese, and they ascribe this to both the rigorous promotion of Putonghua and the influx of large numbers of immigrants (Hu and Zi, 2010; Li and Lin, 2010). This concern over the decline of Cantonese reached a climax in a controversy over the language used for broadcasting by a local television station in 2010. A member of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference Guangzhou Committee proposed, to the local government, replacing Cantonese with Putonghua for news programmes broadcast on Guangzhou Television’s two channels. It sparked a huge debate and triggered mass protests and fierce criticism in Cantonese-speaking regions, including Guangzhou and Hong Kong. This has come to be called the *Tuipu Feiyue* (‘promoting Putonghua and eradicating Cantonese’) dispute. Immigrants are a critical issue in this debate. One side argues that increasing the number of Putonghua programmes broadcast helps immigrants know more about

the city and the local culture so that they may better integrate into the local community, but the other side argues that immigrants are responsible for the decline of Cantonese, exemplified by more and more children born in Guangzhou having no chance to learn Cantonese, and fewer and fewer situations where Cantonese can be used. As the debate progressed, the mass media covered Guangzhou people's increasing anxiety about the 'authenticity' and 'purity' of the local culture supposedly 'threatened' by the presence of immigrants; the arguments focus on whether Cantonese is a distinct language rather than a 'dialect' of Chinese, and some other voices associate the strong appeal for 'protecting' Cantonese from the hegemony of Putonghua with regionalism, as opposed to state unification.

In contrast, immigrants' representations of themselves have rarely been referred to. They have been mainly represented by others as whatever serves the ends of the two sides in the debate. On the one hand, immigrants are shown as a disempowered non-Cantonese-speaking group embedded within a community dominated by Cantonese, and it is argued that more Putonghua broadcast programmes would help to empower these people without agency. On the other hand, immigrants are constructed as powerful social actors who accelerated the universalization of Putonghua and led to the decline of Cantonese, as if immigrants live in a vacuum where their language use is not conditioned by the language environment of the local community. But how do immigrants see and position themselves in this language community? What are their language beliefs and how do they use language in daily life? The answers not only provide a necessary perspective to have an overview of this language controversy, but also contribute to understanding the role immigrants play in the language context of Guangzhou and the influence of the language environment on immigrants.

As an immigrant myself who moved to Guangzhou at a very young age, with my parents, I have often wondered 'who I am' in this 'second hometown'. And I wonder how those who have similar migration histories to mine define themselves in this city. In other words, while I am interested in language usage in society through

investigating immigrants' language use, I am more concerned with immigrants in society and how their language use is constituted by and constitutes the language context of the host city. Investigating how immigrants position themselves with regard to their language use and self-definition in the language community of Guangzhou offers a good chance to search for answers about both language and immigrants in this city.

1.2 Who were the immigrants and/or *waidiren* in post-1978 Guangzhou?

First of all, it is important to know who the immigrants in Guangzhou are after China began its economic reform in 1978, and when people talk about immigrants whom they refer to.

According to the latest National Census in 2010, there were more than 12.7 million permanent residents (*changzhu renkou*) in Guangzhou. Half of them (6.4 million) had households (*huji*) registered (*huji renkou*, 'registered population') in Guangzhou and 6.1 million had been away from the place where they originally registered for at least six months. According to China's *hukou* (household registration) system, a person who is registered as a resident of an area has access to resources including education, medical care, job-seeking, housing and social insurance. For example, children who are not registered in a place may be refused entry to state schools there, or they may have to pay a lot of money before they can be accepted; those who are 'unregistered' may not be eligible to buy apartments or houses in many big cities, such as Beijing, Guangzhou and Shanghai; and they have very little or no medical insurance compared to the registered population. By 2015, the number of residents registered in Guangzhou was 8.3 million, but they were outnumbered by the unregistered population; within the latter group, more than 40 per cent came from other provinces (Zhang, 2015). Meanwhile, registered residents also include those who have moved to and lived in Guangzhou for some time and have their household registered there. If household

registration (*hukou*) is seen as a criterion to define who is an immigrant, currently, the number of immigrants exceeds the number of non-immigrants.

China's *hukou* system was set up in the late 1950s, aiming to divide rural-urban residency and the degree of access to resources. By limiting mass migration from the rural areas to cities and separating the urban *hukou* and rural *hukou* populations, this system helped to ensure some structural stability and contributed to the centrally planned economy. A household's *hukou* is inherited by the next generation; thus, the educational attainment and employment opportunities of the second generation of different *hukou* populations are largely determined by birth (Afridi et al., 2015: 19). As the Chinese economic system has transitioned to become more market-oriented since the economic reform, the *hukou* system has been eased and local government has more control over deciding the levels of both *hukou* and non-*hukou* migration. Although some argue that it is still restrictive in terms of its brake on inter-urban migration and the constraints on migrants wishing to change their jobs and compete with local people in the labour market (Bosker et al., 2012: 253), the easing of the *hukou* system at the local level created possibilities for migrants to obtain permanent *hukou* in host cities, and thereby gain legitimacy and access to a lot of social benefits which are closed to temporary residents. Urban *hukou* is mainly granted to these groups of migrants: a) individuals who move to jobs assigned by the state, such as employees of large state-owned enterprises who are relocated from one big city to work in enterprises' subsidiaries in other cities; b) skilled workers, such as professionals and university students, and those who meet stipulated levels of wealth – they are given *hukou* as a way of enabling local government to compete for skilled workers; c) some rural *hukou* populations living very close to cities are given urban *hukou* in exchange for giving up their rural land-use rights to allow for urban expansion (Fan, 2001: 485; Chan and Buckingham, 2008: 591). In addition, the government of Guangzhou launched a points-based system at the end of 2010. The unregistered population can apply for *hukou* if they satisfy requirements pertaining to education, professional qualifications,

length of time and amount they have paid in social insurance and income tax, investment in local property etc.

That is to say, the urban *hukou* application is mainly slanted towards those who have relatively high education, more skills and better economic situations. Chinese studies on internal migration, mostly done by sociologists, have largely focused on low-skilled migrant workers (*nongmingong*), who mainly come from rural regions, in light of their social welfare and problems of integration into host cities. Scholars base their studies, from a sociological perspective, on the aforementioned division of immigrants and non-immigrants. However, the referents for 'immigrants' are different for lay people. Those who have successfully obtained their *hukou* in Guangzhou may still see themselves as immigrants or non-locals. How Guangzhou locals define 'immigrants' is likely to be very different from the definitions of 'immigrants' from those who are seen as immigrants by scholars. This study aims to understand how lay people define, categorise and position immigrants in Guangzhou, and how those who are seen, defined, categorized and positioned as immigrants define and position themselves in daily communication.

When Guangzhou locals refer to the concept of 'immigrants', they usually use the terms '*waidiren*' (Putonghua) or '*ngoideijan*' (Cantonese), which literally mean 'people coming from the outside'. The definition of *waidiren* is very vague. An individual can be seen by Guangzhou people or *bendiren* ('locals', as opposed to *waidiren*; *waidiren* is a term used very frequently by my participants, see extracts in Chapters 5 and 6) as a *waidiren* if his or her place of origin is not Guangzhou or Guangdong, if s/he does not speak Cantonese, if s/he uses Putonghua in daily life (such as when shopping, asking for directions), if his/her appearance is different from that of locals and so on. And this identification is likely to indicate how Guangzhou people or *bendiren* use language or take other social actions towards *waidiren*. For example, it is recalled that, in the 1990s, Cantonese-speaking service people in Guangzhou were notorious for their *paiwai*, i.e. an attitude of excluding *waidiren*,

manifested by ignoring and discriminating against Putonghua-speaking customers (Pan, 2000a: 24). My father, who can barely speak Cantonese, has always used it whenever he takes a taxi in Guangzhou in order to indicate to the driver that he is not a *waidiren* and so not to swindle him by intentionally taking an unnecessary detour. When it comes to the offspring of those who have moved to and lived in this city for a long time, or even gained their *hukou* in this city, to define whether they are immigrants or not is an even harder and subtler decision to make, one which depends on who is the definer or categorizer. They either moved to Guangzhou at a very young age or were born and raised in Guangzhou. They attend local schools, interact with *bendiren*, their habits of language use are influenced by the language beliefs and practices of the local community, many of them can speak Cantonese, and they may also internalize the social and cultural norms of Guangzhou. Whom they identify themselves as or with, when they talk about *waidiren*, *bendiren* and Guangzhou people whom they refer to, and relevant decisions in language choices in daily communication are all critical to their life experiences in this language community.

1.3 Research questions and the process of drawing upon various types of data

In view of the foregoing discussion, this study aims to understand how second generation immigrants construct their identities in Guangzhou where two language varieties have comparable power, and how local and national language ideologies condition and are conditioned by language use and beliefs. The three research questions (RQs) below guide my research:

1 How do second generation immigrants identify themselves?

1a) How do they show and respond to the ways in which other people categorise them?

1b) How do they categorise themselves?

2 What do second generation immigrants think about Putonghua and Cantonese?

2a) How do they view people's use of these two language varieties within and outside

institutions in Guangzhou?

2b) How do they view their own use of two language varieties in Guangzhou?

3 How do second generation immigrants use Putonghua and Cantonese in interactions?

3a) What are the features of their language choices in interactions?

3b) What is the relationship between their language choices and how they self-identify?

In order to answer these questions, my original plan was to interview second generation immigrants on their language use and attitudes and analyse their views and language choices in interview conversations. As my interviewing process and preliminary analysis proceeded, I found that many participants share an experience of being called as a *laau* person (see Chapter 5 and its brief introduction in the next section) by local classmates due to their use of Putonghua at school. I became interested in the underlying language beliefs. As teachers play an important role in distributing language beliefs in schools, I hoped to know schoolteachers' views on language use which might shed light on understanding participants' language-use-related experiences. Therefore, I also conducted interviews with five schoolteachers.

My preliminary findings showed that the act of categorising users of Putonghua as *laau* people reveals a connection between the value invested into two language varieties and the boundary-making of social groups. This is very important to the ways in which immigrant participants negotiate their identities. However this category has barely been researched before, and it seems this categorisation mainly takes place in oral speech or informal situations rather than recorded in written texts. That is, it is not easy to find evidences of this act to justify my focusing on it. Fortunately, I got to know about the Leiden Weibo Corpus when I attended the conference of Sociolinguistics of Globalisation in Hong Kong University in 2014. This open source corpus collected three weeks of posts from 2011 on one of the most popular social

media platforms of China, Sina Weibo. Upon only searching a few terms including *laau* on the website of this corpus, more than dozens of instances were shown. This encouraged me to include this corpus and use a corpus-based approach for introducing this act of language-use-connected categorisation of immigrants in my research (see section 5.2). This process of approaching different types of data explains why the dataset I finally used contains interviews with second generation immigrants and with school teachers and the Leiden Weibo Corpus.

1.4 The thesis structure

Subsequent parts of this thesis are arranged as follows:
In Chapter 2, I briefly review the past and present of Putonghua and Cantonese in contemporary China. I present the sociolinguistic background of Guangzhou by displaying the national and local language ideologies underlying views in newspaper reports about the *TuipuFeiyue* dispute and analysing five schoolteachers' views on the implementation of Putonghua Promotion Policy in their workplaces.

Chapter 3 focuses on the theories I use to interpret immigrant identity construction and its relationship with language ideologies, as well as theories I draw upon to analyse immigrant participants' use of discursive strategies and their code choices in interviews. I introduce relevant concepts of Critical Discourse Studies and Conversation Analysis, sociolinguistic notions for understanding language ideologies and language differentation that is associated with social group differentiation. I review five frameworks for analyzing immigrants' identity construction and centre on the framework of dialectics of external categorisation and internal identification.

In Chapter 4, I explain why I chose to collect data through interviews and focus groups, outline the processes of data collection and analysis, notions relevant to data analysis, and discuss the merits and challenges of taking on the role of an immigrant

insider in these processes.

Analysis Chapters 5, 6 and 7 answer each of research questions 1a, 1b and 3, respectively. And they all provide answers to RQ 2. In Chapter 5, I present the identity category *laau* imposed by Guangzhou *bendiren* on immigrants due to their use of Putonghua. I analyse how immigrants represent and respond to this categorisation of them, and seek to understand these representations and responses as their negotiation of external categorisation, which constitutes their identity construction. Chapter 6 mainly discusses immigrants' views on the *TuipuFeiyue* dispute and on their use of Putonghua and Cantonese in various contexts. I show the diverse and complex ways in which they engage in self-categorisation and/or self-identification. Chapter 7 focuses on immigrants' code choices in interview interactions and inserted service encounters in interviews between participants and servers, in restaurants or cafés where the interviews were conducted. This chapter analyses the characteristics of immigrants' code choices in situ and how they talk their linguistic identities into being. Chapter 8 summarises the main contributions and limitations of this research and suggests directions for future research.

Chapter two An introduction to bilingual Guangzhou

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the language environment of Guangzhou in three respects. Section 2.2 presents the geo-historical and sociocultural background of Guangzhou relevant to its current language environment. Section 2.3 focuses on the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute. I review the academic discussions on it, particularly various language ideologies invested in different voices in the dispute. In section 2.4 I briefly analyse my interviews with schoolteachers on their views about the implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy (PPP) and the use of Putonghua and Cantonese in the school context. I aim to paint a particular picture of language use and beliefs in the schooling system that has a huge impact on immigrants' language use (see Chapters 5 and 6). I explain at the beginning of this section why I am including this analysis so early in this thesis. Section 2.5 summarizes what I cover in this chapter.

2.2 The geographical, historical, cultural and sociolinguistic background of Guangzhou

Geographical, historical and cultural background of Guangzhou

Guangzhou is the capital and largest city of Guangdong province, in southeast of China, on the coast of the South China Sea. Guangdong is abbreviated to 粤 Yue, and the local variety used by the largest number of inhabitants in this province is called standard Cantonese (the variety most used by the Cantonese dialect group 粤语 *Yueyu*). A closer look at the geographical and sociocultural structures of Yue helps to understand in what ways the local community of Guangzhou has been constructed

within the Chinese state.

Chinese civilisation, very often referring to Han culture (despite contemporarily there being 55 other minority groups, which constitute less than 10% of the Chinese population), is rooted in the Central Plain (*Zhongyuan*), the area located in the lower reaches of the Yellow River (see figure 2.1), and consists of current Henan, Hebei, Shanxi and Shandong provinces. The population originating in Guangzhou are said to be the descendants of both Han people and an ancient ethnic group called Nanyue 南越 (Ye and Luo, 1995; Luo, 2006; Gan, 2008; Mai, 2009). The earliest contact between Han and Nanyue people was around 700 B.C.E., when Han traded with Nanyue people under a tributary system with the Chu State based around the Yangtze River. After Qin (221–206 B.C.E), the first dynasty of imperial China, was formed the emperor set up three prefectures in Nanyue and sent Han officials there. Naihai is one of those prefectures and its capital, Panyu, is the current Guangzhou. It is said that there were three peaks in Han migration to Guangdong due to internal and external wars, occurring separately during the West Jin Dynasty (266–316 AD), the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) and around the turn of the Yuan (1271–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) Dynasties. Research based on historical documents of registered households and lineages provides evidence of the population increase in this area during different dynasties (Xu, 2000).

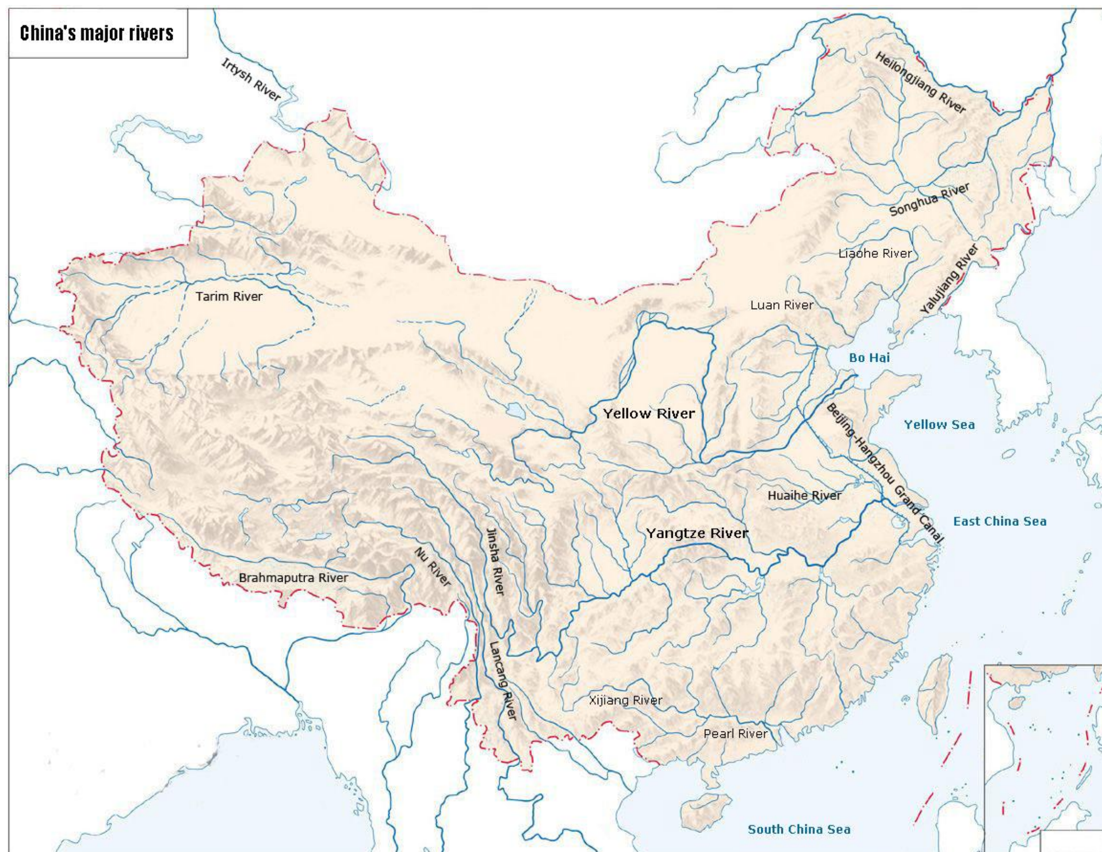


Figure 2.1 Major rivers of China (Newebcreations, 2017[2])

Population mobility is also said to be contributing to the close relationship between the languages of Guangdong and Han. *Fangyan* ('Regional Speech', written by Yang Xiong who lived around 53–18 B.C.E in the West Han Dynasty), the first book in China to compile both common language and regional varieties, includes entries of words used by people living in and beyond the south, where the Chu State ruled. Some of these words relate to or remain in current Cantonese lexicons. The local variety of Guangdong at the end of Tang was seen by contemporary Cantonese linguists as the prototype of the current dialect group of Cantonese (Li et al., 1994; Li, 1994; Zhan, 2000). Its phonology, lexicon and grammar systems correspond to the Han language then commonly used by the Chinese regime. They also argue that current Cantonese keeps many phonological features and lexical items of Medieval Chinese language (*Zhonggu Hanyu*, the historical variety of Chinese in the Tang and

[2] This is the best map I could find from online resources, and I haven't found a better map to that effect from more scholarly sources.

Song Dynasties) recorded in *Guangyun* ('Broad Rhymes', a rhyme dictionary compiled in 1008 A.D., one of the three most influential dictionaries used to reconstruct Medieval Chinese phonology). But many of these can hardly be found in Putonghua or most northern regional varieties of China. A particular way in which the Han language was distributed in Guangdong was through Imperial Examination in the Tang and Song Dynasties. It is reported that a considerable number of *jinshi* 进士 degrees were awarded in Guangdong and Guangzhou, and these increasing numbers gave rise to a gentrified (*xiangshen* 乡绅) class of literati who committed to distributing Chinese written literary language in their local regions.

Guangzhou has always been a prominent site of foreign trade in Chinese history. Arab merchants were the first foreigners to trade and live in Guangzhou, a main port of China in the Tang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.) (Faure, 2007: 18). Portuguese, British and American traders arrived in Guangzhou in 1517, 1685 and 1784, respectively, and from 1757 until the first Opium War in 1842 the entire coast of China was closed except for Guangzhou, the only port city remaining open for trade (Vogel, 1969: 18). After China and Britain signed the Nanking treaty to end the war, Guangzhou was among five 'treaty ports' (where foreign merchants were allowed to trade) open for trade (Lin, 2004: 26). Furthermore, many Guangdong people went abroad (including to Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, South Africa, North America and Australia) after the mid-19th century, aiming to bring back money and material comforts for their families (Yow, 2013: 73). The close ties between emigrants and their home communities sustained continuous foreign trade networks between local Cantonese businessmen and Cantonese people overseas (Vogel, 1969: 21). This commercial heritage has remained for two millennia, with the economy of Guangzhou being primarily reliant on commerce, trade, businesses and services when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949 (Lin, 2004: 27).

Most of these statements, reports and statistics from contemporary historians, anthropologists and linguists, are based upon historical documents that were produced

by officials in feudal China. Their imaginations of particular shapes of Guangzhou, its population and language, are very similar to the construction of Guangdong, Guangdong people and Guangdong culture by professionals and officials during the period of the Republic of China (1911–1949). According to Cheng (2006), these elites aimed to construct a unique Guangdong identity and integrate local specialness into Chinese unification, through claiming the vital importance of Guangdong's culture to Chinese culture. For example, Guangdong culture is seen as 'Chinese culture in Guangdong' (中国文化在广东 *zhongguo wenhua zai Guangdong*). This view parallels the position of the Cantonese language mentioned earlier – Cantonese maintains part of the vocabulary of ancient and authentic Chinese language that is not kept in Putonghua.

On the one hand, imaginations like these provide us with a general picture of Guangzhou from a particular group's perspective, and are likely to be drawn upon to understand or interpret Guangzhou by many individuals or groups. On the other hand, there are other imaginations by non-elites, which may also shape people's beliefs about Guangzhou, its population and language. And the interplay or confrontation of these two 'versions' is very likely to produce problems related to identity, which are manifested in a language dispute to be discussed in section 2.3.

Language attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese in contemporary Guangzhou

A comparison between academic research (Wu and Yin, 1984) and an official report from the Ministry of Education (2017) on the popularity of Putonghua shows that the number of Chinese people who can use it in communication has risen by 20 per cent in the past three decades. Now, 73 per cent of Chinese people can communicate in Putonghua, six decades after the Putonghua Promotion Policy was launched. Among various elements that have contributed to the popularisation of Putonghua, the huge population mobility is a significant one (Chen, 1999; Zhan, 2001, 2003; Zhang and

Xu, 2008). Inter-provincial migration since the late 1980s implies a challenge for communication among people who speak different regional varieties that are unintelligible to each other. Putonghua in fact serves as a middle language. In the past three decades, the social status of Putonghua has generally experienced a gradual rise, manifested especially by the attitudes of the younger generation (such as primary, high school and university students) towards Putonghua, compared to those of the older generation. Zhang et al. (2003), Guo et al. (2005), and Han (2012) show few differences in students' evaluation of Cantonese and Putonghua in Guangzhou. Twenty-five per cent of Tang's (2006) respondents reported that they learned and grasped Putonghua at home, indicating the contribution of family language management to the implementation of the PPP, even though the PPP does not specify Putonghua use in the family context. This resonates with 16 per cent of Guangzhou local high school students in Wang and Ladegaard's (2008) research who reported Putonghua use at home, indicating that the PPP had begun to succeed in Guangzhou.

However, over two decades ago, in 1992, a survey conducted by the State Language Commission (Chen, 1999: 27) found that only a very small minority of teachers in Guangzhou used Putonghua in the classroom. Barnes (1983: 297) records that, in schools in Guangzhou there is 'considerable disparity between language policy and reality'. Putonghua was 'employed regularly only in the language class and then only through the second year of elementary school' and 'uniformly in all other classes the language of instruction is Cantonese', which also applies to the middle school level. Kalmar et al. (1987) present Cantonese-speaking university students' recognition of the social advantages of Putonghua while retaining their affection for Cantonese and its speakers, displaying the 'covert prestige' (Trudgill, 1972) of Cantonese. In Bai's (1994: 130) research, respondents originally coming from Guangzhou and Shanghai claimed that by speaking Putonghua rather than the local variety to families, they would be reproached by close relatives and neighbours for 'forgetting their origins' and 'speaking with a bureaucratic tone'.

Subsequent studies at the turn of the 21st century start to present smaller difference in attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese. Gao et al. (1998) found in their matched-guise test that university students in Guangzhou and Beijing gave similar scores to speakers of Putonghua and Cantonese in terms of their social status, economic condition and personality. It is striking to see in this research that Cantonese students shared with Beijing students their negative impression of Cantonese-accented Putonghua, in contrast to Hong Kong students' identification with that variety. Zhou's (2001) research results contrast with the dichotomy of high social status and power for the high language/variety and high group solidarity for the low language/variety shown in Kalmar et al.'s (1987) study. Zhou argues that the rapid industrialisation and commercialisation and great demographic changes taking place in Guangzhou for two decades de-homogenised local speech communities and created a greater demand for Putonghua in cross-variety communication, resulting in broader Putonghua use and broader functions for it than ever before (2001: 247). However, some later studies (Guo et al. 2005, Tang 2006, Miao and Li 2006, Wang and Ladegaard 2008, Hu 2009 and van den Berg 2010) indicate the wide use of Cantonese in both formal and informal situations in Guangzhou.

In the field of education, Tang (2006) shows that participants report some teachers' use of both Putonghua and Cantonese in the classroom, and some only Cantonese, and that students gave high ratings to both status and solidarity dimensions of Cantonese guise speakers, which challenges the solidarity-status dichotomy. Local high school students in Wang and Ladegaard (2008) also reported a higher rate of speaking Cantonese than Putonghua, both outside school and after classes in school. Guo et al.'s (2005) survey indicates a wide acknowledgment of the social value of Cantonese by various social classes in Guangzhou. Miao and Li (2006) surveyed immigrants who obtained the *Hukou* of Guangzhou. They found that frequencies of Putonghua and Cantonese use both at home and in the workplace did not differ significantly, and Cantonese proficiency was regarded as a strong factor of integration. In the research of Guo et al. (2005), more than 33 per cent of non-locals used Cantonese in the

workplace; half of this group wished their offspring to use Cantonese. But Putonghua was still the most important language for this group, as more than 67 per cent used it in the workplace and more than 80 per cent were willing to let their offspring speak Putonghua. Wang and Ladegaard (2008) note that there is a tendency for university students to use both Putonghua and Cantonese or to use code-switching. Reported reasons are a) feelings of pride in speaking more than one variety, b) intending to be polite by accommodating interlocutors' language choices, c) understanding that some occasions require two varieties, d) a belief that Putonghua is the official language, while speaking Cantonese indicates intimacy. Hu (2009) found that migrant workers reported twice as much Cantonese use as Putonghua use when communicating with friends. In public spaces such as shopping stores, malls and markets, they reported more Putonghua use, while Cantonese use still took up a considerable proportion. Hu argues that Cantonese is the second most used variety after Putonghua in public spaces in Guangzhou, and this is seen as the reason why many job adverts in tertiary industries require the ability to speak Cantonese. Van den Berg's (2010) observations show salespeople's high level of Cantonese use and a high level of Cantonese in business transactions. Varieties other than Cantonese and Putonghua are in marginal positions but still in use, and there is a general increase in Putonghua use and decreased Cantonese use of customers in line with the hierarchy of social classes moving upwards.

These latest studies come to a common conclusion that Cantonese and Putonghua are the two dominant languages in both informal and formal situations in Guangzhou, and they are of comparable strength. However, this general picture is constructed from a string of static studies in which social variables such as identity, occupation, social class, gender and age are taken as predetermined categories which mark fixed boundaries of individuals or groups and which are paired with their language choices and attitudes. This does not necessarily show the dynamics of language practices in a multilingual community. In the following section, I will discuss a dispute in 2010 represented in the media as hinging on the relationship between the Putonghua

Promotion Policy and the space for Cantonese use. This will shed some light on language beliefs on individual, institutional, regional and national levels, and how languages, individuals and social groups are constructed and serve to legitimate claims.

2.3 A dispute over broadcasting language at Guangzhou Television and the underpinning language ideologies

On 9 June 2010, the Guangzhou Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) reported on its website the results of a survey. This survey invited ideas about adjusting the broadcast language of two channels at Guangzhou Television (GZTV), in the hope of accommodating domestic and international guests coming to the Asian Games. At that time, GZTV had nine channels, and apart from an English channel, all the others mainly used Cantonese for broadcasting, except for some advertisements in Putonghua. Among more than 30,000 completed questionnaires, 66% claimed they were locals and 34% non-locals. Only 10.5% of all participants wanted to have those channels broadcast in Putonghua while 89.5% preferred Cantonese; 79.5% agreed with the idea of maintaining the language broadcast status quo and only 20.5% were happy to have it replaced by Putonghua broadcasts or using Putonghua for prime-time programmes. Despite this result, Ji Keguang, a member of the Guangzhou Committee of the CPPCC, submitted a proposal to the municipal government suggesting replacing Cantonese with Putonghua for prime-time programmes in two channels. This aroused anger towards the government's intention to limit space for Cantonese use in the local media, and deep concern over expected further limits on Cantonese use in the interests of promoting Putonghua. Interpreted as 'Promoting Putonghua and Eradicating Cantonese (*Tuipu Feiyue*)' by many Cantonese proponents, this proposal was followed by a heated debate and provoked protests in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. This language debate consists of a few main topics. I will review some important news reports and academic discussions of these topics.

Monolingualism vs bilingualism

Central government officials and many linguists who participated in the language policy and planning process assumed that there were still ‘dialect barriers’ (Xu, 1999: 164–165) – people speaking different regional varieties cannot communicate with each other, especially in an era of huge population mobility. Zhan Bohui, a well-known linguist studying Cantonese, argued in an interview about the dispute that the goal of promoting Putonghua was to shift the monolingual situation in dialect communities to bilingualism (Zhang, 2010). However, dealing with the relationship between Putonghua and regional varieties has always been related to political control and to generating a sense of shared Chineseness (Guo, 2004). An argument frequently used for the unification rhetoric is the language policy of the first dynasty of unified imperial China, the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.). Qin Shi Huang (the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty) is famous for his policy of standardising and unifying all walks of life, such as unifying and standardising the script and spoken language (*shutongwen yutongyin*). The importance of *shutongwen yutongyin* for China in this new era was underscored in a press conference held by the Ministry of Education in 2006, celebrating the 50th anniversary of the launch of the Simplifying Chinese Scripts Scheme and the Directives on the Promotion and Popularisation of Putonghua. Zhou Youguang, the linguist who developed the official *Hanyu Pinyin* romanisation system, maintains that ‘The time of heterogeneity of scripts and spoken languages will finally pass and what lies ahead is an era of *Shutongwen* and *Yutongyin*. China will perform as a cultivated great state on the global stage in the 21st century.’

The PPP, which is imbued with this unification ideology, actually results in a Putonghua monolingual norm in schools in Guangzhou (Liang, 2015). Liang finds that the rigorous implementation of the PPP disapproves of students’ multilingual competences and students get punished for using Cantonese in school. This was also captured by a news report about miscommunication between a local child and her

grandmother (Hu & Zi, 2010) during the dispute. This little girl was studying in a primary school where there are inspectors who monitor students' language use and report violations of requirements to the teachers, and reported students will have their general scores reduced, which affects their applications to be a class leader, and they may even be criticised in front of the whole school. These practices infuse students with a belief that speaking regional varieties is disgraceful and discourages them from speaking such varieties at home (Qu, 2011: 57). One particular concern in this debate is local children's acquisition of Cantonese. Before this dispute, the local media had already given voice to those saying that it might be hard to pass down the Cantonese language to a new generation. Liang (2014: 5) exemplifies this with a piece of news from *Guangzhou Daily* in 2008, entitled 'Many Guangzhou kids cannot speak Cantonese', and subtitled 'XLZ Primary School designates one day as Cantonese day each week for eliminating Cantonese illiteracy, calling for students not to speak more than 20 Putonghua sentences that day'. She argues that the main title presumes a norm that all Guangzhou children should be able to speak Cantonese, and the subtitle implies that there can be literacy in Cantonese and locals should know how to read and write in Cantonese. It is no coincidence that a stance of problematizing students' competence in using Cantonese appeared again two years later in this dispute.

Diversity/inclusiveness vs localism and bendiren vs waidiren

To reassure Cantonese speakers, a spokesperson for the Guangzhou Municipal Government, Ouyang Yongsheng, said in a press conference that *Tuipu Feiyue* is a 伪命题 *wei mingti* 'pseudo-proposition' (Zeng, 2010). Similarly, a review article on the same day in *People's Daily* was entitled '"Protecting Cantonese" is an imagined war'. The author argues that Guangzhou as 'a modern metropolis should be open-minded, which means to adopt and tolerate Putonghua and other varieties; to truly preserve a culture is to leave the old and adopt the new, thereby becoming innovative and prosperous, rather than staying in a corner and isolating oneself'. It implies a strong sense of obligation to maintain features of inclusiveness by adopting Putonghua and

avoiding going to the other extreme of narrowed localness, in order to help construct a modern city.

This binary of inclusiveness and localness corresponds to a constructed opposition between *bendiren* and *waidiren* in the debate. In the Guangzhou Committee of CPPCC's report to the municipal government, one reason for proposing to replace Cantonese with Putonghua for broadcasting is that 'Guangzhou is not only the Guangzhou of Guangzhou people' and 'Guangzhou should have an open mind and be inclusive, in order for *waidiren* who study, work and live in Guangzhou to integrate here, and this integration is firstly linguistic integration.' It is assumed that the non-intelligibility of Cantonese to *waidiren* affects them obtaining information and raises communication problems for them, hence the necessity to promote Putonghua.

Meanwhile, 'the local residents who stood up for the status of Cantonese felt that they were being deprived of their culture, language, ways of life and rights by these "profiteers" from the north' (Gao, 2012: 460). For example, Han Zhipeng, a member of Guangzhou Committee of the CPPCC (Deng, 2010), claims that underlying this language dispute is a concern about the local culture that has been declining. For example, the new generation of youths rarely listens to Cantonese opera; nowadays, teahouses, where local people go to eat dim sum and drink Chinese tea, are becoming fewer and fewer; much traditional Cantonese-style architecture has been torn down in order to construct commercial properties instead; and many local arts have no chance of being passed down to the next generation. Wang argues (2015: 30) that this concern is a result of the government's attempt to marginalise the folk traditions and historical contingency of Guangzhou and to make the city fit with its agenda of integration, modernisation and development. For many Guangzhou people, these social transformations and spatial restructuring 'signal the occupation of place by globalising forces and the erosion of a traditional community by outside strangers allied with a Putonghua identity' (Qian et al., 2012: 908). The narratives yearning for cultural awareness and the critiques of the overwhelming cosmopolitan modernity are

in the guise of ‘a politics of exclusion’; blaming non-locals for the decline in Cantonese language and culture is in fact proclaiming the purity, homogeneity and authenticity of the localness of this community (ibid., 910).

Metropolitanisation and globalisation

In an editorial entitled *“Protecting Cantonese” Is a Fabricated Battle*, Lv (2010) comments on the dispute by referring to Zhou Youguang (Ministry of Education, 2006) who identifies many big cities in China as becoming metropolises (大都市 *Dadushi*). Zhou defines a metropolis as below:

> …many big cities in China are now developing very fast. Such rapid developments attract more and more migrants while the local population increases very slowly. Then gradually these cities become metropolises, and undergo metropolitanisation … In a metropolis it is impossible for the local dialect to be commonly used so a common language is needed. For China, it is Putonghua. Metropolitanised cities need a common language and it has to be Putonghua. This is a natural tendency which is a phenomenon not only in China, but a global one. The Shanghai dialect can be used as usual without any obstruction. It is impossible for dialects to compete with Putonghua, because the ‘metropolitan language’ has to be the national common language, or even the common language of the whole world. The phenomenon of metropolitanisation is becoming more and more obvious. This is progress, lively progress.

In comparing the process of metropolitanisation to ‘a natural tendency’ and ‘lively progress’ and attributing ‘global’ to it, Zhou attempts to normalise it. By imposing the role of metropolis on big cities in China, Zhou is indicating that big cities in China need to promote the common language, Putonghua, in order to keep up with this international trend. In contrast, a city that only holds on tight to its own language and culture will fail to handle the super-diversity embodied in huge population mobility

and tremendous language contact emerging in contemporary globalisation. However, this discourse does not provide an understanding of how to deal with this spatio-temporal heterogeneity. Instead, by referring to this condition to legitimate the promotion of Putonghua, it encourages the belief that promoting a common language is essential for constructing an international city that can embrace hybridity and diversity. Qian et al. (2012: 907) comment that 'lurking behind such a discourse of cosmopolitanism was the state-sanctioned ideology advocating standardisation and unification on the political periphery'.

Such discourse of a need to be international and metropolitan was juxtaposed with a discourse of promoting Guangzhou culture in Ji's proposal for broadcast language replacement. He argues in an interview (Sun, et al., 2010) that the proposal aims to promote Guangzhou's culture through running a satellite that can reach bigger audiences. He proposes language replacement because the prerequisite of getting approval from the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television (SAPPRFT) is to use Putonghua for broadcasting. In other words, it aims to maximize audiences, not only internally but also internationally. However, South Television's (*Nanfang dianshi*, TVS) application to run the first Cantonese satellite was approved in 2004 and remains the only TV station running a dialectal satellite so far. The station claims to target not only local Cantonese users but also audiences in Hong Kong, Southeast Asia and North America. Apparently, the state institution is aware of a need to build relations between mainland Chinese and a large Chinese diaspora worldwide, among which many are Cantonese users. Their identities may not derive from Putonghua as many of them left China before Putonghua was promoted or became widely distributed. Linguists at the 7th International Symposium of China's Sociolinguistics (Chen, 2010) argued that regional varieties are linguistic and cultural bonds between the nation and 30 million Chinese expatriates who cannot speak Putonghua but can only use regional varieties. Varieties such as Cantonese, Hakka and Min are symbols of Chineseness for them and are sites of their belongingness. That is to say, removing regional variety from broadcasting is not necessary for Ji's objective.

Metropolitanisation and globalization are employed as pretexts for promoting the use of Putonghua and attempting to corroborate its status.

In short, this debate is imbued with several binaries. Cantonese and Putonghua are always associated with oppositional features, such as localness vs inclusiveness, authenticity vs foreignness, isolation vs metropolitanisation. From a top-down perspective, this simplistic picture of a confrontation between regionalism and unification is constructed to reinforce the differences in statuses of Putonghua and Cantonese. From a bottom-up perspective, arguing for protecting Cantonese and the exclusion of *waidiren* with a Putonghua identity serve to resist and challenge the ideology of Putonghua hegemony. After this general introduction to how a binary of Putonghua and Cantonese is associated with an opposition between *bendiren*/ *waidiren* in the media representation of the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute, I will show how the use of Putonghua and Cantonese is perceived in the school context, especially regarding the implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy (PPP).

2.4 Teachers' views on the implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy in the school context

I have included this analysis section in this chapter after taking into consideration two factors. Firstly, as I mentioned in section 1.3, schoolteachers' views on language use have a huge impact upon students' language beliefs and attitudes, and preparing readers with some illustrations of teachers' views on language use in schools before my analysis of participants' language-use-related experiences in school life in Chapter Five will be very helpful for understanding participants' presentations of and responses to their experiences. Meanwhile, schoolteachers' views are conditioned by the language beliefs and ideologies which permeate the larger community of Guangzhou, therefore showing their views is revealing local language ideologies which constitute the sociolinguistic background, which is prerequisite for approaching

immigrants' language beliefs and practices in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven. That is to say, the importance of this section to the overall analysis indicates that it would be inappropriate to incorporate it in any of the analysis chapters, and it has to be introduced before all of those analysis chapters.

Secondly, although this analysis section preceded my discussions of the methodology and theories, I mainly analysed the content of the selected extracts, which requires little, if not any, knowledge about the methodology beforehand. Nor did I refer to or draw upon notions or concepts that need to be explained, and in rare case(s) when it is necessary I gave clear account of those notions.

The implementation of language policies in education is powerful, as it determines the criteria of how to use language correctly and the priority of languages in society, imposes particular ways of speaking and writing which are compulsory for students to adopt, and determines how languages should be taught and learned (Shohamy, 2006: 77). Spolsky (2009: 114) argues that upon arrival at school, students 'are open to confirmed pressure to modify their language practices and take on the varieties and variants chosen by the school language managers, whoever they may be'. Teachers play an important role in educational policies. 'They help develop, maintain, and change flow' (Johnson, 2013: 97) – at the local institutional level, teachers can negotiate and manipulate language policy processes. Particularly, laden with common sense, beliefs and values about languages, teachers' views contribute to shaping their policy creation and implementation through pedagogical decisions (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996). Looking into teachers' views and beliefs about language use in the classroom thus provides a lens to uncover 'invisible ideologies' (Tollefson, 1991) in the school context. In the meantime, it is hard to separate school ideologies from those circulating within broader sociopolitical arenas, because 'ways of using language, what kinds of language practices are valued, and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientation connected to social, economic, and political interests' (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001: 2). Schools can be

a ‘particularly revealing site’ (Heller, 1999: 337) of struggle among competing language ideologies. Therefore, in order to understand local language ideologies, it is essential to understand how teachers internalise hegemonic ideologies (Johnson, 2013: 99) and how they manage to make use of multilingual practices in the classroom to wedge open the ideological space (Hornberger, 2005). In this section, I introduce the interviews I conducted with five teachers from schools in Guangzhou, along with their basic information, and briefly examine their views and beliefs about language use in the school context and their implementation of the PPP.

2.4.1 Individual and group interviews with teachers

Two of five teacher participants work in a university-affiliated primary school (school A) and three work in a public high school (school B). Both schools are located in a district in the old town of Guangzhou. The primary school was selected for two reasons. First, the majority of the staff at the university come from areas outside Guangdong province or Guangzhou, and many of them send their children to these two schools, thus these schools have many second generation migrant students. In the meantime, as the school is located in the old town, it also has a few local students. Thus, this school is a good place to look into the ways in which teachers interpret and implement the PPP while appropriating students’ vernacular resources for their better understanding of materials. Second, there is a close relationship between the schools, teachers and the researcher. I was a pupil at this primary school. My mother has been a teacher of Chinese language for more than twenty years and many teachers there are acquaintances of mine. The relationship between the teachers and me indicates that we share to a certain extent an understanding and knowledge of the school and its particularity in terms of students’ origin and language use within Guangzhou.

As the number of migrant students is huge compared to that of local students, and most current teachers are not native Guangzhou or Guangdong people, school A presents a quite different picture of language use from a lot of state schools where

native students and teachers form the majority. Two teacher interviewees hold the belief that due to the various places of origin of most students and teachers at the school, Putonghua is the mainstream language there, but in many other state schools Cantonese use is more common. Hence, I chose school B which consists mainly of native students and has a big proportion of Cantonese-speaking teachers. I spent six years studying in this school and keep in contact with a few teachers who used to teach me. School B enrols many students originally coming from Guangzhou or Guangdong Province. What makes school B specific is its small number of students from minority ethnic groups in Xinjiang province. School B is one of the first schools in Guangzhou to enrol Xinjiang students. According to the State Council of China, this is a part of the Grand Western Development Programme, which aims to help students from minority ethnicities in the relatively undeveloped western regions to receive a good education, and purportedly to unify Han and all minority ethnicities and thus maintain social stability[3]. These students take entrance exams in Xinjiang and attend high schools in big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Tianjin. Since 2000, school B had been enrolling one class of students originally from Xinjiang, mainly Uighur and Kazakh people. They spend one year learning Chinese and taking other courses before they are allocated to classes of Han students and prepare to take the same courses and complete the same tasks as Han students. The diversity of students in school B indicates that teachers need to consider more elements in relation to their language use in the class and how to strike a balance between appropriating students' various vernacular resources and implementing the PPP.

Teacher H of school A previously taught Chinese and now she is teaching English, while Teacher D is a teacher of Chinese. They started to work at the school at the same time, more than 20 years ago. They are Guangzhou *bendiren* and speak both Cantonese and Putonghua. Three teachers of school B were separately my maths,

[3] See the document of Ministry of Education of People's Republic of China. http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A09/mzs_left/moe_752/tnull_1008.html

Chinese language and history teachers. Teachers P and Z use Cantonese as their first language, though they are not from Guangzhou. Teacher L's first language is Southwest Mandarin and he did not know Cantonese before he came to Guangzhou to attend university. Now, he understands and can speak Cantonese. According to him, he speaks 'non-standard' Cantonese. Information about when and how the interviews were conducted and who was present is shown in Table 2.1, below.

Table 2.1 Information of Interviews with schoolteachers

Partici-pant(s)	Partici-pants' mutual relation-ship	Participants' relationship with me	Interview context	Language of interaction
D, H, Y	Friends, colleagues	I knew D and H since I attended school A. Y is my mother who also works in school A.	A closed group chat on Wechat.[4]	Cantonese and Putonghua
D, H, Y	Friends, colleagues	As above.	A Cantonese restaurant on the university campus, close to school A.	Cantonese and Putonghua
P		P taught me Chinese when I attended school B.	A shared office in school B. Another teacher was present as a potential overhearer.	Cantonese
Z		Z taught me history when I attended school B.	Audio call on Wechat.	Putonghua
L, three students	Teacher and students	L taught me maths when I attended school B; other students were my high school classmates.	A high school classmate reunion with L, in a Cantonese restaurant close to school B.	Putonghua

These interviews focus on how they implement the PPP in their classes and what they

[4] Wechat is currently one of the most popular instant messaging platforms in China.

think about using Putonghua and Cantonese in the school context. I will present their views below on how they use languages and view language use, and on the implementation of PPP in their schools.

2.4.2 Teachers' views on using Putonghua and Cantonese in the school context, and their implementation of PPP in their schools

Teachers' use of Cantonese in the classroom

Although it is stipulated by Chinese law on standard language and characters that Putonghua should be the only medium for instruction in school, all five teachers told me they sometimes inserted Cantonese into Putonghua in the classroom. There are three main reasons for them to do so. First, as many of their students speak Cantonese, they used it to help students understand materials. Second, a few teachers insert Cantonese into Putonghua aiming to enliven the atmosphere of the classroom. Third, a few teachers who originally come from Guangzhou and/or use Cantonese as their first language reported that it is more comfortable to use Cantonese to scold students or that speaking Cantonese in the classroom is a sudden and involuntary act at particular moments.

Regarding the first circumstance, teachers' use of Cantonese in the classroom aims to help students memorize words and understand materials, which actually serves as a translanguaging strategy for pedagogic purposes. Translanguaging (Williams, 2012; cited by García and Li, 2014: 91-92) is taken to be a pedagogic theory and practice to ensure students' 'full understanding of subject materials', and to ensure that 'students are being cognitively, socially and creatively challenged, while receiving the appropriate linguistic input and producing the adequate linguistic output in meaning interactions and collaborative dialogue'. Teacher D recalls her use of Cantonese in the classroom below:

Extract 1[5]

…during the review period before final exams, sometimes when I felt very worried, 'Ah you wrote this word incorrectly. Kei lin was written as Tsek Sii, remember. Students who speak Cantonese, let me tell you one more way to memorize and differentiate them.' Then s/he would, 'Ah, that's right.' Like that.

Teacher D begins her narrative by introducing a problem, which is marked by her emotions, 肉紧 *juk gan* 'very worried'. She then quotes her suggestion to Cantonese-speaking students about how to distinguish and memorise words by using Cantonese (as two words may have similar pronunciations and characters in Putonghua, but their pronunciations in Cantonese are very different from each other) and students' recognition in response. By using the conjunction 噉 *gam* 'then' to connect these two turns, her suggestion of using Cantonese is shown as the solution, which legitimates her insertion of Cantonese into Putonghua in the classroom. Similarly, Teacher H states that she also draws upon Cantonese to teach English vocabulary:

Extract 2

Now I'm teaching English I would risk my life using Cantonese to teach students a lesson in classes, or to explain some English words used as loanwords by Cantonese people, because Guangzhou was an important trading port in the early stages of Chinese history. English started to be used here a very long time ago, and there are many words Cantonese people have directly adopted from English and never translated, 'lift' is an example, we also use the English term 'lift' in Cantonese.

Teacher H emphasises the historical reason for the intimate relationship between English and Cantonese, and illustrates it by giving an English loanword in Cantonese. This intimacy between the two languages is employed to not only justify but also assign value to her Cantonese use, in the sense that using it can help

[5] Bold font indicates a stretch of talk in Cantonese.

Cantonese-speaking students understand and memorize particular English words.

Meanwhile, she underlines the potential consequences of breaking the rule of Putonghua-only instruction through the adverbial phrase—冒死 *maosi*, which literally means risking one's life to do something. There is no death sentence for teachers who use Cantonese in classes in the context of Guangzhou. This hyperbole indicates teacher H's dislike of the Putonghua-only regulation and that she acknowledges the consequences of breaking it, yet she meant to do it. It also suggests a sharp contrast between the social status of Putonghua and that of Cantonese in the school context.

Teachers' use of Cantonese is also a tactic to enliven the atmosphere in the classroom. When I asked teacher L if he uses Cantonese in the classroom he responded to me as follows:

Extract 3

[I] insert a bit, generally I rarely use it, one or two sentences just to make fun. Maths is very boring, a bit of Cantonese can cheer them up, right. It's good, they are unlikely to concentrate for all the forty minutes.

It seems he includes the use of Cantonese in his teaching syllabus:

Extract 4

Sometimes I use a bit when I work out questions, sometimes making jokes, and it is intended to make them laugh. But most of the time still, I speak Putonghua, rarely Cantonese.

He reports his Cantonese use as a strategy to overcome the negative feature of maths classes, and to engage students in class. What is worth mentioning is that teacher L did not understand Cantonese before he started university in Guangzhou, and he describes his Cantonese as 不标准 *bu biaozhun* 'not standard' at the beginning of the

interview. But he intentionally chose to employ Cantonese to make classes more lively. This implies that he sees Cantonese use as valuable in his classes, which is likely related to his awareness of his students' language repertoire and attempts to use this as a resource for teaching. However, after giving an account of his Cantonese use in the classroom, teacher L soon underscores the dominance of Putonghua use in his teaching, showing that he is fully aware that Putonghua is the officially recognized medium for instruction. This implies that, for him, the Putonghua Promotion Policy and his use of Cantonese in the classroom do not conflict with each other.

The use of Cantonese is also claimed to be helpful for students so that they can learn Cantonese colloquial expressions and related Cantonese culture. Teacher D argues that:

Extract 5

Now we are supposed to use only English for English teaching, no other language is permitted. I'm very cool. I use Cantonese to tell them off, for example. Like when two students are quarrelling, when they are having this quarrel, then I would say, L**ook at you two, sometimes like sugar stuck to beans, sometimes water mixed with oil**. And then they show confused looks, they don't know it. Then someone asked, eh eh eh Miss, what are you saying? I said, sugar adheres to beans means a very close relationship. Water and oil, they are unable to be blended together. Then I say actually the language contains much interesting stuff.

Mediating a students' quarrel by quoting a Cantonese colloquial expression is seen by teacher D as beneficial in terms of teaching students interesting culture underlying the expression, even if she was teaching an English class. Teacher H agrees with her, saying, '就很形象，这种表达' (*jiu hen xingxiang, zhezhong biaoda*) 'This kind of expression, it's very visual.' Clearly, both teachers pay far more attention to what their speech can tell students than what language (variety) they use to speak to students.

Moreover, teacher D at the beginning of this sequence relates her choice of using

Cantonese to the act of 骂人 *maren* 'telling students off', and later she mentions it again:

Extract 6

In class, we sometimes use Cantonese to elaborate, mostly to tell students off, because it feels very good to tell them off in one's mother tongue.

Teacher D attempts to account for her use of Cantonese in two ways. First, it is simply out of pleasure. Second, as her first language is Cantonese her use of Cantonese may be an involuntary act at a particular moment. This type of using Cantonese in the classroom does not seem to be worth explaining to teacher D. The similar usage of Cantonese is normalized by teacher L and teacher P. For example, teacher L says:

Extract 7

…for native Guangdong teachers, it's not that it's difficult to change. During her/his teaching s/he may feel that s/he can speak more fluently if s/he uses Cantonese, then s/he just uses it, and students also understand it. They accept it without any disagreement, you see, like us. I also use Cantonese for teaching, it's not a big thing.

Teacher L presents some teachers who use Cantonese for teaching because they can speak more fluently and deliver materials more clearly. He argues that as long as students understand them and raise no objection to that, teaching in Cantonese is not problematic. He aligns himself with these teachers through referring to his own case and comments that using Cantonese in the classroom is 'not a big thing'.

Teacher P refers to teachers' professional ethics to justify the use of Cantonese by some teachers in the classroom:

Extract 8

Teachers in their '50s have already been used to using Putonghua for classes. But when they work out maths questions, perhaps sometimes they use Cantonese. Like some male teachers, they are originally Guangzhou people. So when they present how to work out questions in maths and physics, sometimes they use Cantonese for

instruction. But speaking Putonghua is fine with them, but our school doesn't, I mean, in terms of language requirements, our school doesn't supervise teachers in a very rigorous way, as teachers have reached a consensus about that. When there is a particular need I use Cantonese. When there is another I use Putonghua, only if that doesn't influence you passing on knowledge to students, or only if that does not affect you conforming to principles of teachers' professional ethics. Then it's fine, I think.

Teacher P's claims about how the school deals with teachers' implementation of the language policy have two implications. First, the PPP hasn't become a restriction on teachers' language practices as the school does not put pressure on teachers. Second, teachers have the space to choose languages for instruction and both Putonghua and Cantonese are permitted and acceptable. She attempts to rationalize and normalise both maths and physics teachers' use of Cantonese, depending on their language preference and their use of it for pedagogical objectives, by arguing that language choice is far less important than effective instruction and neither breaks teachers' professional ethics.

The information conveyed through her speech is that at the local level both the school and teachers are negotiating language policy processes by creating language practices that challenge or resist the dominant language ideologies underlying Putonghua Promotion Policy.

And this type of creative language practice not only occurs at the micro-level but also is encouraged at the meso-level. For example:

Extract 9

1	H	Remember last time we went to the textbook analysis session. Cheng also
2		told us to employ Cantonese to help students learn Chinese.
3	Y	Right, yes, yes.
4	H	Because some words from ancient times actually
5	Y	Were kept in Cantonese.
6	H	Preserved in Cantonese, like *Kaai:* (street), *Yat Tiu Kaai* (one street), *Haang*
7		*Kaai* (strolling around). These are very old.

According to a later chat after interviews with teacher Y, a session for Chinese textbook analysis is held at the beginning of every semester by the Education Board of the district where school A is located. It aims to offer guidelines concerning how to draw on textbooks for teaching to Chinese teachers in all primary schools in the district. Mentioning a teaching and research staff member of the District's Education Board who makes the same claim as her, teacher H attempts to justify her strategy and pre-empt any potential disagreement or questioning of her use of Cantonese in the classroom. More importantly, the claim reported by teacher H indicates a stance at a higher level than the school, which publicly assigns value to Cantonese and encourages the use of Cantonese for pedagogical functions. It illustrates that there is implementational space (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) for various social actors on multiple layers to negotiate the national language policy and create policy through pedagogical decisions (Johnson, 2013: 97; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) in Guangzhou.

While teachers employ the use of Cantonese as a pedagogical strategy and the school does not intervene in this violation of the PPP, there was a time when teachers and students would be punished for using Cantonese in and/or outside the classroom. It seems this still occurs nowadays in some other schools in Guangzhou (see extract 3 in Chapter 6).

Punishment for breaking the Putonghua-only rule

In the following sequence, three teachers recall when a PE teacher of their school was fined for being heard speaking Cantonese in her class.

Extract 10

1	D	**I. I came to F in 1987 and it's already been said that it was a must to**
2		**use Putonghua to teach in the classroom, back in that time.**
3	Me	**What about the students? Were they required to speak only**

4		**Putonghua?**
5	D	During that period I think PTH promotion was fairly rigorous.
6	H	Very rigorous
7	D	Right. **Because when I just came, very soon there was a test of what**
8	H	There was, a while ago, when it happened in our school, speaking
9		Cantonese would be fined. It seemed so. I remember in one year,
10	D	Ah, because Putonghua Promotion was like this, when staff from the
11		education board of our district came to inspect [classes], you know, who got
12		fined ?
13	Y	Who ?
14	D	Zeng
15	Me	Ei? She is a PE teacher
16	H	And she is a Putonghua speaker
17	Y	Hahahaha
18	D	Don't know what sentence she said
19	H	**Oh you have good memory. Yes, yes**
20	D	She used Cantonese, it's just it was heard by people,
21	Y	She could not even speak Cantonese in the past. Perhaps she's learning it
22		during that time, wasn't she?
23	D	Ah right, I found it strange.

Instead of introducing the teacher who got fined, teacher D encourages hearers to guess who the teacher is, trying to involve all the listeners in her storytelling and create suspense. The unexpected answer, a Putonghua-speaking teacher who in fact came from outside Guangdong Province and was barely able to speak Cantonese, along with the suspense contributes to underscoring an irony. Punishment is assumed to prevent Cantonese-speaking teachers from using their first language in the classroom; however, in reality, it was applied to a Putonghua-speaking teacher who was learning Cantonese. These inspectors as an important part of the policy processes and a mechanism of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1991; Johnson, 2013) serve to guide, modify and discipline teachers' language use.

Language endangerment and the loss of culture and history

Teacher H and teacher D show their concern that Cantonese may decline due to this rigorous governing of language use in the education system. This is related to another

concern about the loss of culture and history underpinning language variety. They claim that any language is a medium for conveying and passing on history, culture and customs. For example, when I show my position that ‘I think speaking Cantonese will not affect the teaching at all’, teacher H agrees with me and gives a reason:

Extract 11

1	H	Of course it won’t. Any language can convey and pass on these history
2		and culture customs, right? And on the contrary if [you] let one language
3	D	Be monopolistic
4	H	It will die out as such. I mean the extinction of one language means that
5		many historical underpinnings and many things will also disappear.

Heller and Duchêne (2007) maintain that proponents of minority languages very often introduce an argument in the discussion of language endangerment as teacher H claims. Based on this claim, Teacher H concludes that the extinction of one language causes the disappearance of its underlying history and culture. By drawing upon 这样 *zheyang* ‘as such’ to imply a process under way, and by suggesting a social actor (which is omitted) who causes the extinction of a language, she is implying the implementation of PPP and its influence on Cantonese. Interestingly teacher D’s words latch onto teacher H’s argument about ‘one language’, assumes this language to be Putonghua and ascribes 独专 *duzhuan* ‘monopolistic’ to it. These beliefs about Cantonese facing the danger of dying out in the face of Putonghua as the exclusive dominant language echo language beliefs about other regional varieties. For example, in the exchange below, teacher D and teacher Y share their disappointment about the decreasing number of speakers of other regional varieties, such as Hubei speech and Hakka.

Extract 12

1	D	Cantonese is fine. I mean it’s still a major group of language varieties. And
2		[the speech of] small regions is really endangered. In the future [they will]
3		have no speakers anymore. For example, when it comes to those like
4		Sichuan province, for example, Liya’s son cannot speak Hubei speech.
5	Y	Yes, when I returned to my hometown all the kids were speaking

6		Putonghua, [they] don't know how to speak the local variety. So strange.
7	H	It is. actually, to unify languages is actually necessary, because it makes
8		communication convenient. But, if removing too aggressively [particular
9		language varieties which carry cultural characteristics], I think even history
10		will be lost, just like South Korea and Japan, right? De-sinicization,
11		de-Ming-cization, in the end, whether you discard ancient poetry and
12		ancient Chinese language or not, it's impossible right? This will in the end
13		turn into a nation with no history.

Teacher D responds to two other teachers' views by giving a general statement. Grounded in teacher H's argumentation that the extinction of a language leads to the disappearance of underlying history and culture, teacher D exaggerates the consequences of suppressing Cantonese language step by step, from a particular loss of ancient poetry and ancient language to losing Chinese history, and in the end to a more general claim that China will become a nation with no history. In order to give a reference as to how problematic this is, she mentions the efforts of the South Korean and Japanese governments to remove the part of Chinese culture adopted in and demonstrated in their languages, e.g. substituting Chinese characters they have been using for a long time with newly-created scripts. In referencing these analogies, teacher H expresses her opposition to the harsh implementation of the PPP.

In addition, the language ideologies loaded in the PPP have effects upon teachers' views on students' use of Cantonese. My teacher participants show different opinions about the relationship between students' use of Cantonese and their Chinese learning.

Frequent use of Cantonese affects Chinese learning

Teacher P who teaches Chinese language in school B ascribes students' failure to learn the Chinese language to their frequent use of Cantonese. She argues:

Extract 13

Because Guangzhou students, because they always use Cantonese, that affects their Chinese learning, especially their writing. They can speak

Cantonese very well and fluently, and freely, but when it comes to their writing, eh? For example, when they face questions of reading or writing, they have problems working them out. But for those students who are good at Putonghua, they won't have serious problems in various respects.

She problematises Guangzhou students' Cantonese use and thinks that it is responsible for their worse academic performance in Chinese language than those who are good at using Putonghua. This belief in language difference as a deficit (Cummins 2003) shows her adherence to the hegemony of Putonghua and the devaluing of one's home language and its contribution to language learning (Spolsky, 2009: 101).

In contrast, Teacher D and Teacher H are worried about their students' parents' language beliefs being similar to teacher P's.

Extract 14

1	D	It is a pity nowadays that many people speak Cantonese at home
2		themselves but teach their kids to speak Putonghua
3	H	Many people are like this
4	Y	Now it is common.
5	D	[They're] out of their minds.
6	H	Like Cheng. Cheng doesn't allow her child to speak Cantonese.
7	Y	Lots of them may think, does that influence kids' learning?
8	H	**She forbids her daughter to speak Cantonese. So when the girl came to**
9		**my office and I spoke to her in Cantonese**, **she said** she doesn't
10		understand Cantonese, speak to her in Putonghua.
11	Y	Oh don't say that, [she] doesn't let her speak that.
12	H	**It's really stupid I think,** too, too extreme. It's like you are afraid that if she
13		uses Cantonese to write it will affect her thinking [in standard Chinese].
14	Y	Yes, how nice is learning another language from when they are kids.
15	H	Actually, kids can totally accept that. You see, Long Yingtai says that her
16		son, right, Swedish, German, Taiwan speech or Min speech, right,
17		Putonghua and Mandarin he knows them all, he can tell the difference.
18		He will speak a particular language when he's situated in a specific context,
19	D	right.
20	H	Yes.

Teacher D shows her disappointment at and disagreement with parents who do not use their local variety to speak to their children, and ascribes 神经病 *shenjing bing* ‘out of mind’ to those parents. Teacher H also attributes **好鬼傻** *hou gwai so* ‘really stupid’ and 太极端 *tai jiduan* ‘too extreme’ to such parents, who holds the same belief as teacher P in the last extract. Going against this Putonghua monolingualism extended from the school context into family language practices, she emphasises the importance of multilingualism through referring to a multilingual person, a son of Long Yingtai, who is a famous Taiwanese writer, also the previous Minister of Culture of Taiwan. Teacher D concludes from this example that children are able to grasp various languages under various circumstances. Teacher H agrees with her, saying ‘in fact the particular environment naturally determines what languages you speak’ later in the conversation. Highlighting how contexts condition individuals’ language use and learning is an attempt to legitimate their arguments for bilingualism/ multilingualism and against Putonghua monolingualism.

2.4.3 Discussion

Although these conversations only show a constructed snapshot of reality based on reported experiences, practices and perceptions, they present part of the language environment of schools in Guangzhou. Teachers’ views reveal a tension between a national language ideology aimed at promoting the official language and regional and local language beliefs and practices that resist it. These conflicting language ideologies are co-present in the school context. Teachers acknowledge the authority of the Putonghua Promotion Policy over language use in the classroom and the superior status of Putonghua on the national level. Yet, they also implicitly emphasise the importance of Cantonese as the local language variety of Guangzhou. They intentionally insert Cantonese into Putonghua as a translanguaging strategy for pedagogic purposes and engaging students in the classroom. They normalize their violation of the Putonghua-only rule in the classroom even when they use Cantonese because of their language preference. They ascribe the decline of Cantonese to the

rigorous implementation of the PPP in the school context, present the gap between the wish for wider usage of Cantonese and the disappointing reality, and associate the decline of Cantonese with a loss of culture and history.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced geographical, historical, social and cultural information about Guangzhou in section 2.2 and shown this information as constructions by elites which may influence how people understand and interpret Guangzhou, its population and language. I have also reviewed academic research on language attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou over the past three decades. In section 2.3 I discussed a language dispute over *Tuipu Feiyue* in Guangzhou and the underlying language beliefs and ideologies in this community as displayed in news reports and academic research about this dispute. In section 2.4, I briefly analysed a few teacher participants' views on the use of Putonghua and Cantonese in the school context and their implementation of the PPP. These sections offer a sketch of the (language) beliefs of elites and school teachers and in the media in this community. In the next chapter I will elaborate the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter three Theoretical frameworks :

Critical discourse studies and conversation analysis for the investigation of the acts and processes of identification

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline a framework for understanding individual identities as realised by discursive construction and code choices, emerging from interaction and power relations in a multilingual society, and as a process of constant negotiation of external categorisation and internal identification in the here-and-now. Such a framework is based on transdisciplinary research which offers insights on the meaning making of language practice in society, including conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, Auer), critical discourse studies (Wodak, Fairclough, van Dijk), and social and literary theory on language, power, and identity (Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Jenkins). I focus on what these theories are and how they can be applied to disentangling the complex notion of identity and its relationship with language, and present previous literature that has addressed identity from the above mentioned perspectives and has led to my framework. I introduce in Section 3.2 the notions about the power relations of languages in multilingual contexts and their influence on language users. In Sections 3.3 and 3.4 I present the major concepts and principles of critical discourse studies and conversation analysis, and how a combination of two perspectives works. In Section 3.5, I discuss five current models on interpreting identity construction and negotiation, and propose a framework of dialectics of external-internal identification. A summary concludes this chapter in Section 3.6.

3.2 Power relations of languages in multilingual contexts

Language is never separable from ideologies, policies and practices of political bodies and institutions, pervasive viewpoints about languages of local communities, and

ordinary people's attitudes. Its social status in society depends upon what actions are taken towards it by individuals, groups or political organisations with varied amounts or degrees of resources and power.

3.2.1 Bourdieu's notion of 'linguistic capital' and Bakhtin's concept of 'heteroglossia'

Bourdieu's (1991) framework of symbolic power of language provides an insight into this issue. Within a language community (or a 'linguistic market', a metaphor used by Bourdieu) where linguistic varieties are produced and assigned a certain value, some linguistic products are endowed with more importance than others. The competence in highly valued linguistic products brings language users resources or 'capital' (ibid, 51). The more competence of highly valued linguistic products speakers possesses, the more they are able to obtain associated capital in other forms (such as economic, cultural and political), and to exploit the system of differences to their advantage. For example, in China where Putonghua is the official language and endowed with the highest value on a state level, good proficiency in Putonghua is important for getting highly valued working opportunities, such as a job in the public service sectors. Meanwhile, English language proficiency is necessary for those who apply for a high-salary position in businesses with foreign links. That is to say, the position of particular linguistic forms (e.g. accent, lexicon, style) within the language hierarchy of a market may indicate the position of their users in the (social and political economic) hierarchy of the corresponding social groups (ibid, 54). Moreover, the value of an utterance on a linguistic market may vary according to the context in which a speaker is situated and the nature of that particular context. For example, in the example given by Bourdieu of the town of Pau in Bearn in southern France, a mayor used 'good quality local dialect Bearnais' to address the audience on an occasion of honouring a Bearnais poet, and was 'applauded at length'. Although there

is a tacit understanding of the unwritten law that French is the only acceptable language on official occasions, what the mayor has done negated the power relations between French and Bearnais and was welcomed and valued. But what is praised as ‘good quality’ Bearnais would have been assigned a different value had it been uttered by a local peasant (ibid, 19).

According to Bourdieu, the language hierarchy of a linguistic market is very often defended by individuals, social groups and institutions, consciously or subconsciously, who share a uniform recognition about which linguistic form serves as the standard measure of the value of linguistic products, and conform to the system of evaluation underlying this hierarchy. These help maintain the properties of the linguistic market and secure the profit of distinction for those who have the most linguistic capital as well as socio-economic and political forms of capital, and who can impose their capital as the only legitimate one in those markets (ibid, 56). The education system is an important institution that contributes to the uniform recognition, as it inculcates the legitimate form of speech and the linguistic hierarchy, hence assigns value to language competences, produces language users in a large scale who recognise and defend the legitimacy of the form, and reinforce the market (ibid, 57). Take China again as an example. It is inscribed in the state language policy and Law on language that Putonghua is the only medium of instruction in school classrooms (except regions of minority ethnicities), and it is widely implemented in China’s schools. Theoretically, teachers, philologists and instruments such as dictionaries continuously supervise and assist students to conform to the rules of how and when to use Putonghua. Outside of the education system individuals also take on self-censorship to regulate linguistic products, as one way of defending the legitimate forms of speech (ibid). Students and/or parents may question whether a Chinese language teacher who is unable to speak standard Putonghua is qualified to do his/her job.

However, to what degree ordinary people participate in the complicity is worth observing and the complicity usually varies in different contexts. The permanent

efforts that are needed through institutions and individuals to maintain and reproduce the linguistic market actually presume a gap between the idealized uniform of recognition and conflicting beliefs in reality. There are always tendencies or forces that drive the act of disobedience from recognizing and defending the legitimate form of speech, which are likened to 'centrifugal forces' by Bakhtin (2008: 272). He argues that language is a 'contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies', and it is the site where 'the processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect' (ibid). This is the language reality which he terms as 'heteroglossia'. Bakhtin argues (2008: 291) that,

> …at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These 'languages' of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying 'languages'.

This refers to the inherent stratification of various linguistic products and diversity of multiple voices of language, based upon different points of view, which is in a constant conflict with the 'centripetal forces' that make efforts to construct a unitary language and maintain its hegemonic position in the linguistic hierarchy (ibid, 272). This is very salient in multilingual contexts. Ready examples include the implementation of the state language policy on regional or local levels. This is manifested by the five school teachers I interviewed (see section 2.4) who reported their insertion of the local speech Cantonese in Putonghua to help local students understand materials. Two also allow students to speak Cantonese in the classroom. They problematize the Putonghua monolingual norm of the policy and attempt to normalize their violation of the language policy and permission of students' code-switching.

Adopting this notion, it seems Bourdieu's framework of the linguistic market primarily emphasises the 'centripetal forces'. The complexity of the properties of markets needs to be further elaborated. Our focus should be shifted to what meanings or value are invested to different linguistic forms, what are the impact or consequence of the co-existence (in forms of supplementing to, paralleling to, conflicting with and intertwined with each other) of different views, who are able to or authorized to load linguistic forms with meanings or value and make that matter, who are affected and how do they react to the effects, and within what spatial-temporal contexts.

In multilingual contexts where power relations of languages are not stable, there can be more than one standard for measuring the value of linguistic products and conflicting views on the importance and value invested to language use, meanwhile the change of statuses of languages always bring problems to the life experience, social status and identities of individuals or social groups who are forced to respond through varied strategies. As Heller's (1982, 1992, 1995a) research in Quebec shows, during the periods when English, subsequently French, and then both were taken as the dominant languages of Quebec, a lot of Francophones and Anglophones rushed to learn the other language and used code-switching in daily life, which was associated with gaining privileged access to education, workplace opportunities and socioeconomic positions. Woolard (1989) studies on the one hand how language choices became problems related to ethnic boundaries and class divisions in communications between Catalans and Castilian-speaking immigrants in Barcelona when the autonomous polity of Catalonia was newly established, and on the other hand how the long-term externally imposed norm of using Castilian kept on impacting Catalans' language choice in public domains even though the Spanish Constitution and the Statute of Catalan Autonomy acknowledged Catalan as an official language in Catalonia. These studies reveal that power relations of languages cannot be separable from individuals', social groups' and institutions' ideologies, beliefs, attitudes and the manners of their behaviours towards language use. Power difference and conflicts

very often arise due to divergence of these beliefs, attitudes and manners, and then produce more conflicts that will further reinforce the current power relations, or may invoke some change in the given structure.

3.2.2 Language ideologies and their effects on language use and group differentiation

Silverstein (1979: 193) defines linguistic ideologies as ‘any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use’. Woolard (1998: 7) shares a similar view on this and conceptualizes language ideologies as ‘the ideas, discourses, and semiotic practices’ that serve for the struggle to acquire and maintain power, as well as ‘distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalization’ purported to defend interests and legitimate social domination’. The commonality of their views is seeing ideology as born out of and responsive to the experience of social positions that are loaded with particular cultural frames and social histories, which raises our concern with how meanings of language are ‘socially produced as effective and powerful’, and then how its historical content gets simplified by naturalizing practices and becomes universally and/or timelessly true (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 58). What makes ‘language ideologies’ a critical concept in multilingual contexts is that it channels interactional acts to socio-economic and political aspects of social structure, and it offers an entry into revealing who attached what meanings to which language practices for what purposes or leading to what effects. As Kroskrity maintains (2010: 200), language users construct language ideologies to make sense of the relations between their sociocultural experience and their linguistic and discursive resources and to use these reasonings about linguistic and social differentiation to ground and mediate further language practices.

The Herderian triad of one language, one people and one nation has been influential in Europe since the 18th century (Billig, 1995), connecting language and nationalism or unification, which also influenced Chinese language policy in post-1949 China (Chen, 1999; Zhou and Ross, 2004). And building up geographical and political nation-state boundaries always parallels inventing boundaries or differences between languages (Kelly-Holmes and Busch, 2004). When immigrants from other nations or ethnicities enter their host states, learning the local language is always on the compulsory 'to-do' list required for integration, argued by assimilationists, and very often immigrants' languages are seen to be a threat to the purity of the language of the host country and the unity of the country (Wodak, 2012; Lähteenmäki and Vanhala-Aniszewski, 2012). Whereas within the state itself, one or a few languages or codes got hegemonic status(es) and others are forced to be 'dialects' or regional varieties, which correspond to divided values –some are associated with openness and authority while some others are linked to isolation and backwardness (Woolard, 2016). A desire to construct so-called authenticity is pervasive in marketing discourse which aims to obtain economic value through investing the meaning of 'realness' to particular language products and features (Heller, Pujolar, & Duchêne, 2014). And one important function of language ideologies is to notice, rationalize and justify the act of using different linguistic forms and varieties to index the differences in social groups, which relates to how individuals employ particular language forms to mark their identities and how they categorise others and are categorized by others.

A particular way to differentiate social groups and categorise individuals is based on Silverstein's concept of 'indexicality' (2003) and Agha's concept of 'enregisterment' (2005). When a linguistic form evokes, entails or encompasses social meanings such as social identity (class, ethnicity, interactional roles, etc.) or stance (authority, deference, etc.), it can be seen as having an indexical link with these social meanings, or being 'enregistered'. This process involves both institutional imposed behavior and everyday perception and production by its users and metadiscourse circulating about its indexical value by non-speakers (such as the Received Pronunciation studied by

Agha, 2003; and Putonghua enregistered as a socially recognized supra-local standard in modern mainland China researched by Dong, 2010). According to Johnstone et al. (2006: 83), it is not until when a linguistic form is enregistered that there is a putative belief in the indexical relations, and its speakers and non-speakers strategically choose linguistic forms to perform particular identities. The linguistic form is then commonly seen as essentially linked to particular social identities, and this contributes to the emergence of stereotypes and negotiations around stereotypes by avoiding the use of particular linguistic forms.

In other words, language ideologies are circulated and reproduced by both institutions and ordinary people and have an impact (stereotyping, exclusion, discrimination, etc.) upon language users, in terms of how they are categorized or identified by others or how they make use of the connection to take up particular identities. It is realised through both representations and linguistic choices. On the one hand, ideologies tend to disguise themselves as common sense or pervasive conventions in order to be as effective as possible (Fairclough, 2015). On the other hand, ideologies are saturated in formal practice. In addition to the above mentioned indexical relations to linguistic forms, language ideologies are loaded in other forms of language use and contribute to linguistic identity negotiation (consciously or unconsciously), such as bivalency of language use (Woolard, 1998b; Sebba and Dray, 2012), crossing (Rampton, 1999, 2014), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2009), code-switching in a heteroglossic sense (Bailey, 2007, 2012), code displacement (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1996), translanguaging (García, 2009; Li Wei, 2011; García and Li Wei, 2014). When social actors make linguistic choices they are in fact operationalizing and reproducing language ideologies and making decisions about self-identification or identifying others. These will be elaborated in the following Sections 3.3 and 3.4 from the perspectives of critical discourse studies and conversation analysis on interactional code-switching.

3.3 Critical discourse studies

Critical discourse studies (CDS), also known as critical discourse analysis (CDA), is a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme (Wodak, 2013a: xxi), which questions the relations between discourse, power, dominance, ideology, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships (van Dijk, 1993: 249). CDS aims to make clear the invisible or opaque 'ideological loading of particular ways of using language' and the underlying power relations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Language use is conceived as having major ideological effects in terms of helping produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, genders, ethnic and cultural groups through the ways in which it represents things and positions people. In this sense, language use is linguistic action conditioned in and constituting social contexts, and this perspective of looking at language can be referred to as a discourse view (Fairclough, 2015: 55).

3.3.1 Discourse, power and ideologies

Discourse and context

Drawing upon Foucault's (1971) notion of orders of discourse, Wittgenstein's (1997/1953) idea of language games and Austin's (1962/1955) concept of speech act, CDS sees discourse (including verbal and non-verbal aspects of interaction and communication, such as language in speech and writing, body language, and visual images) as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak and Meyer, 2001, 2016). Two of the leading proponents of CDS argue that

> 'discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it

helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power.' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258)

This view holds that discursive acts have a dialectical relationship with the situations, institutions and the social structure in which they are embedded (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 2009: 8). Seeing the relationship as dialectical helps 'avoid the pitfalls of over-emphasising on the one hand the social determination of discourse, and on the other hand the construction of the social structure in discourse' (Fairclough, 1992: 65). This dialectical relationship, according to Fairclough (2015: 55), can be understood in three aspects. Firstly, language is a part of society in the sense that a linguistic phenomenon is a social phenomenon that is socially determined; at the same time language has social effects in the sense of helping maintain or change social relationships (e.g. family, school). Secondly, language is a part of social processes in the sense that disputes arise in language and over language, for example, arguments and conflicts about meanings of expressions in political debate. In this process, text is a product and a resource for meaning interpretation. Thirdly, language is socially conditioned by other parts of society – the immediate social environment in which discourse occurs, the social institutions which constitute a larger context, and the society as a whole. That is to say, discourse is conditioned by interdependent networks including social orders and 'orders of discourse' which refer to underlying social rules, norms and conventions of discourse. Particularly, the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) proposes to investigate four dimensions of contexts that condition discourses. They are:

1. the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourse;
3. the social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation';
4. the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which discursive practices are

embedded in and related to. (ibid, 30-31).

In other words, CDS goes beyond textual analysis. CDS is explanatory in intent (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). It aims to explain through attending to multiple layers of relevant contexts how discourse and orders of discourse arise out of and give rise to particular relations of power and are associated with ideological assumptions (Fairclough, 2015), and to question and raise people's awareness of the unequal distribution of power where discourse is embedded (Fairclough, 2014).

Power and ideology

'Power' and 'ideology' are central concepts of CDS. Wodak and Meyer (2016: 12) endorse Habermas's claim that 'language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations… are not articulated…language is also ideological (Habermas, 1967: 259, cited by Wodak and Meyer). Van Dijk (1993: 142, 284) defines ideologies as basic and shared social representations of groups, and they serve groups and their members to organize and manage their goals, social practices and daily social life, and are 'essentially condition for existence and reproduction of groups' and 'for the collective management of the relationships between groups' (ibid, 138). In this sense, ideologies are sets of beliefs and values belonging to particular social groups that formed and developed in the interactional processes through which we relate to other people and engage with other social groups (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017). Fairclough (2003: 218) conceptualizes ideologies as 'representations of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation'. They can be operationalized through interaction and inculcated through the process of forming identity. Ideologies function via representations of social activities or groups through discursive practices, such as 'selection, condensation, simplification, exclusion and inclusion', that contribute to

constructing particular versions of social activities and groups 'as well as produce presuppositions which entail ideas on how to understand such representations' (Fairclough, 2015: 32). In most societies where ideological diversity exists, ideological struggles (see discussion of Bakhtin's views about centrifugal and centripetal forces in language in section 3.2.1) take place in the form of struggles between diverse discourse types within and without social institutions. Certain discourses go through a process of naturalization and appear to lose their connection with particular ideologies and interest and become common sense (ibid, 126). That is, ideologies are effective only when they cease to be ideologies and become dominant views.

The differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance with each other manifest a central condition of social life which CDS is concerned with – power. Power is seen by Wodak and Meyer (2001: 10) as embodied by relations of difference, and the effects of differences in social structures. Fairclough (2015: 26) distinguishes 'power to' do things and 'power over' other people, which are in a dialectical relationship: 'having power over people increases power to do things; power to do things is conditional (in some cases at least on having power over people)'. Power relations are seen as relations of struggle referring to 'the process whereby social groupings with different interests engage with one another', for example, groupings of women and men, black and white, young and old, dominating and dominated in social institutions (Fairclough, 2015: 64). And the relations between social groupings are never stable or undisputed, as 'those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power, and those who do not hold power are always liable to make a bid for power', hence power is 'won, exercised, sustained, and lost in the course of social struggle (ibid, 94). Different modes of power are concerned with by CDS – power in discourse, power over/behind discourse. According to Fairclough (2014), power in discourse includes the exercise of power by one of some participants (e.g. in social encounters) over other participant(s) through selecting specific discourses underpinned by dominant ideologies. It is signaled by a

person's control of a social occasion by means of specific rules of interaction and the access to certain resources or space (Wodak, 2007: 210). Power over/behind discourse refers to the power to shape and constitute the underlying conventions that constrain and determine actual discourses, and to determine what discourses are available under certain circumstances and who have the access to them (Fairclough, 2014). Wodak (2013a: xxx), drawing on Luke (2005), finds that power and ideologies are therefore entwined with each other: the exercise of power aiming to prevent people from having grievances is only successful through shaping their perceptions in such a way that they see the existing order of things as natural and interchangeable or value the order as divinely ordained and beneficial so they accept their roles in it.

Fairclough (2015: 66) points out that language is both a site and a stake in these ideological and power struggles, and 'those who can exercise power through language must constantly engage in struggles with others to defend (or lose) their position'. Language is a site of power struggle because 'language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term', and it 'provides a finely articulated vehicle for the expression of differences in power in hierarchical social structures' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 11). Language is a stake in power and ideological struggles as the 'control over orders of discourse is a powerful mechanism for sustaining power' (Fairclough, 2015: 98). A ready example is language standardization as a part of a wider process of economic, political and cultural unification in the building up of modern and contemporary nation-states, and as the key factor to exercise governmentality over colonized populations, which will also be discussed in Section 3.5.5. This is reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1991) concept of symbolic capital, taking language as a set of intangible resources that enable its user to get access to other socio-cultural and politico-economic resources, and defines the social status a language user can take in society or their identities (see Section 3.2.1). As Bourdieu puts it, 'to speak is to appropriate one or other of the expressive styles already constituted in and objectively marked by their position in a hierarchy of styles which expresses the hierarchy of corresponding social groups' (ibid., 53). That is to

say, dissecting the hidden ideologies (in harmony with or in discordance with each other) underlying discursive practices helps to uncover power relations of social groups and individuals' or groups' ways of positioning themselves in relation to other groups.

3.3.2 CDS and critique, and criticism of CDS

Apart from power and ideology, critique is the central concept of CDS. Fairclough (1985: 739) argues that a critical goal means seeking to 'make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants' and elucidating the ideological representations that are naturalized as common sense. The critical approach entails detecting the relationship between micro events and macro structures which condition and are produced by the former, which opposes rigidly separating the micro and the macro. 'Critique' relates to an 'emancipatory' agenda of CDS, according to Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2009: 8), in terms of aiming to intervene discursively in given social and political practices. This intervention refers to unmasking or uncovering 'manipulative maneuvers in politics and the media, which aim at linguistic homogenization or discriminatory exclusion of human beings', and refers to heightening 'the awareness of the rhetorical strategies which are used to impose certain political beliefs, values and goals' (ibid). That is, 'critique' means to make explicit these implicit relationships between discourse, power and ideology, and not to take these connections for granted. It is 'an engaged social critique' that is 'nurtured ethically by a sense of justice based on the normative and Universalist conviction of the unrestricted validity of human rights' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 34). Hence in the agendas of the discourse-historical approach (DHA) to CDS, developed by Wodak and Meyer (2001, 2016), and the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) to CDS, developed by Fairclough (2015), normative critique is either the main focus or an important and

first stage. Adopting Foucault's notion of critique, 'critique' in DHA refers to examining, assessing and evaluating persons, objects, actions, social institutions, and so on, and it attempts to diagnose shortcomings and contradictions in the political and social status quo and quests for truth and rightness (Wodak and Meyer, 2016: 24). Their understanding of social critique integrates three aspects:

(1) 'Text or discourse immanent critique' aims to discovers inconsistencies, (self)-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
(2) 'Socio-diagnostic critique' is concerned with uncovering the – particularly latent – persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. Here, we rely on our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories and other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret discursive events.
(3) Future-related prospective critique seeks to improve communication (e.g. by elaborating guidelines against sexist language use or by reducing 'language barriers' in hospitals, schools and so forth). (ibid, 25)

By firstly identifying within texts or discourses contradictory presuppositions, implications, argumentations, and so on, and secondly uncover the disguised claims and interests and problematic social and political goals in discursive practices through making use of contextual knowledge, DHA at the final stage is oriented to solving these specific problems and dysfunctionalities, embracing a transformative and practical agenda.

However, problems also arise in these processes, and analysts are aware of them. Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, (2009: 33) acknowledge that the term 'unmasking' in the DHA 'contains the overtones of a know-it-all or know-it-better attitudes on the part of the analysts' if notions such as 'truth' and 'reality' remain unquestioned. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 9) state that 'CDA, like other critical social sciences, needs to be reflexive and self-critical about its own

institutional position and all that goes with it'. Breeze (2011) has made comprehensive discussions of criticism of CDS and CDS practitioners' response to them. She suggests that researchers who wish to carry out studies within a CDS paradigm should bear in mind that:

a. As CDS is defined and driven by its political commitments it is necessary to make explicit researchers' political aims and stances before their interpretation of texts.
b. A wide range of theories about language and society are drawn upon by CDS studies but they are not always compatible with each other. Researchers should clarify their theoretical frameworks and allow open critical discussions about alternative frameworks.
c. CDS studies are often problematized as being selective in their methodology and text analysis. This can be minimized by incorporating techniques from corpus linguistics and the perspective of pragmatics. And researchers must be cautious about their standard of handling data.
d. Researchers need to do justice to the process from describing language data to stages of interpreting and explaining data in terms of social theory.
e. Reader reception is paid little attention to by CDS practitioners, who often see their interpretation as superior. They should focus more on the concern of audience reception.
f. CDS studies always have a wide vision of macro contexts but lose sight of the immediate contexts. Researchers should pay more attention to the micro contexts.
g. It would be beneficial if CDS researchers explore positive social language changes and emancipatory discourses, as these help inform how positive transformations can be brought about.

Here I do not reinvent the wheel, rather I show a relevant criticism of CDS to my thesis situated in the Chinese context. Shi-xu (2005: 3) holds that within the mainstream CDA/CDS theories of discourse and approaches to it are largely of Western origin and orientation and are presented as more or less universally

applicable (see similar views by Blommaert, 2005: 35-6, about CDS seeing observations taken in limited regions as universal to a wider context). Shi-xu claims that Western and non-Western discourses are a matter of centre and periphery, and makes an appeal to ‘reclaim, valorize and empower the repressed non-Western discourse’ (ibid, 9). Taking Chinese discourse as an example, he claims that Chinese language is far more implicit and much less form-dependent than European languages, and Chinese discourse is embedded within the modern history of Western colonialism and imperialism, hence it is misleading to solely use Western dualistic, binary and individualist models for interpretation and analysis. Unfortunately, he takes a reductionist perspective to demarcate the Western and non-Western discourses, which is ‘uncritical homogenization and dichotomization of the world into binaries’ (KhosraviNik, 2015: 76). His reductionism is also demonstrated in seeing ‘Chinese discourse’ as a homogenous and static whole, ignoring, for example, the complexity and hybridity of discourses in different times and regions, and the differences between institutional/governmental discourses and discourses of ordinary people, and in over-emphasising the vital role of Confucianism on Chinese discourse (if there is a ‘Chinese discourse’).

However, his questioning of a Universalist view does make sense. When interpreting the meaning of discourses in a particular language, it is important to regard the cultural underpinnings of these discourses, adapting the analyzing procedures or categories to the cultural specificity, or even developing specific analyzing categories for clearer understanding (Shi-xu, 2012). This can be well demonstrated by Tian’s (2010) elaboration of what ‘being critical’ means in Chinese context and the historical development of the meanings of relevant concepts (批评 *piping,* 批判 *pipan*) in Chinese. Furthermore, Cao (2014) argues that contemporary China has been going through fast transformation and it is inappropriate to assume a monolithic centralised power in China; rather, ‘an expanding space has emerged in China for a widening range of participants to engage in negotiation with dominant discourses’ (2014: 3). This transformation and the transformative discourse are manifested in attacks on

traditional culture such as the de-construction of Confucianism, the emerging public sphere largely engendered in the new media of the Internet (Tian and Chilton, 2014), the rising individualism in families (see Yan, 2003, *Private Life under Socialism*), and so on. In short, when we take a CDS perspective to investigate discourses in contemporary China, we should tailor and appropriate CDS theories and approaches according to the specificity of Chinese culture, its socio-political background. It is more important to avoid a static and simplistic view of cultural approach but to take a historical view, seeing 'culture' as complex, diverse, and transforming, and examining the features of the relevant cultural entities before interpreting its influence on particular discourses and social actions.

3.3.3 Discourse, identity and power

CDS holds that language and identity have a dialectic relationship (Wodak, 2013b: 394). On the one hand, language manifests who we are, and on the other, language use or discourse always constitutes social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and these processes occur hand in hand with how discourse constitutes systems of knowledge, and belief (Fairclough, 2013). Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 25) argue that 'ideologies serve as important means of creating shared social identities', such as through establishing hegemonic identity narratives. Particularly, van Dijk (1998: 69) characterizes the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation that social groups use to build up ideological images of themselves, demarcate themselves from others, and to promote their own interests; meanwhile how people seen by others as members of certain groups show their dissociation from these groups by opposing to or going against the polarization of positive-self and negative-other of those groups. To put it in another way, identity construction is based upon defining similarities and difference and inclusionary and exclusionary processes (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart,

2009). Many migrant identity studies in this vein are set in the European countries and Britain, and show how migrants are represented, in relation to national identity, as ‘strangers’, anonymous mass, potential threat to public security and national identities, and the language proficiency tests are employed as ‘gatekeepers’ which protect the homogeneity of local culture and value from other language and culture brought in by migrants (Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2010, Wodak and Boukala, 2015). In the course of drawing clear boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’, stereotypes, stigmatisation, discrimination, even racism are part and parcel of the construction of Other identities (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, KhosraviNik, 2015).

In the meantime, power behind discourse plays an important role in discursive identity construction. Those who have power set and enforce norms or ideologies of language use, and determine which forms of languages are valued and whose self and other identification are accepted. Foucault (1982: 781) argues that power operates along this process in the form of categorising an individual and imposing a truth on him/her which must be recognized and which others have to recognize in him/her. Being subject to this form of power precludes the emergence of individual identity (in this specific context identity refers to his term ‘subject position’). Considering there is always social struggle in which those ‘powerful’ engage in defending their power and positions, those who temporarily have no or little power can contest the given ideological systems and the dominant cultural categorisation by showing divergent positions, and the contestation constitutes their social identities (Kress, 1996). Social struggles also manifest competing or conflicting beliefs, values and ideologies. Different groups and social institutions represent or categorise the same people or groups in different ways in order to pursue their goals and promote their interests (Phillips and Hardy, 1997; Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004).

3.4 Conversation analysis and code-switching

In this section, I present an approach which integrates conversation analysis and

membership categorization analysis for researching the act of 'doing' identity in conversational interactions. It will be an impossible mission to produce a comprehensive review of studies on conversation analysis (CA). CA aims to get into a position to transform our view about social interaction (Sacks, 1984: 26), and it is a view of human action that 'places the emphasis…on the structures of activity within which individuals or their external attributes are embedded' (Sidnell, 2010: 2). Studies have been focusing on CA as an approach or a method, as contributing to social theory, and applying it to a wide range of ordinary and institutional interactions. I only present some of the principles of this approach that are most relevant to my research aim.

3.4.1 Principles of conversation analysis

3.4.1.1 Talk is social action

Conversation analysis owes a lot to how Goffman understands the activity of speaking in social interactions and Garfinkel's studies on ethnomethodological approach to sociology. In contrast to contemporary linguists who were restricted to structural or grammatical rules of sentences, or variations in language and their sociological determinants, Goffman (1964: 136) points out the importance of language-in-use: 'talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks to whom in what language, but as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action, a social encounter'. This resonates with the research object of ethnomethodology defined by Garfinkel (1967: 11), who uses the term to refer to the investigation of contingent practical actions as ongoing accomplishments or organised artful practices of everyday life. Talk or speaking is seen as 'an elastic medium for the performance of actions' and the understanding of it 'must necessarily involve the same range of methodic contextual considerations as the understanding of any other form of action' (Heritage, 1984: 310). Sacks draws upon these views and uses CA to look at how utterances 'get used to construct a range of activities' and how people use

them to ‘do things’ (Silverman, 1998: 101). That is to say, CA attends to talk as social action. It focuses far more widely than ‘conversation’, rather it ‘sees talk-in-interaction as a social process which is deployed to realize and understand the social situations in which talk is used’ (Liddicoat, 2007: 6).

3.4.1.2 Talk is an orderly activity

Goffman (1967/2005:2) argues that the proper study of interaction should be discussing ‘the syntactical relations among the acts of different persons mutually present to one another’, and these relations in social interactions embody a distinct institutional order that can be treated as other social institutions and should be treated as a substantive domain in their own right (1983). Following this idea, Sacks (1984: 22) proposes that not only ‘large-scale, massive institutions’ but also ‘the terribly mundane, occasional, local, and the like’ have their own orders, that is, ‘whatever humans do can be examined to discover some way they do it’ and ‘there is order at all points’. CA essentially aims to describe talk-in-interaction as its own social process and governed by its own regularities, and ‘as an orderly accomplishment or the organization of the talk that is oriented to by the participants themselves’ (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 15, 21).

The ‘intrinsic orderliness’ is based on a turn-by-turn organisation. That is, participants of interactions take turns to talk, and one responds to another’s action – each turn ‘is inspectable, and is inspected, by co-participants to see how it stands to the one preceded, and what sort of response it has accorded the preceding turn’ (Schegloff, 2007). One speaker projects and requires the relevance of a next action or range of possible next actions to be done by a subsequent speaker, then the following action will show if its speaker confirmed his/her understanding of the preceding action, and if not a repair may arise at any third turn in the ongoing sequence (Heritage, 1984). The clustered turns at talk as sequences of actions have their own structures, called

the 'sequential organisation' of talk-in-interaction, which 'participants in an interaction use to produce and recognize coherent and meaningful action' (Liddicoat, 2007: 7)

3.4.1.3 Talk is context-shaped and context-renewing, and context is made relevant by participants

Another important principle of CA is pointed out by Heritage (1984: 242), that any communicative action is context-shaped and context-renewing: it is context-shaped in that the current action is relevantly taken after interpreting and understanding the immediately preceding turn(s), and the meaning of and contribution of the current action to the ongoing sequence cannot be understood without referring to the preceding action(s); meanwhile the current action forms the immediate context for some next action(s) in a sequence and constrains and effects what follows and how subsequent action will be heard and understood, or 'action will re-determine (by sustaining, modifying, updating, or transforming) the sense of the current context' (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990: 286). In this sense, the context of a next action is constantly renewed with every current action, and conversationalists design their talk to demonstrate their understanding or recognition of the current context and to produce the context for the next action.

It is important that these contexts are only relevant when they are oriented to by participants in the course of their actions as so. CA takes an emic approach that studies behavior 'as from the inside of the system' (Sacks, 1984). Conversation analysts have to show whether an aspect of context has been identified as being relevant by participants so as to be consequential for the ongoing interaction. This also relates to what 'context' refers to in CA. According to Schegloff (1992), it refers to those that are established by sequential actions that participants understand themselves to be engaged in, such as a phone call with a friend; and it also refers to

social stratification, class, ethnic, gender as well as social institutions such as the law and market order, which can be source of ordering of and constraint on social life and embodying power in different ecological, regional, national and cultural settings. Two types of contexts are linked up when participants themselves make relevant certain aspects of 'context' through talk, or when participants invoke them or talk them into being (Sidnell, 2010: 246). For example, when a school teacher interrupts her pre-class chat with students in Cantonese by switching to Putonghua, the officially recognized medium of instruction of China, and saying '我们上次讲到哪儿' (where were we last time?), she invokes the relevance of the pedagogical setting, the state language policy, and the identities of teacher and students. Therefore, focusing on the relationships between utterances/actions and contexts helps reveal the relevant ideologies in the social context of interactions and investigate the identities that are invoked and talked into being in the relevant context(s) of interactions.

3.4.2 Conversation-analytical approach to bilingual talk and code-switching (CS)

By the 1970s, the predominant views that account for the activity of switching from one language/variety to another emphasised the impact of extra-linguistic parameters such as participant constellation, topic, setting, cultural norm, and the like upon bilinguals' choices of languages in conversations. Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced, in addition to the situational language alternation, the metaphorical code-switching used by speakers intending to convey communicative metaphorical information when the situation remained the same. In order to interpret this type of code alternation without returning to 'the situational code-switching as the normative point of reference' (Auer, 1984a: 88), Gumperz (1982) proposes two notions – we/they codes and code alternation as contextualization cues – in terms of the speaker identity and conversational organization. He claims (ibid, 66, 84, 88) that in bilingual society there is a tendency for the ethnically specific minority language to be regarded

as the ‘we code’ and become associated with the casualness or intimacy of in-group and informal activities, whereas the majority language interpreted as the ‘they code’ linked to the more formal, stiff and less personal out-group relations and indicating objectification or speaker distance. However, Gumperz (ibid, 83) recognizes that ‘not all cases of we passages are clearly identifiable as personalised’. And although it is a convenient model for researchers or analysts to interpret metaphorical code-switching, it directly maps the dichotomy of codes onto speakers’ first/second languages in a static way (Sebba and Wooton, 1998; Stroud, 1998; Li Wei, 1998).

His view of seeing code-switching as a contextualization cue seems to be a more satisfactory account. It refers to the creative function of code-switching that signals the contextual presupposition, and code-switching is among all the form-related means (both verbal, such as intonation, rhythm, accent, and non-verbal such as gesture, eye-contact) by which participants ‘make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel… any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance’ (Auer, 1984b: 4). This view concurs with CA’s principle of ‘talk as context-renewing’, implying that the relationship between text and context is reflexive. This ‘emergent’ context includes the social roles of participants in interactions. Gumperz’s theory resonates with Goffman’s (1974) notion of ‘frames’ and Garfinkel’s (1967) ethnomethodology which take social roles as emerging – it is important to make clear which social role(s) is/are made relevant in interaction in order to provide the context for interpretation. That is, among all the social roles available to participants, they will actualize one or some of them through talk in interaction. Auer illustrates this by an example of the incumbents of the roles of ‘doctor’ and ‘patient’ which will only be realized through the ways they interact and take on the rights and obligations in this relationship, which echoes Sacks’s (1986a, 1986b) notion of membership categorization device, to be introduced in the section 3.5.2.2. In this sense, seeing CS as a contextualization cue acknowledges speakers’ agency that they can employ their linguistic repertoires and use the juxtaposition of codes or the language alternation itself to produce meaning such as constructing social roles and

identities and indicate the change of contextual information (ibid, 82, 131).

3.4.2.1 Auer's sequential approach to code-switching in interactions

Auer (1984a: 90) adopts Gumperz's notion of the contextualization cue, and he argues that 'every turn, every utterance, changes some features of the situation and maintains or re-establishes others', and code alternation is one of the forms that serve for renewing contexts. The reasons why it can signal a change in context or why participants can interpret its function in the local context as contextualisation lie in an assumption of a 'preference for the same language talk'. Code alternation 'runs counter to this preference' and 'only heightens its signaling value' (1984b: 30), hence it indicates 'otherness' (1995: 124), that something new is going on here. He proposes a conversation analytical approach to code alternation, based upon firstly his aim of analysing '*members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation*' (Auer, 1984b: 3) which clearly takes an emic perspective. Secondly this approach seeks to interpret the functions of code alternation as contextualization cues through the turn-by-turn organization of interaction, or a 'sequential environment' (1995: 116). Two types of code alternation are code-switching and transfer. The former refers to any language alternation at a certain point in conversation without a structurally determined return to the first language, and the latter to language alternation for a certain unit with a structurally provided point of return into the first language with that unit's completion (1984b: 26). Crosscutting these are two alternation types, discourse-related and preference-related alternations. The alternation that contextualises the organization of talk in terms of a shift in topic, participant constellation or activity type is seen as 'discourse-related', while those related mainly to participants' code preferences or code choices in terms of language competence are seen as 'participant-related' (1984b, 1995).

Auer's model of a sequential approach to studying code alternation indicates the beginning of a trend of seeing code-switching as an act that contributes to the organization of interactions and the process of meaning-making (e.g. Auer, 1984b, 1998; Sebba and Wootton, 1998; Sebba, 1993; Li Wei 1994; Li Wei and Milroy, 1995), rather than questioning the motivation of code-switching (see Li Wei, 1998, from 'why' of CS to 'how' of CS). Particularly, Auer (1984b) shows that divergence from a new code introduced by interlocutors in a second pair part can parallel a divergent viewpoint on the topical or activity level. In this sense, code-switching serves to show speakers' positioning about topics and alignment with interlocutors, which is connected to speakers' identity choices. Focusing on the organization and sequentiality of interaction and turn-taking, Sebba and Wootton (1998) and Sebba (1993) argue that CA provides support for a division of we/they codes independent of Gumperz's simplistic we-code/they-code, which mainly exist in contexts of rigid diglossia. They found that within the Caribbean community in London, stretches of London Jamaican embedded in a London English turn often correspond to the most salient part of an utterance and strengthen an assertion or emphasize a view, while a switch from London Jamaican to London English within a turn is used to change from the main theme of a conversation to material of secondary importance. That is, examining interactional code-switching reveals the identity-related functions of London Jamaican and London English in practice for speakers.

However, Auer is aware that the principle of 'preference for same language talk' does not always work. He notices situations when 'code-switching is an unmarked choice' (1995: 127). Building on this observation, Alvarez-Caccamo (1998) proposes a term 'communicative code' to refer to a 'mixed' style of language use found as a norm in bilingual contexts, which includes more than one language or variety. Ready examples can be found in Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) on the code-switched languages of Lingala-French and Swahili-French as monolects, and a mixture of French-English used by kids in Ontario schools (Heller, 1995b) for presentation in front of peer group. This view echoes the warnings of Sebba and Wootton (1998) and

Li Wei (1998) against analysts' 'importing' received ideas in interpreting instances of language alternation. It indicates that analysts' understandings of what language or code is should be put aside, instead they should investigate 'communicative codes' oriented to by speakers through appropriating language or variety as materials for achieving situational goals or signalling social identification. Similarly, Gafaranga and Torras (2001, 2002) bring in the notion of a 'medium of interaction' to account for a code that is actually perceived by conversationalists themselves to be used to conduct talk. In this framework, code-switching refers to 'not any occurrence of two languages within the same conversation, but rather any instance of deviance from the current medium which is not oriented to (by participants themselves)' (2002: 19). I adopt these views and see 'code' as the medium through which participants in interaction produce meaning and achieve particular goals.

3.4.2.2 Sacks's membership categorisation analysis and its application to identity construction in bilingual talk

While Auer's model of sequential analysis studies how actions and meanings can be achieved through the organization of language choice and alternation, Sacks (1974) provides another model which studies how activities or social events can be accounted for through making categories relevant. He (1974: 218) argues that 'what one ought to seek to build is an apparatus which will provide for how it is that any activities, which members do in such a way as to be recognizable as such to members, are done, and done recognizably'. Drawing upon Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, based on Sacks's own studies on the importance of invoking commonsensical categories to explain why suicidal people take their life, he develops a framework of membership categorization analysis (MCA) to delve into how social norms which governs our perception of events made talk or action intelligible and interpretable (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986: 327).

Concepts and rules of MCA

I will only introduce a few basic concepts and rules of MCA that are relevant for my research. The concept 'categories' is the way we describe, perceive and make sense of the world. Categories can be gathered and make 'a collection of devices'. For example, 'father' and 'mother' come from a collection of such categories which is usually called as 'family members'. Such a collection is called a 'membership categorization device' (MCD). By the use of some rules of application, one person can be paired up with at least one categorization device member (1972b/1986: 332). A first relevant rule 'economy rule' holds that 'a single category from any membership categorization device can be referentially adequate' (Sacks, 1986a: 34). A woman can be categorized according to the collection of 'family members' as a mother, and can also be recognized related to the device of 'occupation' as a policewoman/agent. But one category is enough to identify or refer to her in one situation. Another rule is called a 'consistency rule' or 'relevance rule' (Sacks, 1986b: 333), which means that if two or more categories are used together and belong to one collection of devices, as 'baby' and 'mommy' in 'the baby cried, the mommy picked him up' which belong to a MCD of 'family', then we listeners hear them as from the same family, as each other's baby and mommy. However, as one category can belong in more than one collection of device, one way to make clear which is relevant is through the activities a person takes. Sacks (1986b: 335) introduces a term called 'category-bound activities', referring to activities that are seen to be done by members of particular categories, so if a person does a particular activity s/he will be taken as a member of a corresponding category. It is because of the 'viewer's maxim' – if a member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one can see it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, then: see it that way (Sacks, 1986b: 338). Therefore, activities and identities are in a relationship of mutual signaling. In Stokoe's (2012: 281) words, 'that activities are category-bound …become a resource for action', and people can complain when category-bound activities are absent (e.g.

when a lecturer did not show up in a lecture without any notice beforehand).

The 'going together' of categories and activities can only be actualized within the sequential environment of interactions, which means it 'is achieved and is to be found in the local specifics of categorization as an activity' (Hester and Eglin, 1997: 46). Sacks (1986a) underlines that only when utterances or talks are organized in a certain sequence or when they occur in a certain order do they accomplish a certain action, and make corresponding categories emerge, which is called 'turn-generated' category. That is, to ask a question requires constructing an utterance that can be recognized as a question, and it calls for an utterance to occur in the next slot as an answer, and the actions of constructing utterances recognized as question and answer in its order make relevant the categories of speakers as 'questioner' and 'answerer' (Fitzgerald, 2015: 6). Thus, category-bound activities are sequential categories, and MCA and CA can be used together as an integrated analysis of talk (Housley and Fitzgerald: 2002: 61), as Hester and Eglin argue that the sequential and the categorisational aspects in practice are closely intertwined and they can only be separable for the purpose of analysis (1997: 2).

Meanwhile, categories invoked or produced on particular occasions can be used to serve certain purposes. Stokoe (2012: 278) argues that MCA helps understand 'turn-generated "identity-in-interaction"'. Silverman (1998: 97) claims that 'membership categorization devices are local members' devices, actively employed by speakers and hearers to formulate and reformulate the meanings of activities and identities'. I apply it to examining the linguistic identities emerged in bilingual talk, which has language alternation as the category-bound activity.

Gafaranga's notion of 'language preference as MCD'

Adopting MCA in investigating the orderliness of language alternation, Gafaranga (2001: 1915) argues that language alternation itself must be viewed as 'practical

social action' in its own right in bilingual talk. Since activities and identities are 'co-selective' according to MCA, language alternation is made possible by participants' locally negotiated linguistic identities. More specifically, the orderliness of language alternation among bilingual speakers can be accounted for in terms of locally brought-along linguistic identities by participants; that said, 'speakers fit themselves and one another in a *language-based categorization device*', (i.e. they 'define themselves and one another as monolingual or bilingual and in which language(s)') in order to accomplish talk/action in bilingual interactions (ibid.: 1916, his emphasis). He refers to this device as 'language preference', drawing on Auer's (1998: 8) conceptualization of it as 'interactional processes of displaying and ascribing (language-related) predicates' (Gafaranga, 2001: 1916).

Adopting Gafaranga's notion, Cashman (2005) examines how senior citizens from various ethnic backgrounds in the U.S. 'talked into being' (see Heritage 1984:290) not only linguistic identities but also social identities (such as 'Anglo' and 'Chicana') through language preference as a MCD during their interactions in playing board games. Higgins (2009) investigates how speakers use code-switching from Swahili to English to resist the social identities that interlocutors ascribed to them, and to mark a disjunction with the attributed identities to them. Mondada (2007) shows how code-switching is used to invoke categories such as expert/trainee and evaluating expert/operating surgeon in an operation in a major French hospital which is transmitted to an audience of advanced trainee and external experts, and how orientations to these categories help align, assemble and unify or oppose, distance and rank the co-participants so categorized or oppose participants. Greer (2007) looks at how language alternation between English and Japanese is used by mixed heritage Japanese to evoke not only their multi-ethnic identities but also situated identities of 'entertainer', 'vendor' and 'student' in various contexts in school.

3.4.2.3 CA studies of code choices in Chinese literature

Studies on interactional code-switching between Cantonese and Putonghua and linguistic identity from CA and/or MCA perspectives are extremely under-represented in Chinese literature. Li Wei (1994) takes a conversation analytical approach to investigate three-generation migrants' language choice patterns in Tyneside Chinese community in the UK, and the observed code-switching between Cantonese and English offers evidence of an intergenerational language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism taking place in the community. Pan's (2000a, 2000b, 2000c) focus is on politeness and code-switching between Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou. He found that switching from Cantonese to Putonghua is used as a face strategy by salespeople to show convergence and to accommodate their Putonghua-speaking customers. Putonghua is chosen for enhancing the relationship between salespeople and their customers. When getting the floor, salespeople may switch back to Cantonese as it is their first language which makes it easier for them to elaborate their points.

3.5 Relevant identity analysis models and Jenkins's framework of dialectics of external-internal identification

3.5.1 Self- and other-presentation or *we* vs. *they*

As mentioned in section 3.4.3, self- and other-presentations are examples of making sense of 'who I am', through marking out one's features that are similar to some individuals and different from others, or identifying one as a member of some groups and distinguishing from members of other groups. Very often the self-presentation and other-presentation are essentialised as positive 'us' opposed to negative 'them' or 'the other(s)', and this ideology of group differentiation grounds one's understanding and conceptualization of self (van Dijk, 1998: 69). A salient feature of this act of 'othering'

is its nature of generalizing and dichotomizing. Embodied as ascribing selected and condensed features to individuals and groups, comparing and contrasting individuals and groups in terms of particular respects, it consists of and constitutes exclusion and inclusion, prejudicing and stigmatization. Vast scholarships have committed to studying how migrants are represented as Others, or the act of othering migrants in various transnational, trans-ethnic and multilingual contexts. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) study the anti-Semitism and xenophobic discourses in Austrian socio-political context; Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) research the discrimination against immigrants in Belgium; KhosraviNik (2010) discusses the dehumanization, functionalization and collectivization of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in British newspaper discourses. Van Dijk (2005) focuses on discriminatory discourses in Spain and Latin America. Among other studies in Asian regions and countries, Flowerdew, Li and Tran (2002) research the discrimination against mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong, Ortiga (2015) and Rubdy and McKay (2013) on the stigmatizing representation of migrant workers in Singapore. In response to these homogenizing identifications, immigrants also employ the strategy of 'othering' to resist or negotiate their identification, which will be discussed in section 3.6.4.

The essentially 'reductive' process of othering simplifies diverse and hybrid features of individuals or social groups, produces a fixed and clear-cut boundary between self and other, and fails to reflect the fluid and blurry definitions of individuals and groups. An alternative identification is found to distinguish from the binary of *we* vs. *they*. A status of becoming but yet to be reaching or the act of claiming in-between/neither-nor identities can be observed in migrants' identification with groups and over time.

3.5.2 In-between or neither-nor identities

Seeing identification as the possibility to strive for a certain identity and based upon the interplay between processes of differentiation and recognition, Wodak and

Krzyzanowski (2008) explore European immigrants' in-between identities determined by an individual-collective conflict. On the one hand migrants project their sense of belonging and emotional attachment to home or host communities and countries and their languages, on the other hand the legal and bureaucratic thresholds of citizenship do not grant them membership while the home communities no longer recognise them as one of their own. In the same series of studies, Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) and Krzyzanowski (2010) start off their research on migrants' identities by investigating the process of becoming rather than being someone and the status of wanting to be and approaching but not yet to be. In their argument, 'belonging' is a notion that can embrace inherent fluidity, multiplicity and fragmentality of identities, and the symbolic and psychological component of the act of identification. Therefore, they can avoid using a vague and empty signifier of 'identity', which seems to be (re)articulated and referring to as various as possible contents in identity studies. They prefer 'belonging' as it encompasses firstly identification as someone and secondly identification with some community. And this concept does not assume 'the existence of stable, hermetically sealed identities that can be either kept separate or "hyphenated" with others' (Jones and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 42). Also, the authors are concerned that the extent to which the external recognition or categorization which objectify or dehumanize actors is significant for definitions of one's own identification.

Deeply drawing on Probyn's (1996) notion of 'inbetweenness of belonging', this line of studies on the in-between or neither-nor identities sets out from an ontology that a desire for identification is the default status and the term *belonging* 'captures more accurately the desire for some sort of attachment, be it other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fueled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as stable state' (1996: 19). In Probyn's framework, a desire to become someone and to keep desire going on contributes to reaching the goal of doing identities (ibid: 40-41), which is 'attaining a zone of proximity where one can no longer distinguish from what one becomes' (Deleuze, 1993: 86, quoted in Probyn,

1996: 51). Attending migrants' identities in this way offers insights into how identities are affected by the conflict between agency and structure, and it fits into an angle which investigates the ambivalence when self's desired identities meet with non-recognition.

However, this perspective does not truly de-construct the binary of self and other, as it presupposes that migrants are located in a spectrum where one end is the desired identity or identities and implicitly the other the unwanted, and that they long for recognition but their self-definitions are not recognised. Hence, they face a deadlock in which they are unable to be located anywhere, but there is no specification about the 'nowhere' or 'neither-nor'. This model cannot account for those cases in which migrants show no intention to be anchored or do not strive for a particular identity or several identities. In other words, it takes for granted that there are identities 'over there' that migrants desire. And what these studies truly focus on is migrants' representation of a status of being forced to stay at the middle ground between desired identities and institutional/community non-recognition, instead of the process or act of migrants' identification.

3.5.3 The 'third space'

In fact, migrants' status can be accounted for beyond the restraining division of *us* vs. *them* or institutions/collectives vs. individuals. Coupland (2010: 246) points out that 'the stranger' in Simmel's concept does not necessarily refer to a repressed other, and by implication the stranger has definite strength and a certain degree of freedom from normative constraint. This includes the possibility of creating new identities or 'new articulations', in Hall's (1992: 279) notion, which indicates to reconfiguring or recombining symbolic and material resources available and reclaiming mixed or hybrid identities. It resonates with the notion of 'third space' that Bhabha (1994) uses to propose a 'beyond' vision, focusing on the difference and hybridity of culture, instead of the diversity or multiplicity of culture based upon an assumed hierarchy or

a universal value system of judgment. In other words, it is a space peculiar to itself, with new structure of authority, new political initiatives, and is only constituted in relation to the otherness that is internal to its own symbol-forming activity, and cannot be fully understood through received schemes. It is not an ‘in-between’ space or the celebration of including multiple Others in the mainstream culture. He argues that ‘by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves’ (Bhabha, 1994: 56). The Third Space is a site of transformation, innovation and contestation, where the symbolic representation is critical to underlining the value of the uniqueness of the ‘others’. Hence it provides a new route for both individuals and groups to define themselves and researchers to explore the act of identification.

Following this vein, Pavlenko (2001) presents the way immigrants in the U.S. at the turn of 20th century claim their identities as Americans in autobiographies – they deny the ideology of assimilation in the earlier immigrant narratives, and in their autobiographies redefine what it means to be a member of the American culture by portraying their life experiences and proactive participation in local community events. Koefoed and Simonsen (2012) display how Copenhagen residents with Pakistani origin find alternative space of identification when encountering the discrepancy between their identification as Danish and the experience of not gaining recognition from the Danish community. They trace downward the spatial scales and self-identify as Copenhageners and/or upwards as cosmopolitans and transnationals. Walker (2011: 159) notices that New Zealand youth immigrants’ sense of being ‘neither here nor there’ resulting from dislocation and isolation may invoke the creation of a new identity by integrating traditional and new identities, expressing hybrid affinities through combinations such as ‘Chiwi’ (‘Chilean’ and ‘Kiwi’). Apart from constructing an alternative in a semantic way through narratives, immigrants can also propose innovative linguistic forms to assert the uniqueness of their multilingual identities corresponding to the hybridity of their ethnicity. For example, low-income multi-ethnic immigrant youths in Parisian suburbs are found by Doran (2004) to use a

sociolect, ‘Verlan,’ to construct solidarity, create an alternative identity that is distinct from those imposed on them related to the assimilationist discourse and the prescriptive norms of Standard French, and to oppose a bourgeois majority culture that is different from theirs in terms of socioeconomic position and cultural values.

These ways of self-identification, including re-defining a taken-for-granted category, locating selves at different scales of space, and creating new linguistic/identity categories, all demonstrate that individuals can take a proactive approach to react to external categorization or identification that does not match their understanding of selves. There is a thread of scholarships taking a similar perspective, emphasising individuals’ act of negotiating identities or membership categories, concerning the power relations of languages and of social groups.

3.5.4 Negotiating imposed identities

A seminal work on identity negotiation is a collection on identities in multilingual contexts edited by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), mainly drawing upon Harre’s concept of ‘positioning’ to discuss the discursive practices that constitute identities.

Identity is understood by Davies and Harre (1990) as the product of discursive practices which manage multiple and contradictory positions into a consistent and unitary story line through lived experiences and narratives. Discourse is institutionalized use of language or semiotic systems at political, cultural, disciplinary, small group levels, and is ‘a multi-faceted public process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved’. Discourse is constitutive to reality and persons engage in it as it provides subject positions. Its constitutive force lies in that attending to particular discursive practices indicates taking up particular positions and story lines through which individuals make sense of their own and others’ lives, and which involves imaginatively positioning oneself as if one belongs to some category but not in others. As identity is constituted and reconstituted through various positions

that are made sense of and available by one's own and others' discursive practices (ibid, 4), which can be contradictory and incompatible versions, managing these discursive practices and positioning requires an interactional perspective.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 20-21) expand the meaning of positioning to all discursive practices individuals use to position themselves or others instead of those only immanent in conversational interactions, and focus on the act of positioning within the negotiation of the tension between self-chosen identities and others' attempt to position them differently, and negotiation within individuals themselves in terms of change in positioning selves. According to whether the tensions can be managed or not, categories or representations are divided into the negotiable and the imposed/non-negotiable. In this sense, they are concerned with both agency in the act of positioning and the restraints over individuals in the forms of institutional and commonsensical identification that cannot be contested. Immigrants' identities studied by Pavlenko (2004), Giampapa (2004), along with some other studies (Pavlenko, 2001; De Fina, 2003; Dong and Blommaert, 2009; Mick, 2011; Walker, 2011; Koefoed and Simonsen, 2012; Rubdy and McKay, 2013) embody a few characteristics:

a) Affirming positive features of selves, and problematizing the categories assigned by others, or challenging the stereotype imposed on immigrants. One important respect of the positive self-presentation is through claiming good language skills or ownership of the local or dominant language of the host countries or regions, in order to challenge the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers that grants authority and superiority to native speakers. For instance, Canadian Italian youths in Giampapa's (2004) study claim to be English dominant speakers and claim that they have acquired cultural capital 'thought to be' necessary to belong to the Anglo-Canadian world, which is opposite to the stereotypical views that 'Italian rich kids' live spoiled lives and lack values for education in their neighborhood. Mexican migrant workers in the U.S. in De Fina (2003) defend themselves against

the imposed category ‘undocumented workers’ by arguing that they came to the U.S. for work rather than taking locals’ jobs or stealing/committing crimes, self-categorising as Mexicans and Hispanics, and illustrating that they work harder than local groups by a higher proportion of them being chosen for a job than other ethnic groups.

b) Highlighting and celebrating the uniqueness of selves, through normalizing their hybridity, multi-culturalism and multilingualism that are seen as ‘abnormal’ to the mainstream culture, and creating new categories and self-defined identities. Peruvian migrant domestic workers in Lima, studied by Mick (2011), created an integrated identity category ‘all the Peruvians’ that are characterized by their interior diversity and equal rights, to challenge and question the dominant hierarchy of social positions in which they are located at the bottom and are discriminated against.

c) Contesting, ridiculing, and Othering those who other them. It is common to see migrants counter-react to the Other representation of them by employing the same tool, through the inclusion of some and the exclusion of other because they are ‘usually at the receiving end of processes of differentiation and social exclusion’ (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2008: 101). Rubdy and McKay (2013) found that Southeastern Asian migrant workers in Singapore evaluate the Singaporean variety of English as impure, incorrect and lacking grammar, distance themselves from the way Singaporeans speak English, while proudly positioning their own speech (Filipino, Indian English) in superior categories. Through deprecating Singaporeans’ spoken English, migrant workers apply the discrimination and social hierarchy imposed on them in reverse to the local community.

It can be found that in the negotiation model linguistic identities and very often multilingual identities are primarily at stake when migrants struggle against unwanted identities and construct their identities. In this process, a critical subject is the

categories that have been imposed on and negotiated by immigrants. Immigrants' identity negotiation is grounded upon the act of categorization and their responding actions, that often also embrace categorization of those who impose categories on them. Language ideologies underlie and encourage the act of categorisation. Hence investigating the act of and reaction to categorisation helps reveal the link between language ideologies and immigrants' identity negotiation.

3.5.5 Dialectics of external-internal identification

Instead of discussing the concept of 'identity' as 'something all people have, or ought to have, or are searching for' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 10), the preceding literature reminds us that it is better to explore the act of identifying, particularly identifying oneself as someone or with some groups and identifying others as someone or categorising others as members of some groups, along with exploring the ways in which one internalizes others' identification/categorisation of self and manages this other-identification with one's self-identification.

Categories, Categorisation and Identification

Davies and Harre (1990: 4) argue that individuals' understanding and experience of their social identity, the social world, and their place in it, is discursively constructed, as social identity 'can only be expressed and understood through the categories available to them in discourse'. The perspective one takes to understand who he/she is has to do with the process of making sense of these categories and interpreting the world in which categories are produced and reproduced. 'Category' is the key element in this process, as:

a) we learn particular categories which partition human beings into dichotomous, trichotomous and other patterns of social groups, such as male/female, grandparent/parent/child;

b) we participate in discursive practices through which meanings are allocated in those categories, such as narratives and storylines, which contain events, characters and moral dilemmas and attribute rights and duties to the categorised in terms of what actions can be performed (Harre, 2012: 193, concurring with Sacks's category-bound activities, attributes and rights and obligations);
c) we position selves and others in terms of the categories we learn and the discursive practices we engage in, and we develop the ability to recognize the characteristics we have that can be used to locate ourselves as a member of various categories and not of others; and
d) we develop 'a sense of self as belonging in the world in certain ways and thus seeing the world from the perspective of one so positioned' (Davies and Harre, 1990: 36).

According to Davies and Harre (ibid), understanding the self as historically continuous and unitary makes one see the diverse and conflicting or contradictory categories ascribed to self (by oneself and by others) as problematic, and needing to be remedied or reconciled. Hence, attending to categories and category-related actions constitutes one's understanding of self and how one discursively makes sense of self.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 14) defines identification as characterizing oneself, locating oneself vis-à-vis known others, and situating oneself in a narrative, and placing oneself in a category, in different contexts. Identification is realized through both positioning oneself in a relational web, such as a web of kinship or teacher-student relations, and categorising oneself or another person as a member of a class or group of persons sharing some attributes, such as race, ethnicity, language, gender, etc. The distinction between self-identification and the identification or categorization of oneself by others does not indicate that they are divided; rather they are in dialectic interplay with each other. Without further elaborating how the dialectic interplay operates, Brubaker and Cooper (ibid) specify two types of categorization. They highlight the importance and consequence of 'formalised, codified, objectified

systems of categorization developed by powerful, authoritative institutions', compared to ordinary people's categorization of others in daily social life. The institution-based categorisers have material and/or symbolic resources to impose and reinforce categories and classificatory schemes that those who are subject to the categorization have or have not the power to contest it. A common example of this type of categorization is the categories in census which apportion people across gender, religion, property-ownership, ethnicity, literacy, criminality, and so on. This classification or aggregating mode is powerful in the sense that it grounds the mechanism of 'governmentality' defined by Foucault (1991) in a modern state, and the way colonizers organize colonial societies by classifying individuals (according to categories such as tribe or caste). Nevertheless, the modern nation-states or authoritative institutions may not monopolize the production and diffusion of categories, which embodies in social movements challenging putative categorisation and propose alternative ones.

The second type of categorization or identification which Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 16) define is the identification that 'does not require a specifiable identifier; it can be pervasive and influential without being accomplished by discrete, specified persons or institutions'. The force of categorization also depends on 'unnoticed permeation of our ways of talking and thinking and making sense of the social world' (ibid). Ready examples are categories such as 'leavers' and 'remainers' arising in the public discussions that are used to refer to EU immigrants in the UK's recent EU membership referendum, especially when derogatory categories such as 'remoaners' are created to dismiss and ridicule those who warn that Brexit would affect the economy. Again, these meet resistance and challenge, for example, in the critiques against those who created and used these categories by referring to categories such as Brexiteers or other newly-produced derogatory categories. What is important here, Brubaker and Cooper maintain, is not to presume that the outcome of such struggle and challenge against others' categorization is 'identity' or a condition designated to the relation between the individual and the social. Rather, 'categorization' and

‘identification’ are always active and processual terms, and call attention to complex and ambivalent processes engaged in by identifiers or categorisers.

Adopting a similar perspective, Jenkins (2000, 2008) recognises not only the institutionalized categorization but also how interactional practices of ordinary people contribute to categorization, and proposes a framework of a dialectics of external categorization and internal identification for exploring categorization as virtual and consequential acts upon individuals’ or groups’ identities, and understanding identity as embodied in individuals across time and spaces (2008).

Dialectics of External Categorisation and Internal Identification

Identification and categorization are ‘two sides of one coin’ in Jenkins’s view. An individual’s act of defining oneself is called identification of self, and the act of defining or identifying others as categorization. Individuals or groups are constantly engaged in identifying self and being categorized by others. Two acts are implicated in each other. Drawing upon Meadean concepts of ‘I’ and ‘me’ (see discussion in section 3.2), Jenkins (2000: 9) argues that the external categorization effects upon internal identification in the senses of influencing how others orient their behaviors towards us as well as how we internalize the categorization or defend against the imposition of external definitions. This is the basic framework of his proposal of a dialectics of external categorization and internal identification. The external categorization and the internal identification are interdependent and simultaneous (Jenkins, 2008). This pair of categorization and identification is (re)produced at three levels of the individual, the interactional and the institutional that constitute society, and the operation at each of these levels is intertwined with that of others.

At the individual level, since the very early stage of socialization of individuals, infants or children get the sense of who they are through how their parents or relatives interact with them through oral speech, written texts or images, body movements, the

manner parents behave towards children. It is within these interactions that children get to know taken-for-granted categories (parents and children) and names that are related to them or are referring to them, hence who they are. (This is reminiscent of Lacan's notion of 'mirror phase' during which infants only get the images of selves as 'whole' or unified through seeing or imagining themselves reflected in how others look at it (Hall, 1992: 287)) And this is ongoing in the relationships of family and kinship. Thus, it cannot be separated from the interactional level.

The categorization and identification are also fundamental at the public interactional level. Following Barth's (1969) view that a message about identity must be accepted by significant others before an identity can be said to be taken on, Jenkins argues that 'it is not enough simply to assert an identity; that assertion must also be validated, or not, by those with whom we have dealings. Identity is not unilateral' (Jenkins, 2008: 42). This then, according to him, justifies the importance of the 'impression management' (see discussions in section 3.2), in Goffman's (1959/1982) seminal work on representation of self from a perspective of likening identity construction to performance on and off a stage. In fact, Goffman has a similar idea about a duality of 'categorical and individual identification' (1983: 3-4) which is seen as critical to all interactions. The duality contains 'the categoric kind' that places others in one or more social categories, and 'the individual kind' that attributes a distinguishing identity to the self. This can be illustrated by the daily communications among members of informal or semi-formal social groups such as student societies or peer groups within schools, during which some members may make jokes about and attach labels to other members, and the latter may accept or internalize that labelling to build up self-identity but may also refuse to take it up as a part of the self-identification. Other examples include service encounters in high-class restaurants or luxury shops where servers categorise customers in terms of economic situations based on their dress and take specific ways to serve customers, while customers locate themselves in different categories from that of servers' judgment by employing particular speaking style and showing their knowledge about the food or clothes within those industries.

In this case, the external categorization and internal identification are immanent to and dependent upon the specific institutional contexts of catering industry.

At the institutional level, Jenkins (2008: 99) points out the importance of the ‘material consequences’ or the ‘virtuality’ of categorization. Compared to Brubaker and Cooper (2000) who stress that categorization is the instrument through which modern states and institutions conduct ‘governmentality’, Jenkins also discusses what consequences the categorised will face. In this sense, the ‘nominal’ categorization or identification is ‘virtual’, in the sense that citizens bearing varied categories receive different (amount of) resources and penalties from and within formal organisations including public housing, welfare benefits and social work interventions (Jenkins, 2000: 18). For the cases of applicants for asylum, those who are officially recognized as ‘refugees’ and those whose applications are refused and may become ‘illegal immigrants’ have completely different access to resources and are subject to different penalties. The categorization will also bring in different ways how other people respond to the ‘refugees’ and ‘illegal immigrants’ as well as how the categorized respond to the categorization. A ready example is the self-identification of Mexican migrant workers in De Fina (2003) through defending themselves against the label of ‘undocumented workers’ and self-defining as hard-working Mexicans or Hispanics.

In other words, categorisation as a method of classifying individuals or social groups contributes to differentiation, exclusion, alienation, stigmatisation and marginalization. As the reaction to these external identifications and their potential consequences, individuals or social groups negotiate with these categorizations through their own self-identification. Hence this framework of dialectics of external-internal identification can well cover the above discussion of migrants’ identity negotiation, including resistance and challenging against categorisations, re-definition and re-contextualisation of imposed categories, inventing new categories and claiming self-uniqueness. It is concerned with the power of institutions and significant others (individuals and social groups) in producing categories and imposing them upon

migrants, as well as the agency of migrants in negotiating them. It underlines the contingent and processual natures of taking up identities, and that acts of categorization and identification always arise in interactions in a broad sense (both communications between or among human beings and the interplay between individuals/social groups and institutions).

However, neither Brubaker and Cooper (2000) nor Jenkins (2000, 2008) delve into how public discourses and taken-for-granted views ground ordinary people's categorization and contribute to (re)producing and distributing categorizations. This is where CDS studies, such as van Dijk (1998), Reisigl and Wodak (2001) and Fairclough (2015), can contribute to the ways in which ideology-loaded categorisation is distributed, reproduced and challenged in public discourses. Meanwhile, MCA approach to language alternation fits in with this framework as it examines how categorisation is realized in interactional code choices and drawn upon for accomplishing identities. Code choices serving as category-bound activities are conditioned by the local context of talk-in-interaction and they constitute the process of producing and negotiating categories.

3.5.6 Investigating an act 'identification' and a process 'external-internal identification' from CDS and CA perspectives

In short, I would argue that instead of seeing identity as an entity, it would be more appropriate to discuss individuals' acts of self- and other-identification as a process of managing the relationship between one person's self-identification and others' categorisation of one person. Based upon an interactionist perspective, this point of view recognises individuals' agency to act towards others and reacting to others' actions towards them. Individuals construct their identities through negotiating a multitude of their own as well as others' social actions and interpretations, which are fed by ideologies and underpinned by material structures at multiple levels of contexts, including micro-level face-to-face interactions such as research interview

conversations, meso-level settings of institutions such as schools, banks and restaurants or cafes, and macro-level settings such as a state's language laws and policies.

To understand the negotiation within multiple layers of contexts requires analytical approaches and frameworks that can deal with these contexts. Therefore, I proposed to combine CDS and CA. CA can address how the immediate talk-in-interaction conditions participants' code choices. Meanwhile, as it mainly focuses on the context(s) that participants make relevant, it is likely that some contexts that can be referred to for explaining participants' language use may not be involved. CDS takes a holistic view to look at various layers of contexts and the interactions among these contexts, and may provide more understandings of the complexity of discursive acts. Hence, I employ critical discourse studies to examine immigrant participants' representations of others and themselves in narratives of language-practice-related interactions within and out of institutions, and use conversation analysis to investigate immigrants' use of code choices to identify with certain individuals or social groups in ongoing interview conversations and service encounters (see section 3.4.3). Combining two perspectives helps not only show the acts of identity negotiation and construction in what and how participants use language, but also to reveal how these acts are conditioned by as well as reproduce or challenge language beliefs, ideologies, and understandings of norms of language use.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has presented my theoretical frameworks in three respects. In section 3.2, I introduced notions by Bourdieu and Bakhtin that provide good entry points to examining power relations of languages in multilingual society and its relationship with social group differentiation. In sections 3.3 and 3.4 I presented key concepts and premises of critical discourse studies and conversation analysis to be used for analyzing how immigrant participants construct identities. In section 3.5 I reviewed

existing models for interpreting immigrants' identity construction and introduced Jenkins' framework of dialectics of external-internal identification, which offered a comprehensive viewpoint to look at the acts and processes of identification embedded within social interactions and influenced by ideologies of communities. In next chapter, I will discuss the methods of data collection and analysis.

Chapter four Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the reasons why I decided to use individual and group interviews to collect my data, the processes of conducting interview, transcribing, coding, choosing extracts for analysis, and data analysis. I also reflected on my role and actions in these processes. Section 4.2 presents the advantages and disadvantages of using interviews and focus groups for collecting data, and it reviews research in the social sciences, particularly linguistics studies, that draws on these methods. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 introduce how I recruited participants, conducted interviews, transcribed recordings and translated relevant sequences into English. Section 4.5 discusses important notions of critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis for data analysis, features of the genre of interviews and what they inform about applying conversation analysis to interviews, and why and how I employ a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis. And the final section presents strong and weak points of taking an insider perspective and the ways in which I managed to deal with its limitations.

4.2 Methods of data collection: Interviews and focus groups

In designing the methodology which might serve well to elicit data, I took into consideration a number of factors. First of all, as I am interested in migrants' life experiences related to their daily language use, their views on their language use under various circumstances, and the relationship between these and how they position themselves in these contexts, I need a method that can elicit migrant participants' life stories and their attitudes and opinions. This is a qualitative study which requires depth in accounts rather than quantifiable data. Second, as I also aim to examine how migrants use language, particularly how they make choices between Putonghua and Cantonese in daily interactions, it would be good to use a method that

can engender contexts in which participants are not limited to only one particular pattern of their bilingual practices. Third, I plan to have a few migrants gather together to discuss their views on the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute and to exchange their life experiences, aiming to have as diverse as possible a range of ideas, therefore a method will be needed to encourage the dynamics of small-group interaction. In order to meet these goals, I decided to organise both interviews and focus groups.

4.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of interviews

Brinkmann and Kvale (2015: 3) argue that a 'qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation'. Qualitative interviewing is a kind of conversation (Kvale, 1996), or a particular type of speech event (Mishler 1986), which is useful for eliciting personal narratives (Reissman, 2002) and understanding what speakers accomplish through talk-in-interaction in conversations (Baker, 2004). Interviews also offer insights into common-sensical perceptions and knowledge and go beyond these to uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary talk and cultural practices and reflect on understandings about the nature of those perceptions (Johnson, 2002).

Edley and Litosseliti (2010: 170) provide a comprehensive introduction to the advantages of (individual and group) interviewing for linguistics studies. It is useful for:

a. Discovering new information and consolidating old or established knowledge;
b. Obtaining different perspectives on the 'same' topic (sometimes described as multivocality) in participants' own words;
c. Gaining information about participants' views, attitudes, beliefs, responses,

motivations and perceptions on a topic; 'why' people think or feel the way they do;

d. Examining participants' shared understandings of everyday life, and the everyday use of languages and cultures of particular groups;
e. Brainstorming and generating ideas;
f. Gaining insights into the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation (group dynamics);
g. Generating a sense of rapport between the researcher(s) and the researched.

Particularly for bilingual or multilingual studies, interviewing is a relatively convenient technique for collecting data. It is generally easier to conduct interviews with selected informants than to get permission to record naturally occurring talk; researchers also have a more controlled environment in which to look for specific language forms, rather than in naturally occurring social interactions (Codo, 2008: 159). And generally, compared to participant observation, which is widely used in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics studies, interviewing is less time-consuming since, with a well-defined purpose and concentrated conversation, it generates large amount of data in a short period of time (Morgan, 1998: 31).

For researchers who are interested in questioning taken-for-granted and not readily articulated views by most members of a community, where different individuals or groups have complicated and multiple perspectives on some phenomenon, in-depth interviewing is also an appropriate approach (Johnson, 2002: 105). According to Goss and Leinbach (1996), interviewing encourages the exploration of an emic view, or deep understandings of participants or members of a community, and this tends to generate a sense of empowerment for those taking part.

These views about the advantages of interviewing are based on a constructionist perspective. This involves considering how interview participants actively create meaning and co-construct interaction (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002: 15; Deppermann,

2013). It is embodied in Gubrium and Holstein's (1997: 127) notion of 'the active interview', meaning:

> Respondents' answers and comments are not viewed as reality reports delivered from a fixed repository. Instead, they are considered for the ways that they construct aspects of reality in collaboration with the interviewer. The focus is as much on the assembly process as on what is assembled.

That is to say, they see interviewees' speech in interviews less as descriptive reports of lived experience than discursive accounts produced in particular interview interactions, and interviewing is not a research instrument but a social practice that creates products of meaning (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015: 51). In contrast, if one adopts a positivist mindset, one sees respondents as merely 'passive vessels of answers to whom interviewers direct their questions' and 'repositories of facts, reflections, opinion and other traces of experience' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2011: 152), and so it is a matter of finding the most effective and unbiased ways to conduct interviews as precisely and objectively as possible, so that they can elicit information about the reality 'out there' (Silverman, 2011: 169). Then, interviews may tend to ignore the embeddedness of individuals in social interactions, take everything an interviewee says at face value, make a fetish of verbal interaction and transcription and neglect bodily interactions, focus on thoughts and experiences at the expense of action, and be obsessed with legitimizing themselves rather than producing new knowledge (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015: 332). Therefore, it is important for interviewers to bear in mind that the intention is to understand, determine range and variability, and provide insights about how people perceive a situation (Krueger, 1994: 87).

Meanwhile, there are also some disadvantages to interviewing in a technical sense. It is time-consuming with regard to both data collection and analysis, because speech recordings need to be transcribed, coded and very likely translated, as is the case in

this research. Face-to-face interviews normally have no time delay between questions and answers, so the interviewer must concentrate intensely on both understanding respondents' answers and at the same time formulating questions that are liable to be answered within a fixed time on the levels of depth and detail that are needed, especially when conducting unstructured or semi-structured interviews (Wengraf, 2001: 8).

In the fields of linguistics and discourse studies, interviews have been widely applied for collecting data, and often used in conjunction with other qualitative data collection methods (such as participant observation, surveys and documentary records) for triangulation and developing in-depth understandings. Labov (1966) and Labov, Cohen and Robins (1965) used sociolinguistic interviews not only to obtain natural speech data but also to elicit narratives of personal experience which demonstrate community norms and styles of personal interaction. Widdicombe (1998) used interviews to investigate how individuals show their group affiliations and ascribe membership categories to themselves in conversations. De Fina (2003) interviewed Mexican migrants in the U.S. and presents how they negotiate and construct ethnic identities. Creese and Blackledge's (2010) interviewed stakeholders in complementary schools, including teachers and administrators and key participant students and their parents, in order to understand their views on bilingual use in the classroom and argue for teaching bilingual children by means of translanguaging strategies. These studies show that interviews can be very helpful in terms of investigating people's views on language practices, social norms and language beliefs of communities where they live, and individuals' alignment with social groups and self-identification, which are what I aim to understand in my research. Therefore, I mainly used interviews for my data collection.

4.2.2 Advantages and disadvantages of focus groups/group interviews

Compared to individual interviews, focus groups offer a practical way to elicit complex talk (Myers and Macnaghten, 1999) or explore 'group norms' (Becker et al., 1995). Defined by Myers (2004: 23) as 'a discussion held for research purposes', a focus group has a 'great advantage in showing liveliness, complexity and unpredictability of the talk, where participants can make sudden connections that confuse the researchers' coding but open up their thinking' (Myers and Macnaghten, 1999: 174–175). Meanwhile, a focus group may not reveal deep motivational insights that researchers assume, therefore, a 'focus group can be a good antidote to the overly rational view that researchers and other professionals sometimes impose on their fellow human beings' (Morgan, 1998: 57). In addition to these advantages and those introduced earlier by Edley and Litosseliti (2010), focus groups also conveys a willingness to listen that is very beneficial in emotionally charged environments (Morgan, 1998: 57), and this friendliness and respect can 'forge a connection between those who commission the project and those who serve as the subjects of their investigation'.

Due to the difficulty in managing the times when two or more participants who were strangers to me could take part in the same focus-group interviews, I only managed to run three focus groups that contained strangers, while another six were for friends, acquaintances or family members. Focus groups based on pre-existing close relationships have several advantages. As Kitzinger (1994: 105) argues, friends and colleagues may bring to the interaction comments about shared experiences and events and challenge each other on discrepancies between expressed beliefs and actual behaviours; it is possible to 'tap into fragments of interactions which approximate to naturally occurring data such as might be collected by participant observation'. For instance, jokes, anecdotes, teasing etc. are more likely to be displayed. Groups of acquaintances also allow participants to freely express criticism

and negative emotions about certain issues (Kitzinger, 1995: 299). Participants may be less reluctant to talk when discussions touch on the disclosure of potentially stigmatizing behaviours and conditions (Farquhar and Das, 1999).

However, the shortcomings of focus groups with acquaintances are obvious. Focus groups are interested in disclosing ‘shared and tacit beliefs’ (MacNaghten & Myers, 2006: 65), yet those participants with prior knowledge of each other ‘are less likely to express taken for granted opinions, views and experiences than groups of strangers’ (Bloor et al., 2001: 22). Thus, there has been a notion that focus groups must consist of strangers and they have traditionally been favoured by market research companies (Morgan, 1993). In contrast to the concern about not bothering to talk about shared opinions with acquaintance participants, Morgan and Krueger warn that openness and revelation in a focus group easily lead to another problem – over-disclosure in which participants impart too much information. This situation is more likely for members of pre-existing groups. They may regret something they said for fear of certain repercussions or post-group problems, because they may reveal some personal experiences of other participants who do not want them shared, and some social groups may not be very supportive of individual differences or eccentricities outside the group setting (Bloor et al., 2001: 26). Some moderators feel that familiarity or peer-group pressure may close off the expression of doubts or differences (Bloor et al., 2001:70). Wilkinson (1998) contends that focus-group participants who have no prior knowledge of each other can contradict and disagree with each other’s accounts. However, groups of strangers can also raise certain problems, such as ‘false’ consensus. This is likely to be the result of some participants with strong personalities and/or similar views dominating the discussion, while others remain silent or contribute little to the interaction (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 172). There may also be ‘group polarization’ (Myers and Lamm, 1976), which refers to a group that responds collectively in a more exaggerated way than any individual member. And a technical shortcoming is that it takes both time and resources, and usually requires a high level of commitment from participants (Litosseliti, 2003: 21).

Focus groups are also frequently used for data collection in social sciences research. Kitzinger and Miller (1992) ran focus groups to see how media coverage of AIDS and HIV infection in relation to Africa and Africans impacted on audiences' views and beliefs about these issues. Myers (1998) and McNaghten and Myers (2004) used focus groups to look at how the scientific debate on genetically modified food was reflected in popular feelings about this subject. A focus group is drawn upon in Bloor et al. (2001), who centre upon what kinds of pressure had an effect on adolescents' decisions to quit smoking. Wodak et al. (2009) used focus groups to understand how individuals construct national identities in Austria. Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008) were interested in immigrants' sense of belonging and identities and organised focus groups in eight European countries. Unger (2013) organised focus groups to understand what individuals think about Scots language and Scottish identity. In these studies, focus groups served well for eliciting views on issues which gained a lot of attention from the public or led to public debates and on individuals' understanding of collective and individual identities. As my research mainly focuses on investigating immigrants' views on the use of Putonghua and Cantonese in daily life and particularly on the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute, and how they construct identities in their representations of language-use-related experiences, focus groups would be a useful tool. Particularly, the focus groups I conducted contained only two or three participants, the number of which is less than the general number of participants recruited for a focus group (usually four to eight, according to Kitzinger, 1995, or six to ten, according to Morgan, 1998). In my research I also use 'group interviews' to refer to these small-size focus groups. Conducting small-size group interviews is related to the particular type of data I would like to elicit, which I will discuss in section 4.3.1.

4.3 Data collection, coding and selection

4.3.1 Data collection

In this section, I present aspects of my data collection: participant recruitment and sampling, conducting interviews and focus groups, and practical issues in interviews.

The main participants in my research were second-generation migrants (2GMGs). Twenty-three were recruited via a snowballing approach and posting on Sina Weibo (currently one of the most popular social media platforms in China, for a detailed introduction see Chapter 5). I did not set fixed criteria about who is a 2GMG and only looked for participants who share three features: They moved to Guangzhou with parents when they were children or babies. They keep loose contact with their places of origin and have lived in Guangzhou for at least ten years. Their first language is not Cantonese. After completing participant recruitment, I found that my participants could also be characterized by how their parents settled in Guangzhou. Their parents a) attended college/ university in Guangzhou and subsequently found jobs there, b) worked in state-owned enterprises and were relocated from another city to enterprises' subsidiaries in Guangzhou, c) started up private businesses in Guangzhou. And they speak both Cantonese and Putonghua. Some of them also speak other regional varieties of the place they originally come from.

The interviews and focus groups spanned four years, from 2012 to 2015. In the first two years, I only approached those who moved to Guangzhou at an early age. Before recruitment, I assumed that many of my friends would be participant candidates; however, after contacting many of them, I realized that many of them met most of the criteria but were born in Guangzhou. After two years of data collection, I generated a few themes about their views on Putonghua and Cantonese and their self-identification, and I wanted to see if those could be extended to other cases,

which means I hoped to check if they were transferable (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003: 87) to other cases. Therefore, I decided to include more participants, but this time those who were born in Guangzhou. It became evident that a few themes (such as the category of *laau* (see Chapter 5), and claiming to be competent Cantonese speakers) also occurred in the interviews with participants recruited in 2014 and 2015, which allowed me to identify common themes, and that they raised a number of new topics which increased the variability in the patterns of their identity construction.

I paid attention to a few aspects in designing how to conduct interviews and focus groups with participants and in dealing with practical issues in the interview process. First, a relaxed environment is important for participants to talk freely. It is better if the interview setting is familiar to them and allows them to perform daily activities so that I can observe a little of their daily language practices in a non-intrusive way. This enables me to compare what they say about their language use and how they use language in a less artificially designed context. I chose restaurants or cafés, as dining out in restaurants is a part of many people's life in Guangzhou, and gatherings with friends in cafés are popular among my contemporaries. These social settings inevitably involve interactions between customers and servers, through which I could observe how participants used language when playing the role of customers. This is also the reason why I only included two or three participants in a focus group. If there are more than three or even more, it will be harder to record a big group of participants' talk (clearly) in a restaurant or café. I also expect it to be more difficult and time-consuming to moderate an interview of a large group in such a setting, as they may have two sets of interactions intertwined with each other – one is the interview and the other is chat or small talk about the food and drink, which may distract their attentions and even disturb the interview itself.

Second, I tried to conduct the interviews as casual chats rather than formal talk between interviewer and interviewees. Adopting a constructionist view (see section 4.2.1) on interviews, I hoped my participants could be active in their interactions and

show their interest related to the issues I raised for discussion, instead of only replying to me and providing information. This also related to my aim to establish a 'cooperative, engaged relationship centred on mutual self-disclosure', which can encourage 'deep disclosure' (Rapley, 2004: 19). I introduced my life experiences to my participants in order to encourage and prompt them to share theirs.

I was concerned about having an asymmetrical power distribution of interviewers and interviewees (Kvale, 1996, 2006). The power of researchers lies in their control over what takes place in interviews, as interviewers set the agenda and priorities, rule the conversation, decide the topics, pose questions, follow up on answers and close the proceedings (Kvale, 2006: 484-5). Power also resides in their ability to use the specific social setting of an interview as a site to create a broad field of discursive relations (Briggs, 2003: 248). That is to say, a statement made by a researcher in an interview is tied to questions that precede it, previous questions and responses, the broad range of texts and contexts that shape all these discursive practices and the anticipated use of other data. Therefore, I tried not to ask fixed questions, instead I only raised themes or topics and adapted questions, particularly according to what they had already exposed. Aiming to produce two-way interaction, at the end of my interviews I asked my participants if they wanted to know about my research and life experiences. In most of the focus-group interviews I tried to let the participants raise discursive topics which they were interested in and thought relevant to our conversations. Hence participants had chances and were invited to 'resist discursive relations that are stacked against them' (ibid.).

Third, I took an ethnomethodological perspective and followed the lead of Gubrium and Holstein (1997) and Denzin (2001), perceiving interviews as dialogically produced performances. I am interested in 'how' certain discourses are produced in the process of interaction. How participants present their views also demonstrates or reflects their perceptions of particular notions and events. In this regard, Gubrium and Holstein (1997: 127) put it thus:

> The goal is to show how interview responses are produced in the interaction between interviewer and respondent, without losing sight of the meanings produced or the circumstances that condition the meaning-making process. The analytic objective is not merely to describe the situated production of talk, but to show how what is being said relates to the experiences and lives being studied.

In other words, 'it is necessary to treat interview data as reporting on both what they call *how* and *what* questions' (Silverman, 2011: 185, italic in origin). And, regarding *what* questions, rather than looking for pre-conceived ideas or topics in talks, we should focus on those content or participants' views that are made visible to us through investigating how the conversation is accomplished. Furthermore, although I asked some 'bad' questions, the views my participants present in response to my seemingly 'mistakenly' formulated questions are not necessarily less authentic than those reacting to questions asked in a 'correct' way. Those 'bad' questions I asked were actually initiated as emic constructs. I took the lens of an insider and introduced topics that I think are related to our language use and attitudes in daily life. These particular discourses were interpreted by my participants and followed by their responses, which led to other parties' responses and this trajectory of talk forms a specific version of how participants represent their understanding of the world.

4.3.2 Information about interviews with migrants

I used a digital voice recorder (SONY ICD-SX813) with a built-in microphone, which can produce high quality mp3 files, to record all face-to-face interviews and focus groups. It is small (6.1 x 5.2 x1.7 inches) and portable, and it can capture sounds well with its two-way adjustable microphone. It is also able to cut out background noise, producing clear talk in public spaces such as cafés and restaurants. In total, 1,717

minutes of spoken data with migrants and 228 minutes with school teachers were recorded.

I conducted 11 semi-structured individual interviews and 9 group interviews with 18 females and 5 males. The key topics of the interviews were participants' daily language use in different contexts (with family members, friends, colleagues, strangers in public spaces etc.), their views on the use of Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou, and their identities. The semi-structured interview question list is presented in Appendix B. Participants' ages ranged from 21 to 32 at the time they were interviewed. Their detailed information is shown below. Information about individual and focus-group interviews is shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

Table 4.1 Background information of immigrant participants

Partici-pant	Age in years	Place of birth, parents' origins	Years in Guangzhou	Language(s)	Language(s) used with parents and/or siblings
F1[6]	28	Changsha, Hunan province; Changsha, Hunan	16	Putonghua, Cantonese, Xiang	Putonghua
F2	27	Changsha, Hunan Province; Changsha, Hunan	15	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F3	32	Tangshan, Hebei Province; Hebei & Guangdong Provinces	23	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua, Cantonese
F4	24	Jiexi, Guangdong Province; Jiexi, Guangdong	10	Putonghua, Cantonese, Hakka	Hakka, Cantonese
F5	29	Sichuan Province; Sichuan	24	Putonghua, Cantonese, Sichuan	Putonghua
F6	28	Sichuan Province;	26	Putonghua,	Putonghua

[6] 'F' = female, 'M' = male, numbers are used to refer to participants.

		Sichuan		Cantonese, Sichuan	
F7	27	Inner Mongolian Province; Inner Mongolia	19	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F8	28	Chaozhou, Guangdong Province; Chaozhou, Guangdong	13	Putonghua, Cantonese, Teochew	Teochew
F9	29	Jiangxi Province; Shandong Province	28	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F10	21	Meizhou, Guangdong Province; Meizhou	13	Putonghua, Cantonese, Hakka	Hakka, Cantonese
F11	24	Chaozhou, Guangdong Province; Chaozhou	10	Putonghua, Cantonese, Teochew	Teochew
F12	29	Guangzhou; Guangxi Province	29	Putonghua, Cantonese	Cantonese
F13	28	Hunan Province; Hunan	17	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F14	29	Guangzhou; Guangdong & Henan Provinces	29	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F15	28	Guangzhou; Shannxi Province	20	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F16	29	Shandong Province; Chaozhou, Guangdong Province	18	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F17	26	Anhui Province; Anhui	23	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
F18	30	Guangzhou; Shandong Province	29	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua, Cantonese
M1	29	Jiangxi Province; Jiangxi	15	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
M2	29	Nanning, Guangxi Province; Nanning, Guangxi	22	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
M3	25	Hunan Province; Hunan	16	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua
M4	29	Guangzhou; Sichuan Province & Zhongshan,	22	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua

		Guangdong Province			
M5	29	Guangzhou; Liaoning Province	29	Putonghua, Cantonese	Putonghua

Table 4.2 Information of Individual interviews with 2GMGs

Participant	Participant's relationship to me	Interview context	Language of interaction
F1	Friend, high-school & graduate school schoolmate	A walk on our university campus	Cantonese and Putonghua
F5	Friend	Café close to an entrance to the university campus where we live	Cantonese and Putonghua
F9	Friend, primary school classmate	Fast-food restaurant	Putonghua
F10	Stranger	Fast-food restaurant	Cantonese
F13	Friend, university classmate	Wechat video call	Cantonese
F16	High-school friend	Wechat audio call	Putonghua
F17	Friend	Café by the entrance to our university	Putonghua
M1	University student-union colleague	On the bus on the way to a gathering at the union	Putonghua
M2	M2 and I attended the same high school, though we didn't know each other	Café by the entrance to our university	Cantonese
M4	Stranger	A fast-food restaurant	Cantonese
M5	Friend, high-school classmate	A Cantonese restaurant	Putonghua

Table 4.3 Information of Focus group interviews with 2GMGs

Participants	Partici-pants' relation-ship to each other	Participant's relationship to me	Interview context	Language of interaction	Notes
F1, F2	Friends	F1 is my friend, F2 was a stranger to me	A café	Putonghua, with several insertions of Cantonese words	After the focus group, I conducted a second, individual interview with F1.
F3, F4	Strangers	Strangers	A café on the university campus	Cantonese	
F6, two other university classmates	Friends, university classmates	Friends, university classmates	A Japanese restaurant	Putonghua	
F7, F8	Friends	High-school classmates	A Japanese restaurant	Putonghua	
M3, F11, two classmates of M3 and F11	Classmates	friends	A café, friends gathering	Putonghua	
F12, F12's mother and one of F12's friends	Family and friends	F12's friend is my high-school classmate. I didn't know F12 and her mother before the interview.	A café	Cantonese	
F1, F14, F15	Friends	They and I attended the same high school	A Vietnamese restaurant	Putonghua	
F1, M4, M4's girlfriend, M4's friend	Strangers	F1 and M4's friends are my friends. I didn't know M4 and his girlfriend.	A Vietnamese restaurant	Putonghua	
F18, F18's mother, aunt,	Family and	F18 is my friend. I didn't	A Cantonese restaurant, a	Putonghua, Cantonese	

two uncles, grandmother, cousin, F18's family's friends (a family)	friends	know her family before	family gathering		

4.4 Transcription, coding and data selection

4.4.1 Transcription and English translation

I transcribed roughly eight out of nearly thirty hours of audio-recordings. My criteria of selection depend on the quality of the recordings, whether participants' speech and the way they use Putonghua and Cantonese are relevant to or answer my research questions. For instance, I transcribed sequences of interactions where participants showed their views on the use of Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou and the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute, their life experiences related to their use of two language varieties in various contexts, and their self-definitions. I also transcribed those sequences where participants switch between Putonghua and Cantonese. Occasionally, a sequence contains code-switching and relevant views on language use and/or their self-identifications, and these views are expressed alongside the act of code-switching. However, these cases are very rare. There are only three short such sequences in one individual and one small-group interview where participants switched codes when they talked about language use and self-identification. After completing the transcribing and collecting all the themes in participants' speech and patterns of code-switching related to identity construction, I found that these sequences do not manifest specific themes that do not show up in other transcribed passages. Therefore, I only apply a conversation-analytical approach to these sequences to look at how code-switching contributes to their identity construction. Overall, in order to provide the reader with comprehensive and readable transcripts which also meet my

theoretical and analytical agendas, I used two sets of transcription conventions, separately, for discursive analysis and conversation analysis. For the former, transcripts mainly contain the content of participants' speech and pauses in interactions, as I aim to discover discursive strategies. The latter is based on Jefferson (2004), who includes a lot more detailed information, such as the lengths of pauses, turn overlaps etc., because it is through paying attention to these details that I can understand how linguistic forms are used in sequences as talk-in-interaction that serves to accomplish identity construction and other functions.

Throughout this research I show speech and texts in Putonghua and Cantonese in English translation. In doing this, I aim to provide a readable English version for the reader's understanding of the content. Due to the word limit, I only show English translations of extracts in my discourse analysis (Chapters 5 and 6). I present extracts in Chinese and English translation side by side when I use conversation analysis to interpret the functions of code choices (Chapter 7), as these are much shorter conversations and many details have to be shown in their original contexts. The translated texts are kept as close as possible to the original Putonghua and Cantonese. For example, I have attempted to maintain nominal, verbal and adjective forms in Putonghua and Cantonese as intact as possible. In my analysis, when it is necessary and relevant to discuss particular words, phrases and sentences in Putonghua and Cantonese, I show them in original characters with transliteration in Romanised form (Pinyin for Putonghua; Jyutping for Cantonese, Jyutping is the Romanisation system for Cantonese developed by The Linguistics Society of Hong Kong Cantonese), before clarifying their literal meaning and connotations in Chinese contexts and the analyses. Whenever necessary, I elaborate the particular ways in which linguistic forms in Putonghua and Cantonese are used differently from those in English to operationalise discursive strategies. For instance, I clarify how second personal pronouns in Putonghua and Cantonese are used in conversations for identity construction differently from those in English language (see Section 4.5.1).

4.4.2 Coding and extract selection

After completing the transcription, I undertook coding and extracted selections step by step, as follows:

1. Summarise topics regarding participants' views on language use and identifications of themselves in transcribed passages;
2. Group recurrent or similar topics and extract their commonalities as preliminary themes;
3. Review other topics and decide if some of them are important enough to be considered as preliminary themes;
4. Check the connections between groups of recurrent topics and other topics, and decide which preliminary themes can be main themes.

In the first steps, I summarized participants' views or discussion topics, such as:

a. when I do shopping in Guangzhou I use Cantonese, because if you speak Putonghua sellers would see you as a *waidiren*
b. my mother found that when using Putonghua to do grocery shopping in local markets she would be charged a higher rate so she intentionally learned to ask in Cantonese 'how much is this?'
c. I understood Cantonese but dared not to use it and only spoke Putonghua when I attended my primary school, and I was treated badly by two boys who were my classmates
d. I had no choice but to admit I am a Guangzhou person because the water, the food and the climate here raised me as a Guangzhou person physiologically
e. Nowadays, more and more people speak Putonghua, and the younger generation of immigrants in my neighbourhood does not have a chance to learn Cantonese. I feel lucky that I grasped Cantonese when I was a kid

f. I feel that speaking Cantonese is more comfortable and I can express my ideas more clearly by using Cantonese
g. I use Putonghua in most occasions, at home and workplace, but I use Cantonese with people whom I feel the closest to, like my best friends and my boyfriend
h. the government is using the Putonghua Promotion Policy in schools for language cleansing
i. *Bendiren* classmates excluded me and attached the humiliating label *laau* to me at primary school and junior high school
j. I could speak Cantonese when I attended my high school here but since all my classmates called me a '*laau* b', why bother speaking Cantonese to them
k. I have the ability to learn to speak Cantonese very well, but now I think I am a Guangzhou person so there is no need to learn it
l. people see me as a *waidiren* by my appearance, but once I speak Cantonese they see me as a Guangzhou person and are surprised by my fluent Cantonese

In a next step, I grouped repeating or similar topics, such as a, b, c, i, and j and extracted their commonality as 'a connection between using Putonghua and being seen and discriminated against as *waidiren* or *laau* person'. Topics e, f and g can be temporarily grouped together as 'participants' positive views on their use of Cantonese'. 'Self-identification and other-identification as a Guangzhou person' can be themed to include d and l. After I collected all the topics, I found that the first theme occurs across various participants' talk. Although the issue of *bendiren*'s categorisation of immigrants as *laau* persons is one of my presuppositions according to my own experience, in five interviews, before I raised this topic, my participants initiated this topic when they recalled incidents related to their use of Putonghua. Seven more participants reported similar experiences. There are variations among different participants' views on this common experience, but most of them share a negative representation of this categorisation by other people. Therefore, I decided to focus on this issue as one pattern through which participants negotiate the definitions of themselves.

The same topics may be included in a few groups simultaneously. For example, topics e, j, k and l can be grouped together under the theme 'claiming to be competent in using Cantonese', while these topics separately can be grouped under themes about self-identification, resistance to being categorized as a *laau* person, viewing positively the use of Cantonese and the dominance of Putonghua in Guangzhou. In this case, I prefer to keep these four topics under the latter four themes, as each of these themes directly answers my research questions, while the former theme can be reformulated and shown later, in the conclusion section of the analysis chapters, as a common way in which participants identify themselves and negotiate the categorisation by other people, and as a manifestation of participants' orientation to the use of Cantonese. In other cases, if the relevance of two or more themes to the research questions is to similar degrees, the decision may depend upon how many instances or passages I found to make up an important theme. If one topic can be included in two themes, one of these themes has only two topics but the other theme contains three or even more topics, I would classify this topic in the first theme.

There are some topics that did not repeat but are important enough to be included as themes. They are important in the sense that they relate to my research concerns, they help me understand the diversity of my participants' views on language use or their identifications, and they help clarify the connections between themes. For instance, topic h is only discussed by one participant, but it manifests the participant's view on the Putonghua Promotion Policy and the underlying language ideology, which answers my second research question. It also explains why there are arguments that Cantonese has a shrinking space for its use and provides evidence of a local language ideology that Cantonese is declining.

Regarding selecting extracts to analyze how code choices and alternation are drawn upon to accomplish identities, I first repeated listening to the recordings in conjunction with the transcripts. This served to ensure that I picked those sequences in

which code alternation functions to 'indicate otherness' (Auer, 1996). That is, the instances of code-switching carry communicative intentions that can be interpreted (Alveraz-Caccamo, 1998: 42) through contrasts in Putonghua and Cantonese embedded within a sequence. In the following stage, as my aim is to identify, through speakers' code choices and alternations, what actions they took, and how those actions make their identities relevant, I characterized what actions were taken by switching codes, such as disagreeing, reformulating ideas that were not clearly expressed. And I grouped sequences containing instances of code alternation serving similar social actions together. In the process of identifying actions I found that some actions signal identities through showing alignment with particular groups of language users. Meanwhile code alternation used for negotiating the code imposed by interlocutors is a category-bound activity that directly marks a speaker's self-identification. That means I need to investigate both the sequential and categorisational aspects of talk that condition code choices and alternations and which contribute to self-identification.

4.5 Methods of data analysis and important concepts

4.5.1 The discursive-historical approach and stance-taking

Adopting a discursive-historical approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Studies, I pay attention to the discursive strategies immigrants use to construct identities. Strategy refers to 'a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 44). By 'more or less accurate' and 'more or less intentional', DHA practitioners mean social actions as realisations of strategies in two senses: there are specific and conscious intentions that can be discerned as underlying acts, as well as automatized acts that help to achieve particular objectives (Wodak et al., 2009: 32). The degree of conscious intention and finality is not as strong in individual contributions to discussions in focus-group

interviews and daily communication as that in political speeches and newspaper articles. As the data I apply DHA to belong to the former type, strategies are seen as more or less equal to acts through which immigrants accomplish relevant identities. That is, participants may not consciously aim to shape identities as such in their talk.

I adopted the notions of 'stance' and 'stance-taking' to frame macro-level strategies serving to construct identities. Strategies of stance-taking contain three subgroups: strategies of evaluation, positioning and alignment. According to Du Bois (2007: 163), a 'stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field'. Evaluation refers to the process whereby social actors orient to an object and characterize it as having some specific quality, positioning can be understood as the act of situating a social actor in both affective and epistemic senses, and alignment is the act of calibrating the degree of affinity between the positions of speaker and addressee (ibid., 143–144). Investigating these acts focuses on how speakers "engage in both explicit and implicit forms of social categorization and evaluation, attribute intentionality, affect, knowledge, agency to themselves and others and lay claim to particular social and/or moral identities" (Jaffe, 2009: 9). In the process of identifying these strategies, I focus on:

a) the objects (entities, persons, acts, events) participants evaluated, such as the act of using Cantonese in the school context, the categories imposed by other people on them, the protest held during the time when the language controversy was heated, or participants themselves etc.;

b) the ways participants evaluate these objects, including their categorisation of objects, their praise and deprecation of objects, their anger or desire towards objects, and what values such as what is true, necessary or good that they are committed to and how they use these to justify their evaluations etc.

c) participants' positioning of self and relevant others, which can also be seen as

aligning themselves with (orienting themselves to) or distancing/ disorienting themselves from those objects.

The strategy of evaluation contains a few subgroups of strategies. Strategies of nomination, predication, intensification and mitigation, and argumentation (Wodak et al., 2009: 84) work collaboratively to complete evaluation. The strategy of nomination refers to using particular terms to name social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions, which can foreground or background specific features and represent these subjects in a specific way. Very often it is used together with the strategy of predication, which refers to assigning particular qualities to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions. The strategy of argumentation functions to justify or question claims of truth. A key device of this strategy that will be presented in my analysis is 'topos'. Topoi (plural form of topos) are 'content-related warrants or "conclusion rules" that connect the argument(s) with the conclusion, or the claim' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 75). To put it in another way, topoi justify the transition from the arguments to the conclusion or the claim. The strategies of intensification and mitigation are used to modify (intensify or mitigate) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterance. Wodak et al. (2009: 94) list a wide range of linguistic devices that help to realise these strategies and serve to construct national identities. Most of them also apply to how individuals construct their individual identities.

In Wodak et al.'s study, one specific linguistic device serving to build up sameness between social actors for constructing national identities is the use of the deictic expression 'we' (ibid, 45–46). In terms of individual identity construction in the Chinese language context, the second person singular pronoun 你 *ni/nei* 'you' is more important for showing individuals' perceptions of the relationship between self and others, their alignment with or disorientation from other individuals or social groups, and one's identification with some groups or as someone. The pronoun *ni/nei* 'you' can encompass all other personal pronouns and has multiple functions as a shifter

(Zhang, 2014: 44), in addition to its explicit reference to the addressee. Possible references are shown below, in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Uses of the second person singular pronoun *ni* ‘you’ as a shifter (according to Zhang, 2014, 2001; Biq, 1991; Shen, 2001; Wu, 2005; Huang, Bai and Jiang, 2010)

<table>
<tr><th>Pronoun(s) encompassed</th><th>Referent(s)</th><th>Function(s)</th></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>The speaker</td><td rowspan="5">a. Seeking empathy and allegiance
b. Enhancing one’s position
c. Distancing oneself from negative emotions
d. Indicating a commonplace or a norm
e. Constructing a power difference or a confrontation between two parties</td></tr>
<tr><td>I + you, or we</td><td>The speaker + addressee(s)</td></tr>
<tr><td>s/he, or they</td><td>The person(s) mentioned in preceding speech, or the main character(s) of the topic discussed</td></tr>
<tr><td>You + I + s/he + they but a particular s/he or they</td><td>Anyone except the main character(s) of the topic discussed</td></tr>
<tr><td>You + I + s/he + they</td><td>Anyone, or general people</td></tr>
</table>

Examining the uses of *ni* contributes to revealing participants’ identity construction on three levels: a) it serves to build up and negotiate the relationship between participants and the researcher/interviewer, which displays participants’ relevant identities embedded within local interview conversations; b) considering some participants show that they are aware of the researcher’s identity as an immigrant insider, managing the relationship between them and the researcher is also a way to show their self-positioning with regard to the category of ‘immigrant’; c) through encompassing other characters (individuals or social groups) into their presentations of life stories or views on language use, they show their alignment with or distancing from particular individuals or groups, which is an act of identifying with or not identifying with others.

4.5.2 Conversation analysis and code choices

4.5.2.1 A conversation analytic approach to semi-structured interviews

Compared to ordinary conversations, interviews are an institutional setting in which more or less formal task-based or role-based activities are undertaken (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 94). Their institutional nature indicates a few characteristics that require particular attention when applying a conversation analytic approach. Heritage and Greatbatch (ibid) propose to focus on the following elements:

a. conventional turn-taking systems that are specific to the interview organisation;
b. ways in which participants perform and negotiate their local identities, in relation to associated rights and obligations, footings, opportunities to initiate or sanction interactional activities;
c. the core tasks and the constraints of interviews.

Greatbatch (1988: 403) argues that interviews are social activities 'whose turn-taking systems operate through "various mixes of pre-allocational and local-allocational means" (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974: 729)', and prespecifications have been made of the order in which turns should be taken and of what turns allocated to which institutional roles, although not in a rigorous sense. He characterises news interviews, for example, as events where the interviewer (IR) and the interviewee (IE) 'should confine themselves to asking questions and providing answers, respectively' (Greatbatch, ibid). A successful interview will move between questions and answers 'fairly seamlessly' (Smith, 1995: 15), indicating that it is necessary to focus on both within the question-answer sequence and beyond the sequence the relationship between two turns. Rapley (2001: 315) summarises that IR initiates questions which introduce topics of talk on which IE is expected to focus, and IE provides answers which offer possibility for IR to bring in follow-up questions in order to explore detailed and comprehensive talk. After IE answers IR's initiation question, IR employs a variety of resources, such as receipt, continuer, pre-sequence or a follow-up

question to demonstrate that the answer is informative or news or show orientation of wanting to find out more or other information (Heritage, 1984: 287).

Therefore, on the one hand, it is important to examine questions and answers as orderly actions and each question or answer as an anticipating and consequential action. On the other, it will be helpful to explore what roles IR and IE play in interviews in producing varied turn-taking organisations, particularly the extent to which IR has control of IE's talk and IE can negotiate IR's control. These are closely related to what position IR takes in relation to IE's answer and position and how IR takes up his/her position through turn types. In other words, the above mentioned two aspects can never be studied separately. The process during which IR and IE conform to the pre-allocational turn-taking and improvise local-allocational turns is the course in which they manage their institutional roles and collaboratively construct the interview talk.

Regarding the first aspect, it will be helpful to draw upon a concept of 'adjacency pair' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 295) in CA which explores the turn-taking system. CA's understanding of sequence is based on a notion that 'some current turn's talk projects a relevant next activity, or range of activities, to be accomplished by another speaker in the next turn' (Heritage, 1984: 245). This phenomenon of 'sequential implicativeness' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 296) informs the normative framework within which paired actions such as question-answer may be accomplished. Heritage (1984: 247) describes the adjacency pair as an orderly two-sequence utterances produced by different speakers, in which 'the first speaker's production of a first pair part proposes that a second speaker should relevantly produce a second pair part which is accountably "due" immediately on completion of the first' (see more discussions of adjacency pair in section 4.5.2.2).

The turn-taking organisation of this pair of question-answer has two varieties. One is characterised by an alternation of short-speaking turns and a turn-by-turn allocation of

speakership; under some other circumstances conversations may carry on as one party becomes a primary speaker and has large space to give talk at some length, while the other performs a supportive recipient providing minimal response and encourages long narratives (ten Have, 2004: 62-64). IR plays a central role in shaping IE's utterances through questioning and constructing varied sequences (Rapley, 2001: 304; Wooffitt and Widdicombe, 2006: 43), in the sense of determining such as when a topic is satisfactorily completed, what the next topic will be and through what type of questions, and what reactions to IE's response will be made. This illustrates the 'interactional asymmetries' (Heritage, 2004: 236; Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 2006: 32) of institutional talk. Particularly, the associations of the categories of IR and IE with actions of questioning and answering lead to the interview activity as 'an inbuilt asymmetry' (Kasper, 2013: 2). In the opening sequence of an interview, IR may ask questions which are aimed at eliciting precise and factual information, especially demographic details. The turn-by-turn mode is also accomplished by questions that guide IE to respond in a confirmatory manner, taking forms of providing a category-specifying question and providing candidate answers. Besides, during IE's narratives, IR may employ minimal response, for example, through news receipts such as 'oh', 'really', continuers such as 'uh huh' 'mm hm' and 'yeah', or silence (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; Rapley, 2001), in order to encourage IE for more details. In some other cases, IR may invite IE to tell personal life stories and provide 'a set of overall and specific instructions as to how the story should be told, and what should be included in it' (ten Have, 2004: 64) by asking multiple questions.

These instructions are one manifestion of dealing with the essential tension inherent in the genre of research interview (specifically open and semi-structured interviews) – managing the local interactions as the means of negotiating between the relevance of the framework of IE's life world and of the interaction as material for a research project's analysis (Mazeland and ten Have, 1996: 109). On the one hand, IR intends to elicit IE to share life stories, views and interests, by giving detailed instructions or supportive responses; and on the other, the framework in which IE builds up his/her

life world may not fit in the concepts, categories, or details that IR anticipates to elicit for the research analysis. The former aspect can be embodied by IR's use of repeats and formulations in turn-by-turn units, showing IR's neutralistic and supportive register of and non-personal and professional attitudes towards the information given by IE (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 130). These have to do with IR's willingness to conform to the 'preference for agreement' (Sacks, 1987), considering that IR is under a constant pressure to keep IE motivated to continue participation in the interaction (Mazeland and ten Have, ibid). More importantly, acts of repeating or interpretatively summarising IE's answer function to anticipate or preview what is to follow and extend the sequence by selecting particular topics that are of interest to IR. This is related to the fact that IR has 'routine institutional "knowhow"' (Heritage, 2004: 237) and tends to assign IE's unique case into routine categories, for the convenience of using this processed data for the analysis when the interview is over (Mazeland and ten Have, 2001: 108). However, as IE is very likely to be a lay person whose answers usually do not match those routines or expectations, researchers have to use means such as interruptions and formulations to give IE particular directions. These indicate that 'an awareness and analysis of interviewers' talk in producing both the form and content of the interview should become a central concern for all researchers when analysing interview data' (Rapley, 2001: 304-5).

Meanwhile, as 'interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results' (Fontona and Frey, 2000: 62), IE is supposed to be able to express themselves in ways that are not completely defined by IR and to come up with issues that are important for IE, particularly in semi-structured interviews (Rapley, 2001: 306). This flexibility can be understood in relation to IE's negotiation of his/her local constructed identities and management of what is taken to be the position of IE by IR. Widdicombe and Wooffitt (2006: 44-47) show that 'I dunno' formulations, used by Diana Princess of Wales within a television interview, indicate her lack of interest in and distancing herself from a range of unsympathetic inferences about her

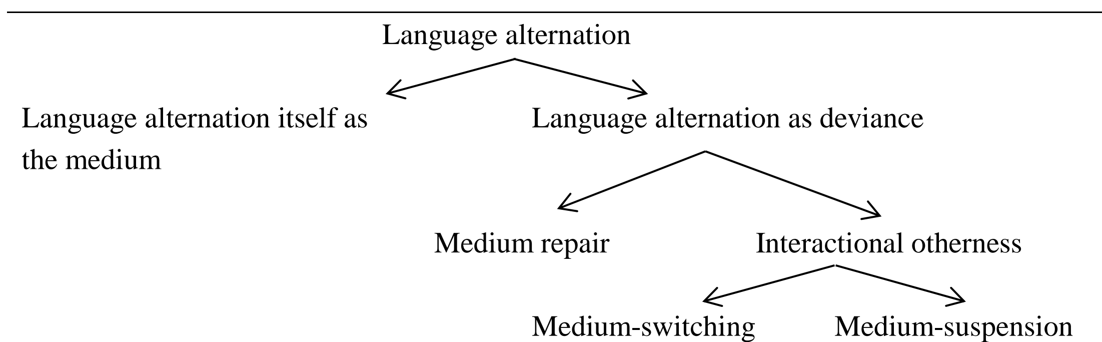
motivations to get involved in an autobiographical book; encountering a question of self-categorisation, 'I dunno' formulations are youth interviewees' attempt to acknowledge a confrontational stance implied in IR's question, to defend the subcultural affiliation they orient to, and to resist this invitation to provide self-categorisation. That is, IE's perceptions of IR's understanding of the topics in interviews in relation to IE's social identities or positions influence IE's production of talks and the interaction sequence. Roulston (2006: 526) discusses how IEs' assumption that IR has extensive knowledge about the topic IE complains on contributes to the generation of complaint sequences. Moreover, IE's perception of IR in terms of IR's position vis-a-vis the social group or community which IE is a member of is especially important. Block (2000: 759) argues that IE's talk are associated with particular beliefs and values which mark IE's membership in a social group or community, and he presents in his case study how IE treats IR as a sympathetic listener originating in the same community to whom IE can express discontent and frustrations, whereas IE does not necessarily represent or report the real problems or events to IR.

In short, a conversation analytic approach to interviews sees the notion of 'context' as 'something endogenously generated within the talk of the participants and, indeed, as something created in and through that talk' (Heritage, 1984: 282-3), and pays attention to those social roles, identities and situations that are exogenous to the local interaction as long as they are made relevant to the talk by IR or IE. Interviews as a specific genre provides a structure within which IR plays an important role in intentionally or unintentionally leading the interview in a particular direction. IR's questions, receipts, or backchanneling influence greatly how interviewees answer questions and make responses and what these answers and responses are. Therefore, in the course of using a conversation analytic approach to deal with interviews, it is necessary to bear in mind these characteristics of the interview genre.

4.5.2.2 Interactional otherness and medium repair

As discussed in Section 3.4.2.1, language alternation is not always used by speakers as a marked choice in bilingual contexts. In communities where it is the norm, it does not serve specific goals or carry important meaning. Following an ethnomethodological perspective, Gafaranga and Torras (2002: 19) see each interactional act as either an instance of specifiable 'scheme of interpretation' or an instance of deviance from it. They propose a framework (see figure 4.1 below) to distinguish language alternation that is the 'medium of interaction' from language alternation that conflicts with this norm. In the latter case, a deviant act will be seen as a problem to be solved or repaired, or it signals a particular function to be performed. Language choice is an orderly activity and speakers are assumed to be aware of this and reveal their language choice as social action to their hearers (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 210). Once a medium of the interaction has been adopted as the norm, by making a repair the speaker indicates that something deviates from the norm that has been used and hence what the current medium of the interaction is.

Figure 4.1 Types of language alternation (Gafaranga and Toras, 2002:19)



In the case of functionally deviant acts, they can be understood as either practice-based or sequence-structure-based, (Schegloff, 1988: 454). At the practice level, for instance, acceptance is preferred for after an invitation has been made, while deviant acts can be delayed response with lengthened explanation and excuses to an invitation. The deviance at the structure level can be understood through adjacency pair (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). It contains a first pair part followed by a second pair

part. Normally these two turns are ordered and adjacent in the sense that one utterance/action is taken to initiate a next one and the latter type of talk designed to complete the initiated action. However, sometimes other types of talk can come between the two turns, such as delayed or absence of answer to summons, making hesitating noises or questioning after an assertion. CA developed the term 'preference' to characterize these 'alternative, but nonequivalent, courses of action' that are available to the participants (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: 53). Rather than referring to personal, subjective, or psychological desires or motives, it refers to 'structural features of the design of turns associated with particular activities, by which participants can draw conventionalized inferences about the kinds of action a turn is performing' (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 44). Hence, at the structural level, deviance refers to a dispreferred second pair part to the first pair part. While in monolingual talk, hedges, pauses, delays, and laughter can mark dispreference, researchers (Gal, 1979, Auer, 1984, Li Wei, 1994) have shown that in bilingual interaction code divergence may be used to mark dispreferred second pair parts (although it often co-occurs with other markers found in monolingual talk). What is important about code divergence as the marker of deviance is that speakers may manage dispreference through code-switching to show orientation to or disaffiliation with particular social groups of language users.

4.5.2.3 Language preference as a membership categorisation device (MCD)

As discussed in Section 3.5.3.2, Gafaranga (2001: 1916) argues that speakers can define themselves and one another as monolinguals and bilinguals and in which language(s), according to a language-based categorisation device, which is referred to as 'language preference'. In other words, through choosing a code or a medium, speakers can talk particular linguistic identities into being. He re-analyses a bilingual conversation, shown below, in terms of how speakers categorise themselves by employing language preference. Originally this conversation in Heller (1982: 112–113) is discussed with regard to language negotiation related to motivation, face work and

power difference of languages.

1. Clerk: *Central Booking, may I help you?*
2. Patient: Oui, Allo?
3. Clerk: Bureau de rendez-vous, est-ce que je peux vous aider? *May I help you*
4. Patient: [French]
5. Clerk: [French]
6. Patient: [English]
7. Clerk: [English]
8. Patient: [French]
9. Clerk: [French]
10. Patient: Êtes-vous française ou anglaise? (Are you French or English?)
11. Clerk: n'importe, je ne suis ni l'une ni l'autre ... (It doesn't matter, I'm neither one nor the other...)
12. Patient: Mais... (But...)
13. Clerk: Ça ne fait rien (It doesn't matter)
14. Patient: [French] [Conversation goes on in French]

Gafaranga (2001: 1921) argues that after the patient shows her language preference in turn 4, which signals 'doing being a French speaker', she hopes the clerk will also show her language preference and mark her identity by the consistency rule. The patient has been displaying to the clerk possible identity categories she may ascribe to the clerk through language alternation acts; however, the clerk does not respond to accomplish the patient's aim. And the patient has been so eager that she formulates what hasn't been accomplished through language alternation in a direct question in turn 10. Nevertheless, by giving no answer, the clerk shows that an identity category which can be talked into being through language alternation should not be connected to non-linguistic identities in this case, hence it implies that the linguistic identity category to which language alternation is bounded is enough and there is no need to bring in another category for identification. In short, within bilingual communities, speakers' choices of languages can be focused upon as important instruments through which they categorise themselves as users of particular language(s), which is a straightforward way to construct linguistic identities.

4.5.3 A corpus-based approach to discourse analysis

A corpus refers to 'a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language' (Sinclair, 1996: 4), and it is 'sampled to be maximally representative of a language or variety' (McEnery and Wilson, 2001: 197). As corpora are 'repositories of naturally occurring language' (Baker, 2010: 124), they contain iterations distributed across the large size of texts. It is through these kinds of iterations or repetitions that discourses become naturalised and common-sensical (see Fairclough's understandings of the relationship between discourse, power and ideology in Section 3.3.1). To take media discourse as an example, the strength of corpora regarding discourse studies lies in their ability to show 'cumulative' power produced through 'the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth' (Fairclough, 1989: 54).

According to Baker (2006), the benefits of applying corpus analysis for discourse studies can be summarised as below. Firstly, while discourse analysts aim to make explicit the implicit discourses in language use framed in subtle ways, corpora help reveal hegemonic or common-sensical discourses underlying the repetitive co-occurrence of words in various contexts in a community, by collecting a large number of examples and revealing patterns of language use. Secondly, corpora can be used to show whether or not hegemonic discourses in a certain period of time change or become counteracting discourses in other times. Thirdly, corpora help to restrict researchers' bias. Compared to a few texts that may be selected to confirm particular propositions, hundreds, thousands or millions of texts or conversations tend to show an overall trend or pattern of language use. To take it from another perspective, it is a tool of triangulation. It helps to check researchers' intuition or tentative conjecture based upon observation, and offers a reference 'to back up or to expand on their findings derived from smaller scale of analyses or single texts' (ibid, 16).

Planning to find evidence in corpora to confirm my intuitive views based on my observation about a specific identity category, I take on a corpus-based approach. In this approach, corpora are used mainly to 'expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study' (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 65). And I draw upon a few notions. As the meaning of a word or phrase is closely associated with its co-text, it is necessary to read through its co-text where it is embedded within or the pattern of usage in which it occurs to identify its meaning (Hunston, 2002: 46). This can be illustrated by concordance lines. Concordances refer to 'a list of all the occurences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the contexts that they occur…' (Baker, 2006: 71). Through displaying the co-occurrence of a searched word with other words, concordance lines present frequent associations between the searched word and others, hence they reveal particular patterns of use and the implicit meaning of the searched word. This frequent co-occurrence of words in use is referred to as collocation (Hunston, 2002: 68). Collocation can take place between lexical words or between a lexical word and its grammatical surroundings. Words that co-occur with the searched word are collocates. Collocates can be grouped into semantic categories, and their positive and negative connotations will generally spread across more than one word (Baker, 2016). The phenomenon of 'semantic prosody' allows us to examine attitudes expressed or revealed in particular patterns when two words co-occur (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008: 12). For example, Gabrielatos and Baker show that the phrase 'sat through' very often occurs around constructions that describe situations where people are made to endure long and boring events. That is to say, 'sat through' takes on an affective meaning that is established through its proximity with a consistent series of collocates. Even when it is used with atypical collocates, it may still indicate something unfavourable (Xiao and McEnery, 2006: 107).

As collocates and fixed phrases are used repeatedly in media discussion and daily life, people may take the affective meanings and connotations for granted. In this way, Stubbs argues, 'repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely

personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype' (2001: 215). That is why investigating collocates and semantic prosody is a plausible way to understand what kind of constructions, especially negative constructions or discourses, are produced pertaining to certain identity categories. Particularly in my research a corpus-based approach can contribute to examining evaluations of and constructions related to categories including *laau* (see Chapter Five).

4.6 An insider's perspective

4.6.1 A 2GMG researcher: What does it mean to be an insider?

As mentioned in Section 4.3.1, I positioned myself as an insider-researcher who shares knowledge, understanding and early life experiences with my participants, anticipating that such commonalities would allow me more access to their life stories and greater depth in conversations than what an outsider might have. However, this position turned out to bring both benefits and challenges.

The similar background I share with my participants did contribute to establishing a rapport with them. A rapid rapport is especially important to feed a sense of closeness and trust in participants whom I did not know before. I was glad to see that a few of them opened up and revealed their private stories, showed interest in my stories and invited me to make comments on shared experiences. But this similarity of experience also created problems. They may have skipped details, left some words unspoken and a few points unspecified, assuming that I understood what they indexed, given the experiences I had in common with them. In one interview, after one participant clarified the reasons why her family moved to Guangzhou and her parental background, I told her that we shared very similar life trajectories, and she said in a joking way, "Oh then you don't need to ask me these questions anymore. You already

know the answers." As we were undergraduate classmates, a large part of the interview was centred on our common experiences, and there were several times when she rushed to end topics with, "As you already know." Despite my wish to ask her to clarify her perceptions or provide detailed descriptions, it was inappropriate or impolite to do so. Adriansen & Madsen (2009: 149) maintain that 'asking the simplest question in an insider situation can present a great challenge because the respondents expect that you know already', and in contrast, 'an outsider position allows a researcher to ask questions that an interviewee may consider "stupid" but which can reveal unexpected and valuable information'.

Problems emerged not only when my participants positioned me as an insider or accepted my role as an insider, but also when I took my role as an insider for granted. On revisiting my recordings and transcripts, I became aware of my frequent interruptions in participants' talk, which is similar to what Kanuha (2000: 442) describes: 'I did not allow—or, more accurately, require—study respondents to complete sentences, thoughts, or descriptions because I knew implicitly what they were referring to in response to a particular line of questioning.' As I could understand intuitively the allusive remarks or hints in my participants' speech, I sometimes cut off their talk by latching onto their turns and completing what they were planning to say. At these moments, little space was left for them to clarify their ideas, feelings and comments, which means that I needed to go back to my participants later, where possible, for further clarification or explanation of incomplete narratives. Furthermore, even when they showed agreement when I cut off their talk and completed the words, ideas, categories etc. they wanted to say, it was sometimes difficult to know if my understanding of these matched their perceptions, as they may have assumed that we shared understandings and seen my completion as the end of the story, and then initiated another topic.

Thus, on the one hand, the position I took as an insider in these 2GMGs may suggest that participants would be more open with me so that there was a greater range and

depth of data gathered. On the other hand, participants' responses warned me of the influences my presuppositions might have on the dynamics that shaped the interviews. Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 58) summarise the limitations of taking an insider role: a) participants assume so many similarities between them and the researcher that they spend little or no time to explain fully their experiences; b) interviews are guided and shaped by the core aspects of researchers' experiences which they have difficulty separating from participants'; and c) in the analysis, researchers emphasise shared factors and not differences or vice versa.

4.6.2 Subjectivity vs objectivity and the constructed dichotomy of insider vs outsider

Another major concern about the insider status is noted by Kanuha (2000: 444):

> …for each of the ways that an insider researcher enhances the depth and breadth of understanding a population that may not be accessible to a non-native scientist, questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of a research project are raised because perhaps one knows too much or is too close to the project and may be too similar to those being studied.

While an insider perspective is usually connected to subjectivity (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984; Madge et al., 1997; Narayan, 1993: 676), an outsider perspective is said to imply objective and logical ideas. Simmel (1950: 404–5, cited by Merton, 1972: 32–3) argues that 'It is the stranger … who finds what is familiar to the group significantly unfamiliar and so is prompted to raise questions for inquiry less apt to be raised at all by insiders'; the objectivity of a stranger or an outsider researcher derives from her/his being not caught up in the commitment of a particular group and not tied down in action by habit and precedent. However, Maquet (1964: 54) points out that

non-objectivity is different from one's understanding based on a particular perspective, arguing that a partial understanding from a particular social spot does reflect the external reality, despite reflecting an aspect of it; insofar as the partial knowledge is not considered as global and general, it is not non-objective. As either insider or outsider researchers take particular positions which imply partial perspectives, their understandings will be both subjectively based and forged through interactions within power relations between researchers and participants (Narayan, 1993: 679). Styles (1979: 148) holds that rather than an empirical generalization of researchers' relationships with their participants, insider/ outsider myths are 'elements in a moral rhetoric that claims exclusive research legitimacy for a particular group'.

According to Merton (1972: 22), a crucial fact of social structure is that individuals do not have a single status but a status set consisting of various interrelated statuses which interact and affect each other. A group of individuals share some statuses but not others in one time and they confront one another simultaneously as insiders and outsiders. Hence the roles of insider/ outsider are products of the particular situation in which a given fieldwork takes place, and not from the status characteristics per se of the researcher (Kusow, 2003: 591). Insider/ outsider knowledge claims are thus situated knowledge embedded in social difference and social inequality, and researchers are constantly moving back and forth across different boundaries, such as race/ ethnicity, gender, class, generation (Griffith, 1998: 368; Ganga & Scott, 2006; Taylor & Littleton, 2006; see also examples in Blix, 2015). The multiple, hybrid and shifting nature of researcher identities in interviews indicates that insider/ outsider roles are constructed categories. Instead, researchers have to negotiate identities with participants throughout interviews (Court and Abbas, 2013).

Regarding this insider/ outsider tension, two tools are employed in my research to deal with the potential subjectivity I produced in the processes of interviewing, managing interview data and data analysis.

4.6.3 Addressing tension

The first tool is credited to Ryle's (1949/2009) notion of a 'thick description'. It encourages researchers to provide participants with opportunities to give rich and deep descriptions, and to present their understanding of particular categories in their own words. The use of this tactic is very likely to reduce a researcher's selectivity by heightening his or her awareness of preconceived categories, and also to limit the level of subjectivity that a researcher may introduce to the data analysis (Yin, 2010). As mentioned in Section 4.6.1, participants may see my follow-up questions about shared knowledge as 'stupid' and not be willing to provide more descriptions. An alternative approach I used was to present my understanding of those implicit notions and then encourage them to check if that matched theirs or to comment on my understanding. On reviewing my transcripts, I realized that there were still many moments when I failed to do the aforementioned. In order to clarify those notions and metaphors, I managed to have second face-to-face interviews with three participants. All of them were happy to have conversations with me again, and did provide rich descriptions. However, two of them presented their understandings of particular categories which were at odds with their views in the previous interviews. For example, F1 attributed classmates' referring her as a *laau* girl to her being offensive to them. In contrast, the second time she ascribed their use of the label to her clothing style and her inability to speak Cantonese, which is quite different from the previous stance. These inconsistencies in participants' discourse, or variations in their accounts, according to Wetherell and Potter (1988: 174), are an essential feature of natural language use, as they are conditioned by changes in discursive contexts and usually separate into different passages of talk. Respondents' talk is made up of a combination of themes (or in their term, 'repertoire'), including complex and potentially inconsistent or variable responses. These inconsistencies should not be a problem but can rather help to guide researchers to investigate the different functions of various repertoires, and to understand the ideological consequences of these repertoires in

local contexts. Following this view, I kept my arguments in my already-made analysis of their original speech, presented how their ideas on the same topic in the second interviews displayed different points of view and how that influences their language attitudes and identity construction, and tried to understand what beliefs underlined these views.

The second is a collaborative approach which involves participants as co-researchers in processes of data collection and analysis. A collaborative relationship with participants contributes to both correcting any potential mis-recorded data and increasing the validity of a study (Locke & Velamuri, 2009: 488–489). This approach also overlaps with the first one in terms of going back to participants for the sake of accuracy in data and trustworthiness in researchers' interpretations. Following this approach, I invited one participant who was doing a PhD in translation to proofread my transcript translation, aiming to have another perspective on what categories or themes she thought important to serve the ends of my research. She not only checked my translation, but also informed me of some of her ideas that had changed since she had an interview, and suggested to me one linguistic aspect (Cantonese particles attached to sentences uttered in Putonghua) that was worth investigating to understand the complexity of participants' multilingual practices.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed in Section 4.2 the advantages and disadvantages of interviews and focus groups for qualitative research in the social sciences, especially linguistics studies, which informed the reasons why I used both to collect data. I presented the processes of data collection and analysis in four stages, in Sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5: participant selection and interview organization, coding and extract selection, transcription and English translation, and applying specific notions in

critical discourse studies and conversation analysis to examine data. In Section 4.6, I reflected on my role as an immigrant insider, what influences this had on my data collection and analysis, and the techniques I used to minimize the problems resulting from taking on this role.

Chapter five Negotiating the external categorization of *laau*

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in the theory chapter, social identities are produced within negotiations of external categorisation and internal identification. In order to understand these processes of negotiations, it is important to investigate the ways in which individuals perceive, interpret and respond to others' categorization of them. This can be achieved through analysing their representations of categories, the act of categorisation and the individuals or groups involved in the act, and through interpreting what beliefs and ideologies inform these representations and categorisations. In this chapter, I present a particular category, which is represented by the label, *laau,* that is applied to a group of people who use Putonghua, namely immigrants to Guangzhou, by Guangzhou *bendiren* (i.e. locals, see section 1.2). I introduce this category against the social background of Guangzhou through examining the occurrences of this category in the Leiden Weibo Corpus. I then investigate how immigrants construct social identities through representing the social actors of categorisation, the act of categorisation, and its consequences.

5.2 The social meaning of *laau*

5.2.1 Categories used to refer to immigrants in Guangzhou

In Guangzhou, there are a number of terms which are used to refer to immigrants, such as 外地人 *waidiren* (literally, outside place people), 外省人 *waishengren* (outside province people); 北方佬 *bakfonglou*/北佬 *baklou* (northern region man/northern man), 北妹 *bakmui* (northern girls), 捞佬 *laau lou* (*laau* man) and 捞仔 *laau zai* (*laau* man). The Putonghua terms w*aidiren* and *waishengren* are widely

used across mainland China to refer to people not from the local community. Other terms in Cantonese are specific to Guangzhou and/or other Cantonese-speaking regions in Guangdong, such as Foshan, Shenzhen and Zhuhai. In Guangzhou, *waidiren* and *waishengren* are frequently used in media reports, publications or other formal contexts, and the others are mostly heard in casual talk.

Waidiren seems to be mainly used in news reports about how migrants can obtain social welfare or gain legal entry into Guangzhou with respect to relevant regulations or policies. For example, a few reports discuss a policy that demands that *waidiren* should pay social insurance for three continuous years before they are eligible to buy property (Li, et al., 2013); the length of time that it takes to obtain a temporary residence permit in 2016 was changed by a regulation (Yu, 2016); *waidiren* are required to register with the Bureau of Migrant Services of Guangzhou Municipality within three days of arrival (Zhang and Gan, 2014). *Waishengren* are represented as coming to Guangzhou and Guangdong to chase their dreams and seek great fulfilment after the Chinese New Year holiday. A report on the huge population arriving at Guangzhou train station (such as Jing, 2009) was entitled 'Guangdong yesterday welcomed a peaking return; half a million *waishengren* came to Guangdong to pursue their dreams'.

Compared to the terms *waidiren* and *waishengren* which denote the opposition between natives and non-natives, terms such as *bak(fong)lou* 'men coming from the north' and *bakmui* 'females coming from the north' seem to have less explicit connotations as they superficially mark a geographical characteristic of the place of origin of migrants. There appears to be a folk belief held by many native Guangzhou people that anyone who comes from outside Guangdong province is from 'the northern areas'. It was noticed by the sinologist Vogel (1969: 22) that the 'Cantonese tend to regard all outsiders as "northerners" or "foreigners"'. Although the fact that Guangdong is located on the southern coast of mainland China partly explains why all other regions are relatively to 'the north', this reference mainly relates to the high

levels of economic development Guangzhou and Guangdong have achieved since the Economic Reform (Chen, 1999), which has been more successful than many of the regions located north of Guangdong. It is thus indicative of the regional disparities between north and south in China. In other words, *Bak(fong)lou* and *bakmui* are invested with an ideological opposition constructed by natives based on the economic differences between the northern and southern regions.

5.2.2 Terms involving *laau*

The denotations of terms including *laau* are much harder to predict than those of the aforementioned terms. 捞佬 *laaulou* ‘*laau* man’, 捞仔 *laautsai* ‘*laau* boy’ and 捞头 *laautau* ‘*laau* people’ are common phrases referring to immigrants who come from regions outside Guangdong province. In the first and one of the most influential contemporary Cantonese dictionaries of China, *A Dictionary of the Cantonese Dialect* (Ouyang, Rao and Zhou, 2010), the phrase 捞□ *laau sung* (the word *sung* is represented by a square which means it has no character) is recorded as referring to those who come from outside Guangdong province, and as slightly derogatory. According to the editors, it is a phonological imitation of a Putonghua term of address, 老兄 *laoxiong* ‘old brother’, which is a respectful form of address between adult males. I have also noticed that in digital communications this view is very frequently used to account for the use of *laau* categories by Guangzhou people. However, this does not reveal anything about the connotations of the word *laau* – what characteristics or qualities it refers to. No other relevant phrases seem to be recorded and accounted for in lexicography. Apart from these phrases, there are offensive phrases such as 捞逼 *laaubi* and 捞閪 *laauhai* (捞逼 *laaubi* is also written as 捞比 or 捞 b, and 捞閪 *laauhai* also as 捞西 *laausai* or 捞 seo; these are commonly used as homophones), which include elements referring to genitalia. 逼 *bi* refers to male genitals, 閪 *hai* to female genitals. While there have been debates on whether 捞佬, 捞仔 and 捞头 connote derogatory meanings or not, it is hard to argue that 捞逼

and 捞閪 are not perceived as taboo language. The extent of offence that can be caused by 逼 *bi* and 閪 *hai* is high. Particularly, 閪 *hai* is among the five strongest Cantonese swear words ('Cantonese taboo language tutorial', 2013). For example, they are used as personal insults referring to genitalia in 傻逼 *sobi* and 傻閪 *sohai*, which can be translated as idiot or prat. 閪 *hai* can also be used as an emphatic adverb, such as in 好閪多人 *houhaido jan*, which means 'so fucking many people'.

As suggested above, it is not easy to find discussions of *laau* terms in academic publications, newspapers and official documents, hence it is helpful to look at other sources. In their literary non-fiction on the development of Guangdong Province since the establishment of China, Lv and Zhao (2008: 103) mention 捞佬 *laaulou* as a popular Cantonese colloquial form of address in the early 1960s in Guangdong, referring to all those coming from provinces north of Guangdong. They relate *laau* men to a change in official appointments in Guangdong at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, during which many native senior officials were dismissed and their successors mainly came from inland and northern regions. This resonates with a series of campaigns against the 'political localism' that the Chinese Communist Party introduced in the 1950s and '60s as Mao felt that his power was not only weakened by other top leaders like Liu Shaoqi but also challenged by leaders at the provincial level (Li and Bachman, 1989: 84). In Guangdong, three campaigns were led by political leaders sent from the central government to Guangdong ('南下干部' *nanxia ganbu*, literally, leaders coming down to the south) to criticize and destroy the 'localism' of native political leaders, on separate occasions during the Land Reform (1949–1953), the Anti-Rightist Movement (1957–1958) and the beginning of the Cultural Reform (1966–1976) (Chen, 2008). In an article entitled 'I am a *laau* man' in the magazine 'Health Life' in 1997, an immigrant comments on the category of *laau* man imposed on him. He maintains that Guangdong people despise and refer to a person as a *laau* man when they hear him speak Putonghua or languages other than Cantonese in the street. Even though the author, originally from Guangxi province, can speak a variety of Guangxi Cantonese, when local Guangzhou people recognise

differences in expressions between two varieties, they call the author *laaulou* and categorise him as 'rustic'. He ascribes this attitude to Guangdong people's sense of superiority based on the prosperity of the province. A commentator, Xiaozhou Zhang, argues (2016) that the openness of Guangzhou is more about their characteristics of being pragmatic and not poking their noses into others' affairs than a sense of inclusiveness. He exemplifies this by his observation that Guangzhou people refer to all *waidiren* as *laaulou*; and in contrast to the current situation in which there are campaigns to support the Cantonese language because it is seen as threatened, in the 1990s the use of Putonghua rather than Cantonese would lead to discrimination. According to Chi (2015: 16), Guangzhou people draw a boundary between themselves and *laautou*, those coming from the northern areas, in order to resist and challenge the nationalist ideology which connects the use of Putonghua to politeness and sets it as the standard to measure the degree of civilization of a region.

When it comes to digital contexts, the auto-completion system of the Baidu search engine, one of the most widely used engines in mainland China, helps to reveal how the public understand and represent *laau* terms. The auto-completion algorithms seem to work much like those of the Google search engine, which is criticized by Baker and Potts (2013) for helping to reproduce and strengthen certain stereotypes, through suggesting particular stereotyping phrases to be searched for, based on the popularity of search terms in the past. Digital media reports have shown that the auto-completion system of the Baidu search service reflects stereotypes of each province, such as 'A Map of China, by Stereotype' (Brown, 2014), and 'Baidu Autocomplete Reveals China's Weird Regional Stereotypes' (Tang, 2014). When I typed *laau* man, *laau* girl, *laau b* into the search engine (around April 2016), *laau* man was generalized in the auto-completion options as despicable and ferocious, they have body odour and hit people (see figure 5.1 below); *laau* girl was reduced to a physical characteristic – having big breasts, relating to a 'sexual photo scandal' and a model who is publicly lambasted for her sex photos and videos put online (figure 5.2); the feature of looking ugly is attributed to the category *laau b* (figure 5.3). This quick glance makes it clear

that people who are categorised as *laau* are constructed as unwelcome Others.

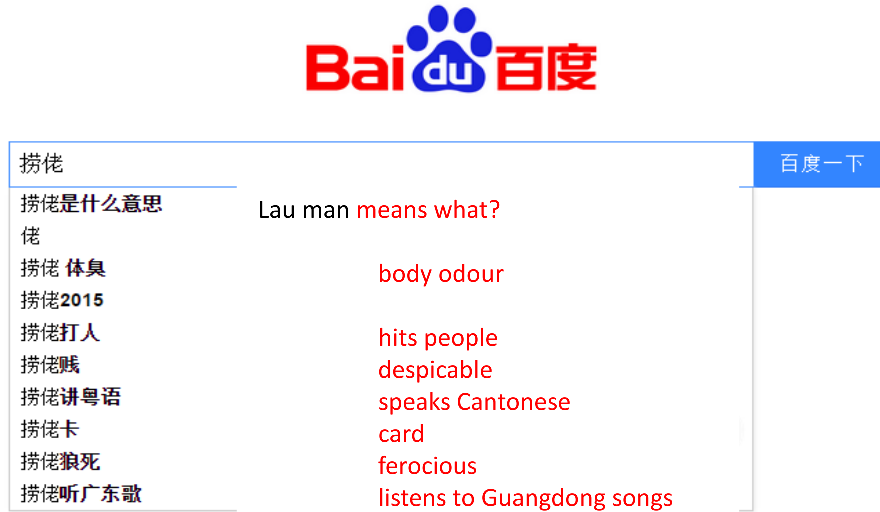


Figure 5.1 Auto-completion options for *laau* man on Baidu search engine

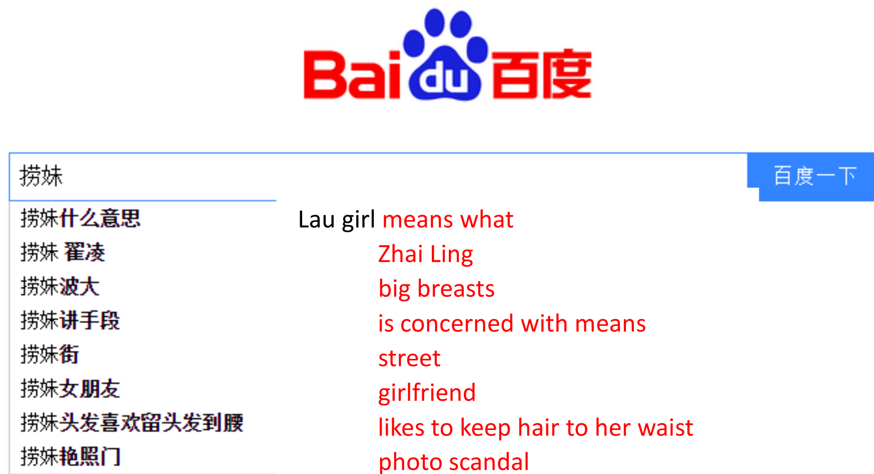


Figure 5.2 Auto-completion options for *laau* girl on Baidu search engine

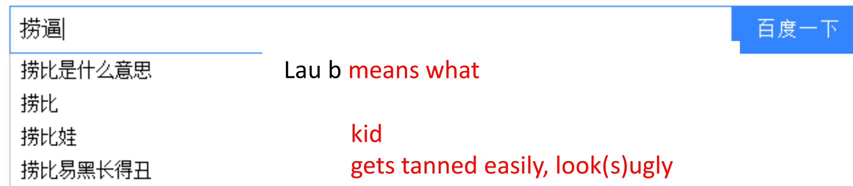


Figure 5.3 Auto-completion options for *laau* b on Baidu search engine

These suggest that it is helpful to pay attention to the use of *laau* terms in semi-regulated spaces such as online forums and social media microblogs. In the following I will adopt a corpus-based approach to present the negative implications associated with *laau* terms in the Leiden Weibo Corpus.

Laau in the Leiden Weibo Corpus

The Leiden Weibo Corpus is a 101 million-word collection of five million posts on Sina Weibo, one of China's most popular microblogging services, collected from 8–30 January 2012. The period consists of normal business weeks as well as holiday time around Chinese New Year. This is the first open-access Chinese corpus to compile texts from social media. As Chinese New Year is when the annual exodus of migrants returning home occurs, topics related to migrants and references to them seem likely to show up. It is therefore to be expected that occurrences of *laau* terms will be identified in this corpus. The numbers of terms including *laau* (捞头, 捞佬, 捞妹, 捞仔, 捞逼/比/b, 捞西 and 捞 as single-word adjective) identified by the search engine on Leiden Weibo Corpus website are presented below, in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Occurrences and regions of *laau* categories in the Leidon Weibo Corpus

Keyword(s)	捞头 *laau* person	捞佬 *laau* man	捞妹 *laau* girl	捞仔 *laau* boy	捞逼/比 /b *laau* dick	捞西 *laau* pussy	捞 *laau*	Sum
Occurrences	65	28	34	42	71	5	116	361
Posts	59	24	34	39	68	5	108	337
Guangzhou	42	9	18	20	26	5	61	181
Other regions in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macau	15	15	16	19	29	0	39	133

A total of 361 occurrences in a corpus of 101 million Chinese characters or 1.37 million distinct words does not seem that frequent, but one token per 3,795 words is not insubstantial. Taking into consideration the time span of this corpus, the occurrence of 120 times per week does indicate an interest in or a concern over this constructed group of people (here I temporarily use this reference to cover all those who are categorised by terms involving *laau*).

In order to identify the features attributed to and the attitudes held towards categories of *laau* in relevant posts, I searched for collocates of the term *laau*. And I draw upon semantic prosody (see section 4.5.3) to investigate the connotations that *laau* categories are imbued with by their collocates. Table 5.2 shows the semantic categories of the most frequent collocates of *laau* terms.

Table 5.2 The most frequently used collocates of *laau* terms in the Leiden Weibo Corpus

Category	Definition	Examples
Swearing	Taboo language which causes offense, or used to insult someone	死 *sei* “damn”
		屌 *diu* “dick” 閪 *hai* “pussy” 七 *cat* “dick” 狗 *gau* “dick” 撚 *lan* “dick” (Cantonese vulgar slang referring to genitalia)
		你妈 *neimaa* “your mother” 你妹 *neimui* “your younger

		sister” 他妈 *taamaa* “his mother” (all are used to mean “fuck your mother”)
		扑街 *pokgaai* “fall dead”(verb) (“son of a bitch” as a noun)
		二逼/傻西/傻逼 *jibi/sosei/sobi* “idiot”
Action	Leaving and returning a place	走 *zau* “leave” 翻黎 *faanlei* “come back” 回来 *wuiloi* “come back” 回归 *wuigwai* “come back” 回家 *wuigaa* “go home”
	Invading a place	侵占 *camzin* “invade” 攻占 *gungzin* “invade” 霸占 *baazin* “forcibly occupy”
Identity categories	Geographic/ cultural/ ethnic identity labels in association with *laau* people	外地人 *ngoidei jan* “outcomers” 本地人 *bundei jan* “natives” 文明人 *manming jan* “civilized people” 有钱人 *jaucin jan* “rich people” 外国佬 *ngoigok lou* “foreigners” 黑鬼 *hakgwai* “nigger” 屎忽鬼 *sifat gwai* “asshole” 乡下人 *hoenghaa jan* “country bumpkin”
Affect	Negatively evaluated acts and feelings	憎 *zang* “hate” 讨厌 *toujim* “dislike” 嫌 *yim* “dislike” 鄙视 *peisi* “despise” 火滚 *fogwan* “rage” 气愤 *heifan* “angry” 惊/怕 *ging/paa* “scared”
Attribution	Negatively evaluated features	样衰 *joengseoi* “ugly” 嘈 *cou* “noisy” 可怜 *holin* “poor” 蠢 *ceon*“foolish” 猥琐 *wuiso* “wretched” 野蛮 *jemaan* “barbarous” 无/低素质 *mou/daisouzat* “ill-mannered” 无文化 *moumanfa* “uneducated” 臭 *cau* “stinking” 难闻 *naanman* “smelly”

Most of these collocates of *laau* terms denote negative stances. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show us how swear words 死 *sei* “damn” and verbs denoting leaving and returning are used in posts. 死 *sei* literally means ‘to die’, and it is used to curse someone to die and acts as a premodifying adjectival intensifier in these sentences. In the first example, the author interrogates *laau b* as to whether or not they know they should queue and asks them to get lost. Another swear word 你妹 *neimui* ‘your younger sister’ is added to intensify the negative meaning. 你妹 *neimui* connotes the same as 你妈 *neimaa* ‘your mother’. ‘Your mother’ is a common swear word in English, Spanish and Norwegian teenagers’ culture, as a particular form of ‘swearing by mother’, which omits and implies the taboo word (Drange et al. 2014: 32). Other

swear words (underlined) in these examples include 叼, which acts as a cursing expletive, seo/西, emphatic adverb, and 扑街, personal insult referring to 'to die'.

Table 5.3 Concordances of swear word 死 *sei* that co-occur with *laau* terms

死	捞 B	识唔识排队啊！你妹，快滚回去！
damn	*laau* b	do you know you should queue, your younger sister, go get lost!
死	捞 b！	你企还企，无挨住我，好唔好啊！
Damn	*laau* b!	I'm fine with you standing here, but do not lean on me, can you!
真系好憎 d **死**	捞头	唔使钱搭免费地铁你妈妈今朝出站等住
Really hate those damn	*laau* person	who took the metro for free. Fuck. This morning I left the station and wait
到站要落车既时候，有个**死**	捞 头	企系个门口，我话唔该借借，距扮听唔到，
When I was about to get off there was this damn	*laau* person	standing by the door. I said excuse me, and s/he pretended that s/he didn't hear me
体着条婆个样就唔爽，样衰样衰，**死**	捞妹！	贱人。我控制唔住啦，唔好逼我直接去闹你。
…feeling disgusting when I see this woman, ugly, ugly, damn	*laau* girl	despicable person. I can't bear anymore. Don't make me abuse you
叼你老味个**死**	捞仔	日日係咁烧炮我洗西训啊扑你妈个臭扑街
Fuck you damn	*laau* boy	everyday burns firecrackers, how can I fucking fall asleep, your motherfucker, go drop dead
今日真系黑仔啊，果条**死**	捞佬	撞我车尾，好彩无大碍，只系擦伤
Today I'm so unlucky, a damn	*laau* man	crashed into the rear of my car, fortunately it wasn't seriously hurt, only got a bit scratched
三九唔识七嘎人望猪晒**死**	捞逼	望 seo 啊望烦到鬼甘好讨厌啊
You don't know me damn	*laau* b	why are you fucking staring at me, really annoying so disgusting
你妹！你个**死**	捞 b！	

Fuck you, you damn	*laau* b!	
在此再次鄙视你只死	捞西	弄是非你只贱人发既毒誓一定应验
I despise again you damn	*laau* pussy	gossiping, you despicable person, my swearing will come true

It is not surprising that verbs denoting 'leave' and 'return' are among the mostly collocated categories of *laau* terms. It is a tradition for Chinese people to reunite with their families at Chinese New Year or Spring Festival, which has led to a massive annual migration in a few weeks before or after the festival across China since the late 1980s. The inter-city transport infrastructure is not always able to cope with the high demand right before and after Spring Festival, while during Spring Festival cities such as Guangzhou which host a large number of migrants have smooth transport. A relevant topic which is also frequent in discussions of *laau* people is the metaphor of invasion. The return of migrants is equated with an invasion of Guangzhou city and Guangzhou people are called on to get ready for a fight with *laau* people. This emotionally charged metaphor gives rise to negative semantic prosody related to the perceived threat of migrants to Guangzhou, and this construction of migrants and foreigners is common in many other contexts (e.g. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Blackledge, 2005; Montali et al., 2013).

Table 5.4 Concordances of verbs denoting leaving and returning that co-occur with *laau* terms

特别有过年气氛，地铁空空的。D	捞头	终于走晒啦！希望今日有得早落班，
…has great New Year atmosphere. The metro is empty. Those	*laau* people	finally all left! Hope I can finish work early today,
今日地铁好少人，d	捞头	仲未翻来最好唔好翻来啊
Today there are very few people at the metro. Those	*laau* people	haven't come back yet, it would be best if they didn't return
	捞头	一走，广州人就浦头捞头翻黎，连铁马都无
	laau	left and then Guangzhou people showed up.

	people	Once lau people come back, even guard bars will be stolen
讨厌死了！	捞头	要回归鸟，广州人都准备好作战了么
How disgusting!	*laau* people	are going to return. Are Guangzhou people ready to fight?
	捞头	又翻来侵占广州城喇我又要过返出门打车
	laau people	are returning to encroach on Guangzhou city. I again must take a taxi to commute
同志们！	捞仔	反黎侵占广州啦！
Comrades!	*laau* boys	are returning to invade Guangzhou!
再见！再也不见！至憎北佬	捞佬	快滚回你的北佬星球！
Goodbye! Never see you again! Hate Northerners	*laau* men	go return to your northerners' planet!
D	捞 B	走晒条街静到唔习惯地铁终于静晒啦
Those	*laau* dicks	all left. I'm not used to the quiet streets. The metro finally became quiet.
每个新年第一个愿望希望	捞 seo	永远唔来广州永远永远
Every year the first of my New Year wish is that	*laau* pussy	would never return to Guangzhou, never ever.
	捞嘿	返广啊！边开大喇叭边上车！一上来就臭到
	laau pussy	have returned to Guangzhou! They are so noisy when they got on the bus! Once they come onto the bus, it is full of their smell

The Leiden Weibo Corpus offers us a snapshot of how *laau* people are imagined and constructed in digital discourses. The derogatory connotations of *laau* terms explain why they have such low visibility in formal publications and why in most of the sources discussed above these terms are criticised. To present explicit negative statements about immigrants in publications or newspapers would violate Guangzhou people's view of themselves: open, diverse and inclusive (see discussions in Chapter 2). Making these terms invisible, semi-invisible or unintelligible to outsiders helps to

cover up the 'conditional tolerance' (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 145). These negative representations of *laau* categories will help to understand the prejudice existing against immigrants in the community of Guangzhou, and my interviewees' stance in their discussions about being categorised as *laau*. In the following section, I present a detailed analysis of immigrant participants' interpretations and representations of this category, the act of categorization and those who impose the category on them.

5.3 Analysis of immigrants' negotiation of the *laau* category

In this section, I follow a discursive-historical approach and focus on the discursive strategies of stancetaking (see section 4.5.1 in the methodology chapter). I will look at meso-level discursive strategies of evaluation, positioning and alignment that are drawn upon by immigrant participants. They use these strategies to show their stance towards how they are categorised and to construct identities in relation to these categories. I will identify micro-level strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, intensification and mitigation that contribute to completing evaluation, positioning and alignment, and further examine what linguistic devices are used in realizing these micro-level strategies.

5.3.1 Resistance to and negotiation of categorisation

Extract 1

In this extract, my senior high school classmate M5 tells me his experience of being categorized and excluded as a *laau* boy by his junior high school classmates.

1	Me	You just said that your classmates from Guangzhou didn't see you as a
2		Guangzhou person because you speak Putonghua
3	M5	Mm
4	Me	How did you recognize that
5	M5	This was when I was at junior high school, a very, very, very
6		unforgettable … an experience
7	Me	Hmm, what kind of experience
8	M5	It's, all the Guangdong classmates called you ***laau*** **boy** did you experience
9		this?
10	Me	Ah, I see
11	M5	Right, then you can do nothing, even if your life and his life, your and his
12		habits in various respects are the same, communication styles or values or
13		something like that are all the same, but you wouldn't get their
14		recognition (of you as a Guangzhou person). Maybe their act of calling me
15		a *laau* boy now seems a bit negative but back in those times they didn't
16		think so, because they thought the term was for those who knew how to
17		speak Putonghua, right
18	Me	Which means the criterion is one's ability to speak Putonghua
19	M5:	Yes, knowing how to speak Putonghua or not is the only criterion to judge
20		if you are a southerner or not; no, not about being a southerner or not,
21		but a Guangdong person or not, that's the only criterion
22	Me	Mm, it's like, even though you were born in Guangzhou
23	M5:	Right, yes. Even though you were born and raised in Guangzhou they still
24		saw you as a northerner, because you can speak Putonghua
25	Me	But, but, at that time they can also speak Putonghua, right?
26	M5:	But they were forced to, I mean, because they thought that because we
27		needed to study Putonghua, this is a school course or a test benchmark,
28		we had to learn it, right?
29	Me	But but you are
30	M5:	But I, because this is the inherent … one of my competences, right, so he
31		thought that, he would not accept you (as a Guangzhou person), wouldn't
32		accept, wouldn't recognize you (as a Guangzhou person), or wouldn't
33		identify you as a local.

M5 presents 所有的广东同学 *suoyou de Guangdong tongxue* 'all the Guangdong classmates' as the actor of categorization and himself as the recipient. He describes his Guangdong classmates as attributing neutrality to the category hence normalizing their act, while he expresses his perception of this act as 带一点点贬义 *dai yidiandian bianyi* 'a bit negative'. In lines 11–14 he lists four ways in which he feels he is similar to his classmates, from the general to the specific, and from the palpable

to the intangible. However, none of these grants him membership as a Guangzhou person. He displays his reaction to this categorization in two negative statements 没办法 *mei banfa* 'can do nothing' and 不会得到他们的认可 *buhui dedao tamen de renke* 'wouldn't get recognition'. These imply on the one hand his resistance to it, on the other hand his desire to identify with them and to negotiate their categorisation of him, but it is impossible to do so.

M5 in line 19 uses 唯一 *weiyi* 'the only' twice to stress the importance of speaking Putonghua for ascribing membership. He anticipates counter-arguments by using 就算 *jiusuan* 'even if' and 也 *ye* 'still' to rule out a potentially confusing characteristic, birth in Guangzhou, which emphasises the exclusiveness of the attribute 说普通话 *shuo Putonghua* 'speaking Putonghua'. In lines 26–28 and 30-33 M5 further clarifies what differentiates him from his classmates with respect to the use of Putonghua. His classmates are presented as 被迫 *beipo* 'being forced to' study and speak Putonghua, while he ascribes 本身具有 *benshen jvyou* 'inherent' to his competence in speaking Putonghua (in this case I understand the difference he highlights as 'whether one acquires Putonghua before one attends formal education and whether one uses it outside the classroom'). In his clarification of the boundary between the two categories in his classmates' perception, a binary of sameness and difference is constructed as M5 insists on various shared features between his and his classmates while his classmates focus on only one difference. Representing this sharp contrast serves to intensify the gap between M5's desire to be recognised as a Guangzhou person and his non-recognition in reality.

When M5 represents his perceptions and reaction to the categorisation and clarifies the parameters, he keeps on using a second person pronoun 你 *ni* 'you' *ni* to refer to himself. This mirrors the very beginning of this extract when he uses 'you' *ni* to state his experience of categorisation. His use of *ni* for self-referencing is an attempt to engage the listener, the researcher (me), into his experience and feelings. According to Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990: 752), in doing so the speaker assigns a major 'actor' role

to the addressee and lets the hearer into the speaker's world view, implying that the hearer also shares the same perspective. Biq (1991), Zhang (2001), Huang, Bai and Jiang (2010) and Zhang (2014) show that the second person pronoun *ni* in Putonghua has the same use and function. Considering that in line 8 M5 asks me if I share with him the experience of categorization and only receives my minimal response, it seems that he is trying to invite me to align with his perceptions and interpretation of the categorization, and to build solidarity and allegiance between us. In this sense, his use of 'you' to refer to himself demonstrates the subjective and intersubjective nature of Putonghua personal pronouns in interactions (Shen, 2001; Wu, 2004) – he shows stance as well as his attention to the subjectivity of the hearer.

Meanwhile, this way of using 'you' *ni* to refer to himself is always used in a pair with a third person plural pronoun 'they' 他们 *tamen* to refer to his classmates. Similarly, the second person possessive determiner 'your' 你的 *nide* is paired with singular third person possessive determiner 'his' 他的 *tade* in lines 11–17, 19–21, 23–24 and 31–33, when he shifts his 'frame of reference' (Biq, 1991) to a described situation. This use of contrastive *ni* and *tamen* or *nide* and *tade* in Putonghua constructs a confrontation between two parties (Zhang, 2001: 32). While using *ni* to refer to himself and *tamen* or *ta* to his classmates, M5 makes three shifts in line 15 and line 30 to use the first person pronoun 'me'/'I' 我 *wo* and 'my' 我的 *wode* to refer to himself. Putting himself as the one who is at the receiving end of classmates' actions, M5 indicates the power difference between him and them. And overall his use of *ni* is an indirect way to construct his situation of being differentiated and his desire to find companions.

The participant's characterization as a *laau* person in this case needs to be understood against the backdrop of the power relations between Putonghua and Cantonese in Guangzhou. While the central government makes efforts to consolidate the official language Putonghua at a national level, at the local level Putonghua does not necessarily have that symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991), as discussed in Sections 2.3 and 2.4. As M5's competence in using Putonghua leads to unpleasant experiences of

categorisation rather than advantages and ‘a profit of distinction’ (ibid., 18), using Putonghua is regarded as an index of a speaker’s social position as an Other, and it is assigned a limited value which is less than that of the local speech of Cantonese. This can also be evidenced in lines 26–28 when M5 describes how his classmates 被迫 *beipo* ‘were forced to’ learn it. And very soon he shifts the subject from ‘they’ *tamen* (plural form of *Ta* ‘he/she/it’) to ‘we’ *women* (plural form of *wo* ‘I’), and repeats deontic modality with 要 *yao* ‘need to’, indicating that he affiliates with his classmates in respect of their stances towards two language varieties. It seems that Putonghua is used in part because it belongs to the compulsory course in Chinese language while outside the school context it may not be preferred over Cantonese for daily use. In this particular context, the authority of Putonghua is downplayed, and it does not have the distinct position that it generally has at a state level compared to regional varieties. These attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese are then associated with evaluations of individuals who use these language varieties under different circumstances, and this difference turns into a marker and parameter of membership categorisation and becomes normalised. These beliefs serve as the basis of the *laau* category imposed on M5 and lead to his negotiation of the category.

Extract 2

In this passage, M3 describes his experience of being categorized as a *laau b,* and his preference for using Putonghua to speak to his classmates despite the fact that he can speak Cantonese and all his classmates are Cantonese speakers.

1	M3	Actually, actually, actually it’s not that I didn’t know how to use Cantonese at all
2		because I entered the primary school here and came here at other times. Because
3		I often came here, since my mum has been working here all the time. So I usually
4		came and did sightseeing here, things like that. So, it’s not that I didn’t know
5		Cantonese at all, but, after all, in the first year of junior high school when people

6		all, all called you *laau* b, it's impossible that. I should take the initiative to, I mean,
7		you had a feeling of being excluded.
8	Me	Hmm
9	M3	So it's impossible for you, to cater to them and speak Cantonese to them, though
10		they didn't. Because they knew you come from other places, or you are, umm,
11		coming from the north. Of course they spoke to you in Putonghua. So under this
12		circumstance, I hadn't spoken any Cantonese in that three years.
13	Me	You mean when it came to the third year they, you and your classmates still, you
14		spoke to each other in Putonghua?
15	M3	Yes, we, now at reunions my junior high school friends and I still use Putonghua
16		to speak to each other.

Different from M5's mild comment on the categorization and representation of his inability to resist it, M3 explicitly mentions his feeling of 被排斥 *bei paichi* 'being excluded' and his reaction through his language choice. By repeating the double negative 不是一点也不会 *bushi yidian ye buhui* 'it's not that I didn't know how to use Cantonese at all' and the negative 不可能说我主动去 *bukeneng shuo wo zhudong qu* 'it's impossible that I should take the initiative', M3 emphasises his competence in speaking Cantonese and, more importantly, his unwillingness to use Cantonese to speak to his classmates. This contrast between his competence and his language choice helps to construct his resistance to the imposed category. His rejection of this exclusion and his inferior status within the imbalanced power relations between his classmates and him can also be demonstrated by the deontic modality in 'it's impossible that I should take the initiative', and his equating the choice of using Cantonese in this situation with an act of 迎合 *yinghe* 'catering to' his classmates.

While his response to the exclusion, namely intending not to use Cantonese to speak to classmates, is seen by him as self-evident, when he recalls his classmates' use of Putonghua to speak to him in line 10—12, he also takes their accommodation to his language choice for granted, through using an epistemic modal 肯定 *kending* 'of course' to modify their act. The latter position seems to assume that Cantonese speakers have a duty to switch to Putonghua when communicating with Putonghua

users. This view can be identified in a few other participants' talks about their daily language use. For example, F4 argues that if she meets someone for the first time in Guangzhou and if she is the one who needs to initiate the conversation she will choose Putonghua, because 'everyone knows Putonghua. I'm afraid that I meet someone who only speaks Putonghua and cannot use Cantonese', and 'if I use Cantonese I am afraid that I will make the person feel uncomfortable'. M3's and F4's view seem to imply a covert understanding in Guangzhou that Cantonese speakers are usually bilinguals so they should accommodate to Putonghua speakers by switching to Putonghua, otherwise they will place their interactants in a position of powerlessness. On the one hand, it reveals the wide distribution of Putonghua in this language community. On the other hand, the act of accommodating Putonghua users can be understood as another way of showing power difference in relation to bilingual proficiency as resources. In a similar situation in Catalonia (Woolard, 1989: 81) in which bilingual Catalans are assumed to have an obligation to accommodate Castilian speakers, some Castilians report a sense of embarrassment as the demonstration of greater bilingual proficiency can also be seen as a display of superiority. For the case of M3, although he shows satisfaction about his classmates' use of Putonghua to speak to him, his assertion of his competence in using Cantonese implies that he does not see a difference between himself and his classmates in their language proficiency, and this explains his resistance of their categorisation, which is based upon their assumption of his inability to use Cantonese.

A sharp us-them opposition is displayed through his contrastive use of personal pronouns to refer to his classmates and himself in lines 9–12, similar to how M5 uses personal pronouns. *Tamen* 'they'/'them' and *bieren* 'people' are employed to imply the side of Guangzhou classmates, while *wo* 'I' and *ni* 'you' are always the other side. Using *ni* to refer to himself in this situation has another function, which is self-distancing, shared by the use of a second person pronoun in both English and Putonghua (Robinson & Swanson, 1993; cited by Zhang, 2010: 50; O'Connor, 1994, cited by Huang, Bai and Jiang, 2010: 180). When giving an autobiographical account,

especially about unpleasant experiences, speakers may take both self-immersed and self-distanced perspectives. After using ‘I’ as a self-reference at the beginning of a narrative, speakers may shift to using ‘you’ to refer to him/herself, which is embedding personal experience in a broader context. This way of self-referencing one’s review of and reflections on an experience is in an attempt to lessen unpleasant feelings. During M3’s narrative in lines 1–7, he first uses *wo* ‘I’ to refer to himself, then in line 6, he has a brief pause and then shifts to use ‘you’ to refer to his being called a *laau* b. Although in the following sentence he shifts back to use *wo* ‘I’, a pause and a hedge occur at the beginning of the sentence in line 7 before he uses *ni* ‘you’ again to state his feeling of being excluded. Li (2002: 134) argues that a speaker’s use of a split self, a 经验自我 *jinayan ziwo* ‘experiencing self’ and a 叙事自我 *xushi ziwo* ‘narrating self’ in Putonghua, is a process of alienating a self that has had negative feelings in life experiences. In other words, M3’s use of *ni* to cross-reference himself serves to both form a boundary between him and his classmates and to underline his negative feelings about their categorisation.

This binary is also embodied in the way he uses pronouns to answer my questions. When I try to confirm with M3 which language is used between M3 and classmates currently, I suddenly change the reference and use 你们 *nimen* ‘you’ to include both him and his classmates. In M3’s response, at the beginning he follows my way of nomination and starts by using ‘we’, yet almost instantly he splits his response and returns to referring to his friends as *women chuzhong tongxue* ‘our junior high school classmates’ and to himself as ‘I’, separating himself from that group again. In short, M3 shows his resistance to the imposed identity category through representing the act as discriminating, his reactions to it and his distancing from his classmates.

Extract 3

This passage is extracted from an interview I conducted with two of my senior high school friends, F7 and F8. F7 in this passage tells me a story about her use of

Putonghua in her workplace that is related to discrimination against her.

1	Me	Now I feel like Putonghua is more widely used. I mean, when I just came here, all
2		the people, especially the elderly, they could not understand Putonghua at all
3		and you had to use Cantonese for communication. Now, actually, they
4		understand Putonghua and can speak a little
5	F7	Umm, yes they can. Yet I still came across sort of this rare situation at work.
6		When some elderly people really cannot understand Putonghua at all she would
7		say, **Please don't speak *laau* language to me, I cannot understand it, use**
8		**Cantonese for us**. Then I had no choice, so the next time when I served her I can
9		only consciously use Cantonese
10	Me	Oh
11	F7	And then I remember sometimes when I spoke Putonghua at work, I was
12		despised by those, you know, very haughty, sorry for that comment
13	Me	It's all right
14	F7	very haughty, em young guys. They were, as you know the district of Jiangnan Xi
15		is very prosperous. There are many malls there, and many mobile phone stores
16		selling products to young people in instalments. They had a kind of
17		((servers come to serve food))
18		then you know how far they went. He came to pay his mobile's instalment.
19		Actually, he just needed to put some money in an account, and I told him 'you
20		need to show your ID card'. He said that **those *laau* girls have particularly a lot of**
21		**requests**. He said something like this to the guy next to him. Ah the fire of my
22		anger burst. So I thought to myself, fine, I'd better speak Cantonese.
23	Me	Hah, but if ... right, yeah ... There must be some people like this.
24	F7	yes, there are still some *bendiren* who show an attitude of exclusion towards
25		*waidiren*. They think that so long as you speak Putonghua, then you come from
26		underdeveloped areas. He has the sense of superiority

F7 describes a customer who uses commands to indicate the necessity for F7 to speak Cantonese, in order to accommodate the language needs of 我地 *ngodei* 'us', rather than that of herself, although it is she that cannot understand Putonghua. The old lady is portrayed as indicating a homogeneous group of Cantonese speakers and demarcating this group from Putonghua-speaking outsiders like F7, and indicating that F7 is not willing to assimilate or conform to the language needs of 'us'. In association with the group opposition, a dichotomy between Cantonese and Putonghua is also built up. In lines 7-8, the customer predicates *laau* to Putonghua

that is used by F7, as if *laau* is a characteristic pertaining to the language *per se*, implying that more value is attached to Cantonese than to Putonghua. F7 shows her helplessness through 没办法 *meibanfa* 'have no choice' but to speak Cantonese and the emphasizing particle 有意识地 *you yishi de* 'consciously' modifying her shift to using Cantonese.

In the second story, F7 attributes the features of 串 *chuan* (a Cantonese word *cyun* that is pronounced in Putonghua) 'being haughty' and 过分 *guofen* 'going too far' to a young customer and uses an intensifier 好 *hao* 'very' repeatedly to stress her negative evaluation of this person. The young man is described as categorising her as a *laau* girl by the marker of speaking Putonghua, and attributes the characteristic of 零舍多要求 *lingse do jiukau* 'especially being picky' to her. These strategies of nomination and predication enlarge the opposition between Cantonese-speaking people and Putonghua-speaking people and attach a derogatory meaning to the latter group. F7 displays her anger through the metaphor of a fire exploding, signalling her refusal to accept the imposed category. However, she again presents her helplessness and decision to shift to Cantonese.

In both stories, the power difference constructed through strategies of predication and nomination at an interactional level cannot be disassociated from the power difference at an institutional level between a bank-teller and a customer. Exemplifying Fairclough's (2015: 95-6) view that 'any given piece of discourse may simultaneously be a part of a situation struggle, an institutional struggle, and a societal struggle (including class struggle)', F7's recall of two exchanges manifests that the power behind discourse mediating an institutional struggle is intertwined with the power in discourse embedded within both situational and societal (social statuses of languages) struggles.

According to a post-interview chat with F7, it is a requirement of the bank branch where she works at that all bank-tellers initiate their conversations with customers in

Putonghua, and they are encouraged to accommodate customers' language needs afterwards. It is also recommended in the Guangdong Province Stipulation of the National Language and Characters (*Guangdong Sheng Tongyong Guojia Yuyan Wenzi Guiding*, 2011) that public service domains, such as business, tourism, banking, the insurance industry and the communication industry, use Putonghua as the basic medium. Theoretically, it is justifiable for F7 to use Putonghua to start conversations with customers. In reality, the practice of speaking Putonghua triggers the derogatory category of *laau* girl imposed on her.

F7 constructs herself as subject to discrimination due to her Putonghua use through showing her negative evaluation and affection towards two customers' categorisations, and by representing both customers as drawing a boundary between Cantonese speakers and Putonghua-speaking outsiders. She therefore distances herself from the former group, and resists the undesirable identity category of *laau* girl. These together reveal a belief in the connection between social group differentiation and language differentiation in this multilingual community.

In her comments at the end of this exchange, F7 draws on the contrastive use of personal pronouns to construct a confrontation between two clear-cut groups (see discussion in analysis of extract 1). She uses 'you' *ni* to refer to herself, her addressee and others who also fall into the category of *waidiren*, while 'they' *tamen* and 'he' *ta* are used to refer to two customers and other Cantonese-speaking *bendiren* who display a similar superiority over *waidiren* as that of two customers. According to Zhang (2014: 50), when a speaker makes an argument about shared experiences or information and uses the second personal pronoun *ni* to include both speaker and hearer as referents, s/he is implying that his or her argument applies to both, and this is an attempt to enhance his or her position and construct a shared value system. That is to say, apart from constructing a confrontation between two groups, F7's extension of the referents of personal pronouns serves to shape a generalized argument about the differentiation of social groups based on *bendiren*'s sense of superiority and pride in

the economic strength of Guangzhou. In this sense, *ni* is similar to the impersonal or generic 'you' in English, which signals under certain circumstances 'morals and truism' (Kitagawa and Lehrer, 1990), or 'a commonplace' (Myers and Lampropoulou, 2012: 1209). In doing so, F7 reinforces her negative attitudes towards this group of *bendiren* and her stance of demarcating from them.

5.3.2 Contradictory stances towards the categorisation and/or minimal negotiation of it

Unlike the participants' resistance to the categorisation in the preceding cases, some participants show contradictory attitudes towards the social actors of the categorisation, and less strong intention to resist or negotiate it.

Extract 4

This extract comes from my interview with F3 and F4. The three of us met each other for the first time at the interview. F3 in this exchange shares with F4 and me thoughts about her language use with teachers and classmates in her school when she had just moved to Guangzhou with her parents.

1	F3	**When I entered the primary school here I could only speak Putonghua, and**
2		**then because my primary school was a, a school in the rural area. I mean it's a**
3		**school in a village, they rarely spoke Putonghua. The teachers couldn't speak**
4		**Putonghua.**
5	Me	**Ah::**
6	F3	**So I felt that they excluded me. I felt like that.**
7	Me	**Yes, right, if the context was like that it would**
8	F3	**Yes, yes. And then I remember I had a clear memory when ?? called you a *laau***
9		**girl**
10	Me	**Ah really**
11	F4	**So you mean they used Cantonese in classes as well?**
12	F3	**Yes**
13	Me	**Mm, ah.**
14	F3	**Yes, from the beginning in my primary school. I mean it could not, the school**

15		**could not ask all teachers to use Putonghua in order to take care of you, the**
16		**only one who only spoke Putonghua. And they, you learn Cantonese as fast as**
17		**possible, so I could not understand at all what they taught in classes.**
18	F4	**Then they spoke Cantonese even in the Chinese class?**
19	F3	**Except reading the texts, it's like most of the classes were in Cantonese. Maths**
20		**classes were all in Cantonese**
21	Me	**Wow**
22	F3	**I think at the very beginning when arriving here it would be comparatively. em.**
23		**Those people would comparatively, sometimes would find it comparatively**
24		**difficult to get integrated here**

F3 clearly states and repeats that she had a feeling of being excluded in her primary school and links this to the category of *laau* girl imposed on her. She assumes this is because all the teachers and students could not speak Putonghua and they rarely spoke Putonghua, the only language she could use. Hence both the categorization and their language use and competence in Putonghua are problematised.

However, soon F3 takes up a stance towards teachers' Cantonese use, which is contradictory to her negative evaluation of it. In lines 14–15, she employs a personification strategy to legitimate teachers' Cantonese use in the classroom. 'The school' is represented metonymically as a policymaker, who has the authority to prescribe the use of Cantonese for instruction, and teachers are represented as passive language policy implementers, who do not have the power and will to adapt the language policy to students' language needs. Thus, the teachers' responsibility is transferred to 'the school', which has no real agency, and Cantonese use in the classroom is ostensibly justified as teachers can and must conform to the language policy coming from above. Meanwhile, F3 draws on a sharp contrast between the big number of Cantonese users, 'all teachers', and the small number of Putonghua users, 你一个人 *ni yige ren* 'you the only one', to attempt to legitimate the teachers' Cantonese use in the classroom. This argument suggests that despite the teachers' exclusively using Cantonese being a barrier to her understanding, the act is sensible simply because almost all the teachers and other students speak Cantonese, which

indicates F3's alignment with the teachers' request – she agrees that she has to 'learn Cantonese as fast as possible'.

F3 claims at the beginning of the extract that she was excluded and that an identity category was imposed upon her based on her language use, yet she gives reasons why teachers made no effort to minimise the difference and maintained the status quo. This forms an interesting encounter where on the one side she keeps her distance from Cantonese-speaking people, while on the other side she aligns with the same people who excluded her as an Other and justifies their use of Cantonese.

In the concluding comment on her early days of migration in lines 22-24, F3 refers to immigrants as 人哋 *jandei* 'they' or 'those people', which excludes her from the group and transforms her position from a previously excluded Other to an outsider commenting on immigrants' difficulty in integrating. This strategy of detachment reveals her disassociation from an assumed group of immigrants.

F3 presents a particular case in which the power relations between the official language and regional speech at the local level disempower her and result in her taking ambivalent and transitory stances. Speaking Putonghua brings F3 few benefits and resources. In contrast, its inferior status and its connection to an out-group contribute to her exclusion. She acknowledges that her migrant identity and difference in language use caused exclusion and discrimination; however, she shows little intention to negotiate the identity imposed. She even excuses the teachers for using Cantonese in the classroom, which is a *de facto* exclusive practice; and she seeks to align herself with all those except immigrants and invoke sympathy as an outsider for immigrants' difficulty.

Extract 5

In this extract M2 recalls his experience of being excluded by his *bendiren* classmates

and how his identification shifted as time went by.

1	Me	As you said, many students of your primary and junior high schools speak
2		Putonghua, then probably you weren't called by people as *laau,* right?
3	M2	Yes I was
4	Me	You were?
5	M2	Yes, it was inevitable. And maybe there is a causal relationship. Because, for
6		example, during the compulsory military drill before courses began in the junior
7		high school, in my dorm, except for me, all the other five were Guangdong
8		people, then every time when a chat started I rarely spoke, and because I could
9		not speak Cantonese, I always heard them speak a lot which was unintelligible to
10		me, I felt like apparently
11	Me	they excluded you
12	M2	Right, distanced themselves from me. And because of this, then I would look for
13		those who had a similar background to mine and make friends with them, I
14		mean, those whose habits of language use are similar to mine. This is interplay.
15		But I suddenly shifted. Suddenly changed. Now many of my friends are
16		Guangzhou people, they come from the Pearl River Delta
17	Me	Ok. The first time I met you I thought you were a Guangzhou *bendiren*. Because
18		you spoke very standard Cantonese
19	M2	Later I spent more and more time staying with Guangzhou people and gradually
20		had more communication with them. I also find it interesting. And ?? because of
21		these later, later I think I can tell if someone is a Guangdong person or not at first
22		sight and my judgement was very often right
23	Me	I see
24	M2	No need to hear how one person speaks, I can make a judgement only by their
25		looks

M2 describes his classmates imposing a *laau* category on him as 不可避免 *buke bimian* 'inevitable'. Using an epistemic statement to present this idea indicates his certainty about this categorization occurring and its normality in the context of his school. He relates the categorization to how Cantonese-speaking roommates distanced themselves from him. In his narrative he ascribes 有疏远 *you shuyuan* 'being distanced from' classmates to his inability to speak Cantonese and his tendency to speak very little in the dorm chats. However, he does not question his classmates' actions, nor mention that they could have attempted to engage him by using Putonghua and that two parties might have a chance to reconcile their differences in

language use. In other words, he normalizes their act of distancing due to his inability to speak Cantonese.

M2 displays his reaction to 'being distanced' as approaching and making friends with those who had a similar background and habits of language use. This contrasts with the differentiation between him and Cantonese-speaking classmates, and serves to draw a boundary between two groups and reveal his association with the former. Meanwhile, by describing the relationship between categorisation and his reaction as 相互作用 *xianghu zuoyong* 'interplay', M2 implies that the categorization is consequential and this caused him to solidify his alignment with one group as well as another group distancing themselves from him.

However, this alignment then shifts. He describes the shift to making friends who are Guangzhou people as 'sudden'. And my categorisation of him as a Guangzhou person prompts him to further account for his alignment with Guangzhou people. His intimacy with many Guangdong people is shown to help him successfully identify whether one person is a Guangdong person or not. Presenting this positive effect is another way to imply that he sees himself a member of that group.

In short, M2's self-identification shows a shift, and he shows no negative feelings about it. It is seen as normal and not particularly worth explaining. He sees the categorisation in the early days when he came to Guangzhou as problematic and aligned with migrant students who share a background and habit of language use with him. But he also shows his willingness to orient to Guangdong people later in his school life, and his good knowledge about Guangdong people. M2 shows how an immigrant can change his affiliation without experiencing much struggle, and can gradually grasp the local variety.

5.3.3 Recontextualising/re-conceptualising the category of *laau*

Another group among my participants attempt to re-define or re-contextualise the imposed categories, invest positive meaning in them, and self-identify by referring to these re-created categories.

Extract 6

F1 in this exchange compares the ways Changsha *bendiren* treated her to how Guangzhou *bendiren* treated her when she had just moved to two cities. She also shows the change in her perceptions of the category *laau* and Guangzhou people as time went by.

1	Me	I think it's difficult to show identity clearly because most of the time it's
2		subconscious. Seems we define our identities according to our attitudes or ideas
3	F1	I don't think so. Sometimes identity is strange. For example, my sense of
4		belonging to local Guangzhou people is different from that towards Changsha
5		people during the time I lived there. In Changsha, I played with local friends even
6		if I couldn't use the local speech, although they complained that I didn't speak it.
7		But when I was here I felt I would be discriminated against as *laau* b once I spoke
8		Putonghua.
9	Me	Were there people really calling you that? I think some people don't speak it, just
10		keep it in their mind.
11	F1	Yes, yes. Because when I just came here my aesthetic taste must be, people from
12		different regions have different views on what is beauty. I also disliked myself
13		being *laau* at that time. Yet when I reviewed my photo albums these days I think
14		the way I dressed was fine. It's not *laau*, and I imagined that local Cantonese were
15		very wealthy. But when I looked back on it, that's not necessarily true. I felt
16		inferior about myself when I was a kid, I mean when I just came to Guangzhou
17		because, um, you know. salaries in inland regions are less than those in
18		Guangzhou. I remember the food was very cheap in my hometown, a dish cost
19		less than 5 yuan RMB, but the first time when my mother and I went shopping in
20		Beijing Road a dish was 15. And in fact we could not accept this difference at that
21		time, today we accept that. We are used to it and it's not a big deal but, you
22		know, at that time it was quite a shock to us, and I thought that when I went
23		shopping I (had to speak Cantonese). Not to mention going to school. When
24		doing shopping, even my mum said that you need to use Cantonese **how much**

25	**would you sell this for** or **how much**. And she said if you don't do that the locals
26	will cheat you *waidiren*.

F1 contrasts how her Changsha friends and how Guangzhou people treated her because of her inability to use the local variety and ascribes her 'being discriminated against as a *laau* b' (被歧视是捞 b *bei qishi shi laau b)* to her inability to speak Cantonese in Guangzhou. She shows a contrasting understanding of the category, and contrasting perceptions of the differences between her hometown and Guangzhou, both synchronically and diachronically. In her review of her early days after arriving in Guangzhou, she sees herself as attributing *laau* to herself and disliking herself. F1 accounts for this categorisation of her in line 11, ascribing it to her aesthetic taste in clothes, and legitimates those who put her into the category of *laau*. In effect, the Guangzhou people who showed prejudice against her are downplayed or backgrounded. And she attributes the trait of 很有钱 *henyouqian* 'wealthy' to Guangzhou people, and illustrates this by describing 内地 *neidi* 'the inland regions' or her 家乡 *jiaxiang* 'hometown' and 'Guangzhou' with respect to food prices and salaries. The economic distance is presented through predications such as 少 *shao* 'less', 便宜 *pianyi* 'cheap' attributed to the former, and nominalizations 冲击 *chongji* 'shock' and the negative construction 有点接受不了 *youdian jieshou buliao* 'could not really accept this' used to show her feelings. And her inability to speak Cantonese at that time is shown as consequential. She illustrates this in lines 24–26, quoting her mother's speech about the importance of using Cantonese to talk when shopping and the connection between speaking Putonghua and being cheated. These are used to depict a distinct gap between herself and others.

However, in her reflexive comments in lines 13–14 she disproves the previous constructions. There is an act of negation through 并不捞 *bingbu lao* 'it's not *laau*' and 未必是这样子 *weibi shi zheyangzi* 'that's not necessarily true', as well as negating the previous non-acceptance of economic difference by saying 现在很接受

了 *xianzai hen jieshou le* ‘today we accept it’, and 觉得随便啦无所谓 *juede suibian la wusuowei* ‘we are used to it. It’s not a big deal.’ Hence, she breaks the boundary just constructed between her and Guangzhou people and the constructed images of her and ‘Guangzhou people’, implying her re-conceptualisation of the category of *laau* and a modified self-definition.

Breaking her previous understanding and interpretation helps her re-examine her own features without aligning to any group’s values and establishes her confidence in her own particularity. F1’s self-identification is reminiscent of Brubaker and Cooper’s (2000: 8) take on ‘a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently “activated” in differing contexts’. She presents her self-identification as a dynamic process. As F1 has now got rid of the dominant criteria and identity options which were imposed on her by others, she has embraced and claimed her uniqueness as part of whom she is.

Extract 7

In this extract, my friend F5 and I share with each other the experience of being categorized as a *laau* person, and our perceptions and interpretation of it.

1	Me	Have you ever been called by people a ***laau*** **girl**. or things like that?
2	F5	**Yes, when I was very small**
3	Me	**So um in kindergarten or primary school**
4	F5	**Perhaps around those times. At that time I just came and didn’t know how to**
5		**resist when people treated my badly, and I didn’t dare to report that to**
6		**teachers when I was a child.**
7	Me	**I can’t remember it clearly. But the word *laau*, it was not until studying in high**
8		**school that people addressed me as *laau*.**
9	F5	**Ah**
10	Me	**Perhaps, I think perhaps my Cantonese was not good enough yet**
11	F5	**No, I think before you completely get integrated with them you would feel**
12		**unhappy when they addressed you as *laau***
13	Me	**Mm**
14	F5	**When you get integrated with them, if people address you as *laau* you feel,**

15		**only those people who know you quite well would call you that**
16	Me	**Right, it's like you are close to them so they can call you that**
17	F5	**Yes**

During the exchanges in lines 1–6, F5 confirms with me her experience of being categorized as *laau*, and she links this to how she was badly treated at her primary school. She presents her disadvantaged situation through 唔识反抗 *m sik faan kong* 'didn't know how to resist' and 唔敢同老师讲 *mgam tong lousi gong* 'didn't dare to report', constructing herself as a victim of discrimination and drawing a boundary between her and local students who treated her badly.

When I share with her my similar experience and ascribe the categorization of me to my poor Cantonese, F5 disagrees with me. In the exchanges in lines 7–15, F5 uses the second person pronoun 'you' *ni* to refer to both herself and her addressee, me, and rather than focusing on the act of categorization and those who categorise her and me. She argues that our perceptions and attitudes are determined by whether we get integrated with the local people ('them') or not. And this rule seems to apply to more people than only her and me, because her use of *ni* in her comments helps to enhance her stance and shape a generalized statement (see discussions in the analysis of extract 3) about the relationship between the integration of and the discrimination against migrants.

F5 ascribes the connotations and consequences of categorisation to how immigrants who are subject to it perceive it, which means the recipients are held responsible for its implications. Hence the social meaning implanted into the categorization by actors is considerably downplayed, and the discriminating essence of this address is conjured away. And as F5 further ascribes migrants' attitudes towards categorization to whether or not they have integrated with Guangzhou schoolmates, she implies that as long as one integrates one will not feel uncomfortable about being categorized as *laau.* One's negative feelings about categorisation are due to one's non-integration. This is a

victim-victimiser reversal, again disguising the actor and insinuating that migrants themselves should be responsible for the negative emotions following discrimination. And the effect of being discursively discriminated is minimised to only emotional displeasure.

Here F5 draws on a topos of integration (see discussion of ‘topos’ in section 4.5.1). Topoi (plural form of topos) are very often used to justify ‘positive or negative attributions’, ‘social and political inclusion or exclusion, and the discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 45). In this case, the topos of integration and the simultaneous normalisation of discrimination are reminiscent of the strategy of legitimation used by the Spanish government in their expulsion of African illegal migrants to the Spanish enclave in Morocco (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997: 529), signifying that what a migrant gets (access to equal treatment by native people) is what they deserve, depending upon what they do to integrate into the local community. They get differential treatment because they do not make efforts to integrate. F5’s implication is slightly different, namely that one’s efforts to integrate determine one’s perceptions and interpretation of the category of *laau* and attitudes towards categorisation, and one’s attempts to integrate are the premise of whether one senses being differentiated.

F5 illustrates her topos of integration through discussing how an established close relationship created by immigrants with local schoolmates leads to migrants’ acceptance of categorisation. The category of *laau* imposed on her is transformed to be a symbol of the close relationships with her local friends. By employing this topos to normalise the act of categorisation, F5 downplays the discriminating signification of *laau* and those who make this categorization, representing it as a marker of her membership with local schoolmates, and more importantly separating out those immigrants who do not integrate, thus orienting herself to local Guangzhou people. This contradicts her self-representation and the boundary constructed between her and those who treated her badly during the early days of migration. Thus, her

self-identification shifts from keeping her distance from local Guangzhou people to affiliating with them, which accompanies her changing conceptualization of the categorisation.

Extract 8

F5 in this exchange introduces a new category including *laau* and identifies herself and her friends by referring to this category.

1	Me	Did you speak Cantonese once you entered junior high school? Do you generally
2		speak Cantonese?
3	F5	Yes
4	Me	Then, when you meet, for example, *waidiren*, those who have a similar
5		background to ours, do you also speak Cantonese?
6	F5	I also speak Cantonese. I have very few friends who are native Guangzhou
7		people. They mainly come from various places such as Hunan, Harbin
8	Me	Really?
9	F5	Yes. Truly, they come from different places. These are Guangzhou *laau*.
10		Guangzhou *laau* means those whose parents are not from here and they came
11		here when they were kids, or they were born here
12	Me	Do you keep in contact with them?
13	F5	My close friends are all like that. You find lots of them. And actually, I know very
14		few *bendiren*, I mean native Guangzhou people, cos I know many Guangdong
15		*bendiren*. But really few Guangzhou people. And I feel that, *bendiren* guys are
16		very stingy
17	Me	Ok. I also know very few *bendiren*
18	F5	Really, very few
19	Me	What did you mean by Guangzhou *laau* you just mentioned? Did this concept
20		emerge when you studied at junior high school?
21	F5	No, Guangzhou *laau*. This phrase was mentioned by one of my university
22		classmates. He said his mum told him you should look for a girlfriend who is a
23		Guangzhou *laau*, he said. She didn't mean he had to, but it would be better to
24		find a Guangzhou *laau* because Guangzhou girls are not good-looking. Then he
25		asked her whom Guangzhou *laau* refers to. It refers to those whose parents are
26		not *bendiren*, and then those who came here when they were kids or who were
27		born here, which means she is a Guangzhou person in the sense that she grew up
28		here. Yet her ancestry is not Guangzhou.

F5 introduces and defines a category Guangzhou *laau* to refer to friends who have a similar migration history to hers in lines 9–11. She marks a clear demarcation between these people and natives (土生土长 *tusheng tuzhang*, literally born and raised at the local place) Guangzhou people, through contrasting the number ('mainly', 'all' and 'lots of') of friends who can be categorised as Guangzhou *laau* and that ('very few', 'very few' and 'really few') of native Guangzhou people. She also brings in another category of native Guangdong people constituting her friends, and again compares them ('many') to that ('really few') of native Guangzhou people. Twice boundary making displays her distancing herself from native Guangzhou people, and orienting to the group of Guangzhou *laau* and native Guangdong people.

This stance of distancing is reinforced by the features she attributes to native Guangzhou people. In lines 16 and 24, negatively evaluated characteristics such as 'very stingy' and 'not good-looking' are separately predicated to 'native Guangzhou guys' and 'native girls'. Particularly, the latter evaluation is a quotation of her friend's mother's comment on girls who fall into this category, and the mother is represented as prefering Guangzhou *laau* over 'not good-looking native girls' to be daughter-in-law candidates.

F5's orientation to Guangzhou *laau* shows that she does not take up the exclusive and discriminating connotations of *laau* that are used by others, nor does she relate them to the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese within which the category was produced and reproduced. She constructs an in-group of Guangzhou *laau* based on this category, in opposition to an out-group of native Guangzhou people, and makes the innovated category of *laau* her identity marker.

5.4 Conclusion

The analysis above shows various ways in which second generation immigrants

negotiate the imposed category of *laau*, including resisting, problematising and re-conceptualising the category. The negotiation can also be seen as an accumulation of negative evaluations of the category, acts of categorization and the categorisers. Their identities rest upon the negotiation of the categorisation. That is to say, the ways in which 2GMGs construct their identities is based upon how they interpret the socio-ideological construction of *laau* and how they represent their perceptions of and reactions to the categorisation.

5.4.1 ***Laau*: an index of difference in language use and groups**

A brief glance at the auto-completion options for terms including *laau* in Baidu search engine and the discussion of the collocates of *laau* in Leiden Weibo Corpus uncover that categories including *laau* have derogatory connotations and those who are categorised as *laau* people are unwelcome Others in digital contexts. In offline daily talk and institutional interactions, *laau* categories also have negative meanings and are used for group differentiation. Meanwhile, these categories are connected to the use of Putonghua.

Most of my immigrant participants present a causal relationship – because one speaks Putonghua, one is regarded as a *laau* person. Speaking Putonghua in daily life may be seen as the sole criterion for categorising someone as a *laau* person. That is, the use of Putonghua is the parameter characterizing a group or collective of people, similar to other parameters of explanatory factors such as ethnicity, gender, class, profession or religion.

This language-use-based categorization serves to set up a boundary distinguishing unwelcome Others from Guangzhou *bendiren* and highlights the difference not only in language use and competence but also in one's economic situation and cultural background. A homogeneous group of people is constructed, and the use of Putonghua gains the status of indexing the essence of the cultural and economic traits of this

group. This is manifested in F1's representation of her dressing style connected to the category of *laau* and to the huge gap in living expenses and salaries between inland regions and Guangzhou. As the index, speaking Putonghua is not positively evaluated, such as described as '*laau* speech' in F7's case. In other words, group differentiation is associated with differentiation in language varieties. Both immigrants and Putonghua are placed in inferior positions in social groups and language hierarchies.

The implication that *laau* people (or Putonghua-speaking immigrants) come from regions with a low development level and a low civilization level is demonstrated by the topos of integration, elevating immigrants' adaptation to the local community to a duty. Almost all immigrant participants included in this chapter recall experiences of encountering the issue of integration (either in a general sense or in terms of learning and using Cantonese). F3 and F7 are explicitly required to learn and/or speak Cantonese for communication with customers or at school. M3 represents the use of Cantonese to speak to his classmates as catering to their language needs, which implies his resistance to an implicit duty to integrate. F1 and M2 display the condition of exclusion as resulting from their inability to understand and/or speak Cantonese. F5's argument about integration defines the act of integration as a prerequisite for acceptance by locals and subsequent positive self-perception of the imposed category, and she demonstrates her own experience of shifting from a non-integrated state to an integrated state.

The categorisation is not only problematized by immigrant participants as discriminating, excluding, and consequential, but also resisted against and re-conceptualised. Participants show their evaluations of categorisers, categorisation itself, and any people or institutions involved, and position themselves with regard to relevant identity categories and align with or distance themselves from particular social groups, hence building up their identities.

5.4.2 Identity construction and negotiation through representations of selves and others, the act of categorization and reactions to it

The first pattern of participants' identity construction regarding categorisation is through resistance and negotiation. Participants either explicitly describe categorization as exclusion or discrimination or imply this by presenting negative feelings, non-acceptance and a desire to dissociate from it. Their narratives have a common framework in which local Cantonese-speaking Guangzhou people use *laau* terms to call or address them due to their use of Putonghua or inability to speak Cantonese. Most of them refer to Guangzhou people or those who exclude them as a homogeneous group of 'them'. Guangzhou people are represented as self-referring, as 'us', and constructing a Cantonese-speaking in-group, building up a boundary between two groups. Participants attribute negatively evaluated features to Guangzhou people, such as 'haughty', 'stingy' and 'not good-looking'. A contrast is frequently employed between a big number of Cantonese-speaking Guangzhou people and a Putonghua-speaking participant himself/herself to imply the power difference between two parties, and the small probability of refusing or challenging the imposed category and/or subsequent discrimination. This confrontation between two groups are also constructed through participants' use of the second person pronoun *ni*. Through representing their negative evaluations of Guangzhou people's act of categorization, immigrants resist the imposed category and distance themselves from those people.

A second pattern is manifested in F5's re-conceptualization of the category of *laau*, which differs from those of other immigrant participants. She introduces a created identity category, 'Guangzhou *laau*', categorises herself and her friends as members of this group, and contrasts it to 'Guangzhou people' whom are negatively evaluated by her. Hence her negation of discriminating connotations of the category and construction of a distinct identity category with positive signification serve to both negotiate and challenge the categorisation upon her and build up her identity.

The third way participants engage with external categorization takes the form of negotiating their own contradictory or diverse stances to the category. While they show resistance to the imposed category, they do not always present categorisers as those who should be held accountable for the act. F3 finds excuses for those who categorise her as a *laau* girl; M2 ascribes the categorization to his incompetence in using Cantonese and his not associating with Cantonese-speaking classmates; F5 claims that immigrants are responsible for feeling excluded when they do not make efforts to integrate. In addition, they shift their orientations to social groups. F3 jumps from self-defining as an excluded and discriminated migrant to an outsider rather than a migrant. M5's stance changes from a desire to affiliate to a group of local classmates to keeping her distance from them. This negotiation of self-identification is also manifested as immigrants' transformations between current and previous stances and alignment. F1 negates her previous stance, the one she used to adopt which acknowledged social values underlying the term *laau* imposed on her. M2 shows a sharp change from previous distancing himself from Guangdong classmates to affiliating himself to that group along with his acquisition of Cantonese.

The analyses in this chapter exemplify 'the ways in which identity is produced by ideas of opposition between culturally defined groups, and by practices that promote exclusion, divergence, and differentiation' (Irvine and Gal, 2009: 425). Particularly, it is found that the category of *laau* imposed on participants is influential in the sense of differentiating them from classmates, discriminating them, and creating consequences for their school life and daily work. It is through reacting to this category that participants construct their identities. The category is a social and ideological construct arising from beliefs in language difference and groups within Guangzhou. It is also within this context that participants negotiate the social meaning invested in the category. Through evaluating the category and those who engage in the act of categorization, representing their reactions to categorization, positioning themselves vis-a-vis relevant individuals or groups, and negotiating both categorisation by others

and self-categorisation, participants show their stances and manage diverse and conflicting identities.

Chapter six Language ideologies and immigrants' self-identification

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter Five, I investigated the ways in which immigrant participants construct identities through negotiating external categorization, with respect to local language beliefs about Cantonese and Putonghua. In this chapter, I will examine how participants make self-identification (including identifying oneself as someone and identifying oneself with particular social groups). Particularly, I look at immigrants' stances towards the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute, their attitudes towards the two language varieties, and how they construct their identities through managing and negotiating among a repertoire of identity options.

6.2 Discourse analyses of immigrants' negotiation among identity categories

The analyses are divided into two parts according to themes from the interview extracts. The first part presents immigrants' views on the language dispute and the use of Putonghua and Cantonese. The analysis in the second part focuses on immigrants' perceptions and interpretations of their identities from linguistic, social, ethnic and cultural perspectives.

6.2.1 Language beliefs and attitudes concerning the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute and the PPP

Extract 1

In this extract, M5 and I discuss the motivations for two similar but separate protests that occurred in Guangzhou and Hong Kong, related to the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute in 2010. This dispute entails a pro-Cantonese campaign in Guangzhou which quickly evoked huge empathy in Hong Kong, where larger-scale demonstrations were held to support the campaign in Guangzhou and to warn of the possibility of similar restrictions being imposed on Cantonese use in Hong Kong. M5 had been a reporter and a news announcer for a Hong Kong-based Television for three years by the time I interviewed him.

1	Me	I think in the past few years, since the beginning of the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute,
2		there have been some similar incidents, for example, it was reported that
3		Cantonese use is forbidden in television, things like this, it seems it's mainly
4		in television broadcasting
5	M5	I think this, its origin, is not about habits of language use, or conflicts in
6		language use
7	Me	Then what is this about?
8	M5	That might be the cause, right, but I think the root is, I don't know about
9		mainland but Hong Kong definitely … I don't know, I don't think I can
10		represent Guangdong people and make an argument, but at least I know
11		Hong Kong people, they do not truly believe that this language needs to be
12		protected or what, actually, to a large degree they protested because they
13		have a sense of rejection of the mainland government
14	Me	Hm
15	M5	They did not protest against the ban on Cantonese use, if there is another
16		ban they would still go against it, right? It is not this proposal that they argue
17		against, it is the government
18	Me	Ah
19	M5	Not this proposal but who proposed it
20	Me	I think this proposal leaves them an … excuse
21	M5	right, they have an excuse to … yes, and this is exactly something very
22		efficient in unifying people from a region, it's like, Cantonese is regarded as

23		their … a kind of marker of their identity
24	Me	A symbol
25	M5	yes a symbol or a marker which can define their identities as Hong Kong
26		people or *Yue* people, it's a very symbolic thing, so they support it in a
27		composed and poised way, maybe the situation in Guangzhou is similar
28	Me	I don't really know how the situation in Guangzhou is, I just think that people
29		here have a much simpler aim, much simpler, at least they go against this
30		proposal per se
31	M5	Mm, perhaps some people just argue against this suggestion, but I would say
32		Hong Kong people have a different stance
33	Me	They have accumulated much resentment for a long time towards the
34		mainland government
35	M5	Yes, and I think Guangdong people, the point of departure of their protest is
36		much more authentic, personally, I think. Because, because, to be honest,
37		Guangzhou people, people who live here, they know what kind of
38		government this is, and they know this way of protest, if it is against the
39		government, their effort will be in vain, so I think, even though they know
40		this, they still stand up to protest, meaning that they truly love this language,
41		they truly think that they cannot lose it. But Hong Kong is a different case,
42		they, protest once there is ?? they won't be like this

At the beginning, M5 is hesitant to show his opinion about the protest held in Guangzhou. In lines 8–9, M5 emphasises 'I don't know' three times regarding the cause of the dispute, he further strengthens this positioning by saying 'I cannot represent Guangdong people', and holds back from making a statement. In contrast, he makes decisive arguments about the protests in Hong Kong. In lines 11–13 and 15–17 M5 uses negative constructions three times (不是真心 *bushi zhenxin* 'do not truly', 冲的不是…*chongde bushi* 'did not (protest against)', 不是…这个事情 *bushi ...zhege shiqing* 'it is not (the proposal)') to highlight that the real intention of Hong Kong people is to go against the central government. These contrasting positions imply that he thinks Guangzhou people sit at the other extreme and oppose the proposal *per se*, but he is reluctant to say this. I articulate this inference in lines 28–30, hoping to check if this is what he indicates, and to express agreement with his claim about Hong Kong people's dislike of the central government. It is not until this point that M5 clearly shows his view on the intention of the protest held in

Guangzhou. It seems he is reluctant to show his opinion unless he knows someone has similar views.

In lines 35–42, he also agrees with me and ascribes 纯粹 *chuicui yixie* 'more authentic' to Guangdong people's motivation to protest. Although he very soon shifts the focus from 广东人 *guangdongren* 'Guangdong people' to 广州人 *guangzhouren* 'Guangzhou people', and to 生活在这里的人 *shenghuo zai zheli de ren* 'people who live here', which includes a much broader range of individuals with diverse origins and backgrounds, he uses these to refer to the same group of people. It seems the categories of 'Guangzhou people' and 'Guangdong people' do not refer to those whose origins are Guangzhou or Guangdong. Rather he uses them to refer to a community or a space where anyone who lives there can be categorized as a Guangzhou or a Guangdong person. He constructs these people as being determined to protest by using 即使…还要 *jishi…haiyao* 'even though…still' and repeating 'they know' to stress that these people take action in spite of the fact that they can foresee this action will not change the status quo. He also ascribes loyalty to Cantonese to these people and employs the emphatic adverb 真正 *zhenzheng* 'truly' twice to modify their love for Cantonese. These positive evaluations of Guangzhou people's motivation and a claim about their true love for Cantonese are in sharp contrast to M5's stance towards Hong Kong people, who are represented as standing in opposition to the central government on the mainland, regardless of what actions the central government takes, and their pro-Cantonese campaign is seen as but one medium by which they express their discontent. In doing so, he keeps his distance from Hong Kong people, whereas he aligns with people living in Guangzhou, or Guangzhou people.

However, this division is always accompanied by a pair of contrasting degrees of certainty. When he makes comments on Hong Kong people's protest and their intention, he shows little hesitation and gives straightforward statements. But he uses

a lot of hedging in his views on Guangzhou's case. Apart from 我不知道 *wo buzhidao* 'I don't know' used three times at the beginning of this extract, in lines 36 and 39 he repeats 我觉得 *wo juede* '(personally) I think' before making his argument. This inconsistency between his orientation to Guangzhou people and his hesitation in showing his orientation reflects his ambivalence in identifying himself with 'Guangzhou people'.

Meanwhile, although M5 makes no comments on Cantonese in this exchange, his stance towards Cantonese is revealed in the way he constructs three relevant parties in this dispute. His positive representations of Guangzhou residents' authentic motivation to protest, their commitment to protecting Cantonese, and his negative description of Hong Kong people's intention imply his alignment with Cantonese.

Extract 2

In this extract, F16 answers my question about which language variety she tends to use for typing in daily communications.

1	Me	Do you use the orthography of Cantonese in text messages or chat on social
2		media, or are you used to the orthography of Putonghua?
3	F16	Most of the time I am used to Putonghua. But, it's because of two things.
4		First, as the writing system we learned in school is Putonghua, it is
5		convenient to use it. Second, it seems it deviates from the standard to use
6		Cantonese orthography, I don't know why the schooling system makes me
7		feel like that. Because when you look up a word in a dictionary, the
8		dictionaries or things like that, things that prescribe what is standard, they
9		only show you the orthography of Putonghua, then you don't know what
10		kind of writing system for Cantonese is correct, and you don't know what
11		character should be used to signify a particular word. So, because you have
12		to type, then it feels like writing in Cantonese will tarnish the Chinese
13		language.

In accounting for her habitual choice of Putonghua for typing and writing in social

media communication, F16 ostensibly gives a negative evaluation of using the orthography of Cantonese, but in fact she meta-pragmatically condemns the pervasive and normative language ideology which ridicules Cantonese use on three levels.

First, she attributes ‘convenient’ to writing in Putonghua and ascribes this perception to her habit and eventually to studying Putonghua in schools, implying the preference for Putonghua use as an effect of its institutional support. She evaluates using Cantonese orthography as 不太正规 *bu tai zhenggui* ‘deviating from the standard’, but shows her reservations through 感觉好像 *ganjue haoxiang* ‘it seems’, and immediately adds a meta-comment, self-consciously questioning her evaluation and indicating that it is a consequence of her internalisation of the norm of Putonghua use in the schooling system. This hesitancy in talking about the relationship between her own use of regional variety and a perceived norm of writing in ‘standard language’ recurs in many multilingual societies. For example, Unger (2013) finds in his focus group on attitudes towards Scots language that people are not confident about using the term ‘Scots’ to name the language in the stimulus texts. He argues that presumably they have internalised the dichotomies between Scots as a language and Scots as not a language, Scots as the language children bring to school and Scots as not something they are supposed to use or learn in school, and between Scots as a part of culture and as a functional everyday language.

Second, the Putonghua writing system is presented as dominant and hegemonic, as she argues that it is ‘the only’ option available in resources such as dictionaries. And this hegemony of the Putonghua writing system is seen as a cause of her ignorance about the Cantonese writing system. In other words, the primacy of the Putonghua writing system obstructs the access to alternatives in other regional varieties. Hence, the institutional support for the Putonghua writing system builds up its authority to produce a monopoly through making all alternatives ‘invisible’ in formal schooling systems, and thus fortifies language beliefs in the standardisation of Putonghua.

Third, the ideology of standardisation is linked to the ideology of purity, which is embodied in the way she perceives the act of writing in Cantonese. Writing in Cantonese under the circumstance of not knowing how to do it 'correctly' is represented as disrupting the purity of Chinese language, i.e. as a threat to the homogeneity and normativity of the Chinese language. However, by using 'feel like it seems', which indicates reservation, she attempts to lessen the degree of negativity she has just expressed and steps back to doubt the truth of that judgement. Upon giving these evaluations and meta-comments, she constantly implies that there is an institutional force underlying the formation of her language beliefs and language use habits, and she evokes questions about what non-linguistic concerns may have produced these partial opinions of language use, and for what aims or purposes.

F16 displays her alignment with the Cantonese language and maintains her distance from the standardisation and assimilationist ideologies underlying the hegemony of Putonghua use. Her stances bring into being her identity as a Cantonese proponent who is sensitive to invested interests and those with 'political axes to grind' (Cameron, 1995: 21) underlying the conventions of Putonghua use in the school context that have been taken for granted.

Extract 3

This passage occurs a few minutes after Extract 2. In this extract, F16 conjectures the purpose of the *Tuipu Feiyue* proposal for the implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy in schools.

1	F16	And, and I think his suggestion is, to say something unpleasant, it may sound
2		like a conspiracy theory, but I think this CPPCC member's proposal contains a
3		conspiracy
4	Me	Hahaha, particularly, what is this conspiracy
5	F16	Well, because, since ancient times, Guangdong has been very far away from
6		the capital and it takes time for the court's orders to reach here and to be

7		put into action, it's been somewhere you cannot control, so it feels like
8		Guangdong hasn't been very obedient, and because its economic
9		development has been good, and Beijing truly wants to control it tightly,
10		then Beijing says I need to assimilate your local culture
11	Me	I see, it means, language, language unification is used to, eh, to assimilate
12		the culture?
13	F16	Yes, actually this is demonstrated with primary school students, they seem
14		to use Putonghua ??
15	Me	Use Putonghua to, to do what
16	F16	Cleanse
17	Me	Ah, eh, it refers to, what does cleanse mean here, it's about some act in the
18		classroom or
19	F16	The way he cleanses is that, previously when we attended primary school,
20		there was something called Putonghua Promotion, do you remember
21	Me	Yes, yes, yes
22	F16	Right, and back in those times it was just, it was required that you in the
23		classroom, both teachers and students, should speak Putonghua
24	Me	Mm
25	F16	But currently in primary schooling, he elevates the use of Cantonese to a
26		level of morality, the situation becomes that my speaking Cantonese is seen
27		as impolite and ill-mannered, and this is ridiculous

F16 at the very beginning uses a nomination strategy and describes the implicit political agenda of the proposal as a 阴谋 *yinmou* 'conspiracy'. She identifies the two parties involved in the conspiracy as Beijing and Guangdong province, both of which are synecdoches referring to the central government or the CCP, and the local government and the people of Guangdong. The relationship between the two parties involves a colloquial phrase 天高皇帝远 *tiangao huangdi yuan*, which means that heaven is high and the emperor is far away (in imperial China the emperor is called 天子 *tianzi*, literally the son of heaven, and the court is 天朝 *tianchao*, literally the court in heaven). And she personifies Guangdong as a disobedient person through attributing to it the feature of 不听话 *butinghua*, literally 'not listening to speech', usually used to describe a child who is naughty and juniors who are not following seniors' supervision. These ascriptions are employed to indicate that the central government's policy may not be completely implemented in Guangdong. She further evaluates the good economic development of Guangdong as a contribution to the state

economy, attempting to justify its disobedience.

This power relation is also constructed through the contrasting use of personal pronouns, indicating a confrontation between two parties (see Chapter Five, analyses of extracts 1, 2, 4, and 7 about the second person pronoun *ni*), through shifting the entire frame of reference from a discourse situation to the described situation in which *ni* is used to refer to a character in the situation (Biq, 1990: 310). In lines 7–9, the dramatic 'you' *ni* refers to the central government, while the third person pronoun 'it' *ta* refers to Guangdong, and the situation is described as *ta* not being obedient so *ni* wants to control *ta.* In the subsequent sentence in line 10 she shifts to using 'I' *wo* and 'you' *ni* to refer to two parties – *wo* (the central government) needs to assimilate *ni*'s (Guangdong's) culture. Similarly, in lines 19–23 F16 uses *wo* to refer to the Putonghua Promotion Policy launched by the central government, while *ni* refers to both school teachers and students. This dramatic use of personal pronouns in the situations described helps to construct a power difference between the central government and the local government of Guangdong, as well as constructing the central government as aiming to tighten its grip on the management of Guangdong.

Using the Putonghua Promotion Policy and the related proposal to serve this aim is represented as a conspiracy, which is a symbolic tactic to bring the regional cultural mentality under control, through assimilating languages, and to counteract the deviant language practices of the local community. The specific reference to the act of assimilating the local culture highlights the unification ideology underlying the proposal purported to diminish the space for developing unique regional cultural practices. In comparing the aim of cultural and linguistic assimilation to a conspiracy and ascribing this to the central government, F16 takes up a stance which disapproves of the proposal, implicitly criticizes the assimilationist government and aligns with the Cantonese-speaking community of Guangzhou.

F16 sees launching the Putonghua Promotion Policy in the school context as one way

in which the conspiracy is operationalised. The policy is likened to aiming to cleanse the use of Cantonese, indicating that from the perspective of the government Cantonese is unpleasant and needs to be got rid of from formal schooling. By choosing the verb 清洗 *qingxi* ‘cleanse’, which implies an object is unwelcome or bad at a moral level, she ridicules the moralisation of Cantonese use and exemplifies it with the implementers’ act of attributing 不文明不礼貌的 *buwenming bulimao de* ‘impolite and ill-mannered’ to Cantonese use in primary schools. This view of the moralization of language use is reminiscent of the news (Hu & Zi, 2010) discussed in Chapter 2 in which pupils at a primary school in Guangzhou would be reported for speaking Cantonese both in class and outside classes and those reported might not be allowed to be class monitors and criticized in public in school. F16’s condemnation of the repression of Cantonese use indicates her stance against these language policies, and her alignment with the use of Cantonese.

Extract 4

This extract begins with F5’s views on the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute. As I extend this topic and invite her to talk about her views on Cantonese, F5 tells me her preference for Cantonese programme broadcasts and the reason for that.

1	Me	Do you remember the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute?
2	F5	Oh yes.
3	Me	Wasn’t there a huge protest? In Jiangnanxi?
4	F5	I didn’t join it. But I reposted a lot of relevant posts on Weibo.
5	Me	What do you think about it? Do you think
6	F5	I definitely disagree.
7	Me	Right. Is it because you see Cantonese as a native language?
8	F5	No. It’s because I’m used to watching TV programmes broadcast in Cantonese,
9		and Cantonese is used in many stop announcements in the metro. If you
10		suddenly prohibit Cantonese broadcasting I will feel, my god, then those,
11		South TV and Guangzhou TV, will not be what they were any more. It would
12		be weird to see them broadcasting in Putonghua. And my family like watching
13		their news programmes. For instance, ‘Truth Today’, it focuses on events
14		around us, such as what happens in local neighbourhoods, or some

15		demonstration in a community, ah not demonstration really, or a health
16		checkout for free. Anyway, there are local incidents and lots of news reports,
17		voices and views that critique our society.
18	Me	Ah right, yes.
19	F5	So my mum says that CCTV always reports that the GDP is rising, new
20		technologies are being created, while local news tells us what has happened
21		to, for example, *Renxin* canteen.
22	Me	CCTV news has a template and they just put content into it
23	F5	Yes, I feel bored when I watch CCTV news. New technology developments are
24		none of my business. I dislike news about National People's Congress
25		meetings and meetings between political leaders. They are none of my
26		business

F5 shows her stance explicitly at the beginning of this exchange. She opposes the disputed proposal. Her use of 天啊 *tiana* 'my god' and attributing 很怪 *henguai* 'weird' to replacing Cantonese with Putonghua for broadcasting demonstrate her position. She regards broadcasting in Cantonese as the essence of two local TV stations, and associates the use of Cantonese with their unique features which differ from that of China's Central Television (CCTV). Local TV news programmes are constructed as focusing on incidents and livelihood issues that concern ordinary people living in the community, and taking a critical perspective to view current issues. The assumed connection between these and the use of Cantonese implies that F5 imagines Cantonese to be bearing and constituting the features of being critical and concerning ordinary people's livelihood issues.

CCTV news programmes which are broadcast in Putonghua are positioned on the opposite side. F5 quotes her mother's views which represent these programmes as showing grand and positive respect for the state, in contrast to the specific attention to a local canteen from local TV news. After having my agreement and supportive comments, F5 shares her own views. Her feelings such as 无聊 *wuliao* 'bored' and remarks such as 关我什么事 *guanwo shenme shi* 'none of my business' highlight her stance of distancing herself from these programmes. Although F5 does not present or propose an association between broadcasting in Putonghua and the features of

CCTV news programmes, the contrast she uses, introducing CCTV news programmes and locals, is likely to imply a parallel contrast between Putonghua and Cantonese for broadcasting.

F5's representations of Cantonese in her life experience and local TV news programmes and the importance of Cantonese to them reflect her alignment with the language and her stance against the *Tuipu Feiyue* proposal. However, it would be presumptuous to assume that she hence orients to Guangzhou people before more evidence can be provided. Extract 5 will show that F5's stance towards Cantonese does not fully account for her complex identities. And the next section presents a few more examples of the ways in which immigrants' linguistic identities contribute to as well as conflict with other identity categories they take on.

6.2.2 Negotiation among repertoires of seemingly conflicting identity options

Extract 5

In this extract, F5 refers to various identity categories to reply to my question about her self-identification, and she shares with me a few relevant life stories.

1	Me	Do you think you are a Guangzhou person now?
2	F5	Ye::s. I think so. I didn't feel like I was a Guangzhou person when I was
3		studying at primary school, and the feeling didn't really change during my
4		study in middle school. Then, when I gradually grew up, I didn't think I wa::s a
5		*waidiren*. So now I tell people confidently that I come from Sichuan province.
6		When I was a kid I was afraid that *bendiren* would look down on me if I said I
7		was a Sichuan person.
8	Me	Ok.
9	F5	But now I'm willing to introduce myself as a Sichuan person, because when
10		you get integrated into local groups and don't feel any, any gap or
11		estrangement between you and them, you don't fear that *bendiren* will look
12		down on you just because you proclaim that you are a Sichuan person.
13	Me	Right, yes. On the one hand, because you think you've integrated it's not a
14		problem.
15	F5	Yes.
16	Me	Meanwhile I think it seems, these years, it seems that Guangzhou people
17		don't discriminate against *waidiren* as much as they used to.
18	F5	Yes. And I remember some time ago I joined a friend's birthday gathering. I
19		don't know why his colleagues talked about me being a Sichuan person. And I
20		told them I originally come from Sichuan. And perhaps the person next to me
21		didn't hear my words clearly and showed surprise. Are you a Sichuan person?
22		You completely look like a Guangzhou person.

F5 constructs her identity through representing a change in her self-identification over time in relation to four identity categories, Guangzhou person, *waidiren*, *bendiren* and Sichuan person. Her identifications can be divided into two parts –previous and current. She presents her fear of overtly proclaiming herself as a Sichuan person and subsequent 'being looked down on' by *bendiren* in the early days of arriving in Guangzhou, which resonates with her self-identification as a non-Guangzhou person during the years in primary and high schools.

In her representation of current self-identification, she continues categorising herself as a Sichuan person and repeats this categorization a few more times in lines 7, 9 and 19-20, and she modifies her self-identification with the confidence and willingness to self-introduce as a Sichuan person. Simultaneously, she takes up two other identity

categories, but she shows uncertainty about her identification to a certain degree. At the beginning of this exchange, although she gives an affirmative answer to my question and identifies herself as a Guangzhou person in line 2, she hesitates a little by prolonging ‘yes’. A similar hesitation is presented in the next sentence, in lines 4-5, when she disassociates from *waidiren*.

By mapping the change in her identification in a diachronic way she represents the category of Sichuan person as one she continuously aligns to but one that previously she dared not to proclaim but currently is willing to. Her attitude to the category of *waidiren* has been consistent. It is a category imposed on her in the past which she resisted and one that nowadays she explicitly disassociates herself from. Meanwhile, her change in self-identification is demonstrated most obviously in her disorientation in the past and her orientation to Guangzhou people in the present. In addition to her self-reference as a Guangzhou person, she reports a situation in which her self-identification as a Sichuan person was questioned while she was classified in the group of Guangzhou people, and this external categorisation helps to legitimate her claim.

In her self-identification, being a Guangzhou person is compatible with being a Sichuan person, whereas she does not identify with *waidiren*. The key feature which channels the former two categories and distinguishes them from the latter is whether one gets integrated. She introduces a topos of integration (see discussion in Chapter 5) in lines 10–12, implying that one’s efforts to get integrated are the premise for one’s equal treatment and the locals are the core and the mainstream whose language and cultural practices need to be accommodated to. Hence the unequal treatment of *waidiren* is normalised and locals are not held accountable for their rejection or exclusion of *waidiren*. By defending the local community in terms of how they treat *waidiren,* F5 aligns with the local community and the constructed group of ‘Guangzhou people’, while ridiculing the group of *waidiren* and distancing herself from them.

Extract 6

Prior to this extract, F1 told me about one of her middle school classmates whose parents came from other regions and who was born in Guangzhou and speaks Cantonese but her father does not think she speaks standard Cantonese. F1 in this extract focuses on the topic of standard Cantonese, including her competence in pronouncing standard Cantonese, her feelings about news reporters' use of standard and non-standard Cantonese. She also talks about her affection for Cantonese TV dramas.

1	F1	I bought a Cantonese dictionary, if I read Cantonese words from that
2		dictionary according to the indicated pronunciation, my Cantonese would be
3		very standard, my boyfriend told me that
4	Me	Hahaha
5	F1	It tells me how to pronounce words correctly
6	Me	I see
7	F1	Yes, he said how can you pronounce them so standardly, it's very funny
8	Me	He must be a Guangzhou person
9	F1	He is
10	Me	But you rarely speak Cantonese in daily life
11	F1	When I just arrived here, previously when we studied at primary school
12		wasn't the requirement to speak Putonghua very strict? And when I was a
13		kid I thought CCTV announcers' Putonghua was very standard. Later, after I
14		came here I also watched news programmes on Hong Kong ATV, and at the
15		beginning their announcers' Putonghua was unpleasant to hear, but after a
16		while when I got used to it I thought it sounded better than CCTV's
17	Me	Haha
18	F1	And I like watching *Daughter in Law*, as long as it's on I definitely will watch
19		it. And I also watch other local melodramatic TV series.
20	Me	Is it because you think they show the authentic life of local communities?
21	F1	I think they are authentic, very interesting and funny. Maybe it exaggerates
22		the real situation a little bit, but the atmosphere of them is cordial. I imagine
23		that Guangzhou is like that. Though it might be constructed as that, I imagine
24		that the local people are like that
25	Me	Do you tend to identify yourself as a Guangzhou person?
26	F1	I think I am a person on the margin, hahaha, I am neither a *waidiren* nor a
27		Guangzhou person. I don't have a sense of belonging here, but I sensed that

28		when I met you, hahaha
29	Me	Cos we both are on the margin
30	F1	Yes, right

F1 claims to have good competence in pronouncing standard Cantonese through providing confirmation from her boyfriend who is a Guangzhou *bendiren*. Meanwhile, her enjoyment of Cantonese, as manifested in buying a dictionary and making efforts to pronounce standard Cantonese, also helps to defend or justify her linguistic identity as a competent Cantonese speaker.

Interestingly, as she highly values standard pronunciation of Cantonese she suggests that she is gradually losing her belief in the standardisation of Putonghua. She presents both synchronic and diachronic contrasts between her evaluations of CCTV announcers' Putonghua and the Putonghua spoken with a Cantonese accent by news announcers at a Hong Kong TV channel. Shifting from attributing 标准 *biaozhun* 'standard' to the former and 难听 *nanting* 'unpleasant to hear' the latter, to favouring the latter over the former, she indicates her current disassociation from the ideology of the standardisation of Putonghua and alignment with varieties of Putonghua used by Cantonese speakers.

She then shows her orientation to the culture of Guangzhou through representing her enthusiasm for watching a native melodrama. Features of 有意思 *youyisi* 'interesting', 搞笑 *gaoxiao* 'funny' and 亲切 *qinqie* 'cordial' are attributed to the lives of 地道广州人 *didao guangzhouren* (authentic Guangzhou people) that are represented in these melodramas. Although she adds critical comments and sees the characters, stories and lives as constructions containing some exaggeration, she nevertheless argues that these constructions match her imagination of the authentic local community. These positive evaluations reveal her affinity with the local community of Guangzhou.

When it seems justified to conclude that she has an inclination to affiliate to the group of Guangzhou people, she negates my conjecture and defines herself as ‘a person on the margin’ between a *waidiren* and a Guangzhou person. She invites my empathy and evokes a sense of solidarity by projecting her belongingness to me, who she knows shares with her the migrating and growing up histories in this city. Although she presents her alignment with the group of Guangzhou people and the community in a continuous way, she retreats to draw a clear border between her and this group, representing her inner negotiation of identity categories.

Extract 7

This extract begins with M1’s introduction of his father’s views on the ethnic grouping of Guangdong people and the Cantonese language. He also shares his opinions on these topics, talks about his perceptions of the differences between students who originally came from Guangdong and those who did not, and exemplifies this by his experiences at high school.

1	M1	My father once told me something about ethnic categorization, which
2		subsumes Guangdong people to Malays, and subsumes so-called northerners
3		in Guangdong people’s conceptualisation including people from Hunan and
4		Jiangxi to Mongolians. He told me this. I don’t know if it’s true or not. I feel
5		like, how to say, he still favours the northern regions over the southern and
6		favours Beijing and Shanghai more than Guangzhou. He always thinks like that,
7		and rejects Cantonese. He often describes Cantonese as ‘bird speech’, or
8		things like that. I mean, he still cannot get used to hearing or speaking the
9		language. Every now and then he says ‘isn’t using Cantonese to call this
10		sounds like bird’s language?’ Use Cantonese to read this sentence ‘each
11		country has its specific national anthem’. Just say it in Cantonese. Doesn’t that
12		sound weird and unintelligible? But, you know, if you are used to hearing and
13		speaking it, you don’t feel it strange at all, ok.
14	Me	Right, I see.
15	M1	And then, regarding high schools, especially those that are not attached to
16		universities, such as Z, I’m talking about what we’re familiar with, particularly
17		Z and G, their students are quite native. I don’t know the situation of worse
18		schools. In contrast, H and S are different. They have many *waidiren*. S enrols
19		students from eastern Guangdong and H western Guangdong. At least, it was

20	like that when I attended H. So, I have a feeling that students from Z and G are
21	good at and more active in organizing various activities, and uniting fellows,
22	how to say, they are well interwoven. Maybe because their backgrounds are
23	similar. You cannot conclude their features in one word but in fact you also
24	know it, we can perceive why it is like that.

M1 introduces his father's negative evaluations of the population, the community and the language of Guangdong and/or Guangzhou, and presents his comments as contrasting with his father's in all those respects. He shows doubt over and questions the credibility of his father's belief in the ethnic demarcation of Guangdong people and northern people. In representing his father's prioritisation of northern regions over the southern, and Beijing and Shanghai over Guangzhou, he uses 'still' twice and 'always' to imply that the continuity of the classification bewilders him and does not make sense to him. His father is represented as not valuing Cantonese language through categorising it as 鸟语 *niaoyu* 'bird speech', a phrase referring to any speech that sounds unintelligible, and illustrating this with a short tongue-twister in Cantonese. He opposes his father's contempt over Cantonese language, negates the implied feature of 'weird' attributed to Cantonese, and questions his father's lack of immersion in Cantonese that leads to his negative perception. Disapproval of his father's stance indexes his alignment with the population, the community of Guangzhou/Guangdong and Cantonese.

Although M1 orients to the community of Guangzhou, he draws a line between himself and Guangzhou *bendiren* through demarcating two types of secondary schools in Guangzhou. He divides the top four secondary schools into two groups in terms of the origins of their students. He groups Z and G together as he attributes the feature of a high degree of 'being native' to their students, while the school he attended, H, and S are classified as recruiting students who are not Guangzhou people. A metaphor of 拧成一团 *ningcheng yituan* 'well-interwoven strands' is drawn upon to underscore the solidarity and the centripetal force within students in the former group. He attributes a positive feature to them, 'being good at and more active in

organising activities and uniting fellows', and ascribes this feature to these students' same origin in Guangzhou. This positive evaluation on the one hand highlights differences in solidarity and competence in organization between two groups based on differences in origins, on the other hand it reveals his admiration of them and his inclination to affiliate to them.

In short, M1 shows ambivalence in his identity construction. He differs from his father who is a first generation migrant and who keeps his distance from the population, the community and the language of Guangzhou, thus indicating his orientation to Guangzhou in these respects. However, he also classifies himself in a group different from the native students of Guangzhou but at the same time expresses his willingness to align with them. He locates himself in a neither-nor position as he has distance from both *bendiren* and first-generation migrants. He also takes on a self-contradictory identity as he draws a boundary between himself and a group of native students, but he also desires to affiliate to them.

Extract 8

This exchange and the following one are extracted from an interview I conducted with F14 and F15 in a Vietnamese restaurant. They both are primary and senior high school acquaintances of mine, and know that I have similar migrating histories to theirs. F14 talks about how being raised at Guangzhou influences her self-identification.

1	Me	Are your living habits becoming similar to those of people in Guangzhou?
2	F14	Yes. Of course. Yours must be, yours should be the same as mine
3	Me	Actually I ?? haven't changed that much
4	F14	No it's not because you were born in Guangzhou, not because you were
5		born and raised in Guangzhou, but because your blood and all other
6		physiological features have become Cantonese, your physical body becomes
7		the body of a Guangzhou person even though your spirit might not be, but
8		your body is, because, the water you drink is from Guangzhou, the food you
9		eat is cooked in a specific way, like stir fry in Guangzhou, and the particular

10		humid climate here also influences you, so your material body is shaped as a
11		Guangzhou person, you have no choice but to admit it
12	F15	right
13	Me	But, did it occur to you when you met up with people for the first time and
14		you spoke Putonghua then they would 'ei' and not think that you are a
15		Guangzhou person
16	F14	yes, I don't look like a Guangzhou person, because my look, all three of us,
17		our look isn't what a Guangzhou person looks like
18	F15	yes
19	F14	then when you started using Cantonese he would say, ah, you are a
20		Guangzhou person, and I said yes I am, and he gets emotional and asks what
21		kind of Guangzhou people would look like you?
22	Me	hahaha
23	F15	hahaha
24	F14	I am a second generation Guangzhou person

After I disagreed in line 4 with F14's claim that my living habits should be similar to hers and to those of people from Guangzhou, she refutes my view, and provides evidence in lines 5–11 to support her self-definition as a Guangzhou person. She uses *ni* 'you' to refer to both herself and to me, picks out characteristics of Guangzhou (water, food and climate) that will influence our bodies (blood, physiology), which is employing a strategy of somatization to construct herself and me by synechdoche as Guangzhou persons. And this is seen as a causal relationship through her use of 所以 *suoyi* 'so' in line 10. Meanwhile, 'so' also implies her shift from listing evidence to a conclusion as well as a comment. In this sense, the referents of *ni* are actually extended to a big group, more than herself and me. Through making a generalised comment and using this impersonal *ni*, F14 enhances her stance about her belief in herself and me as Guangzhou persons. Meanwhile this process of being subject to Guangzhou's environment and then becoming a Guangzhou person is represented as irresistible and unconditional, first through her use of the concession 不承认也不行 *bu chengren ye buxing* 'have no choice but to admit it', second through negating other possibilities by 'even though' in line 7. In line 7 she shows an inconsistency between the identity category she assigns to her spirit versus that to her body, which implies her helplessness in negotiating her self-identification as a Guangzhou person. Thus,

while she self-identifies as a Guangzhou person she simultaneously ridicules the category of 'Guangzhou person' she attributes to herself.

This division between the spirit and the body is paralleled with a conflict between people's identifications of her based on the language she uses and that based on how she looks. In lines 19-21, she reports a conversation between her and someone who thinks F14's look does not match her self-identification as a Guangzhou person. The referents *ni* shift from cross-referencing to herself (the first one), to referring to her by a deictic pronoun (the second and third *ni*) by someone in the conversation. She shows that this person does not categorise her as a Guangzhou person because of her look but soon doubts the previous judgement after hearing her use of Cantonese. This contradictory identification of her demonstrates something I have already discussed in the previous chapter, namely a constructed association between the use of Putonghua and *waidiren*, and it additionally reveals another stereotype related to one's appearance. This person is depicted as showing non-acceptance when she confirms that she is a Guangzhou person, which implies an inconsistency between another's identification of her and her self-identification, revealing a contradiction in her external-internal identification that cannot be easily negotiated.

F14 attempts to resolve two levels of inconsistency manifested in both her self-identification and in an external-internal identification by introducing and affiliating to a new category, '第二代广州人' *dierdai guangzhouren* 'second generation Guangzhou person'. Not only serving to balance the conflicts, it also helps to emphasise the uniqueness of her identity and displays her shifting self-identification from self-categorising as a Guangzhou person to not associating with any existing categories.

Extract 9

Prior to this extract, I told F14 and F15 that I consciously choose Cantonese to speak

to taxi drivers when I take a taxi, as I believe that *bendiren* taxi drivers see the use of Putonghua as a marker of a *waidiren*, and it is very likely that they will cheat *waidiren* by taking a longer than necessary route, assuming *waidiren*s' lack of knowledge about Guangzhou. F14 disagrees with me. F14 responds to my view in this extract, and extends this topic with F15 to the relationship between one's competence in using Cantonese and Putonghua and their occupation and economic situation.

1	F14	Nowadays there are two types of taxi in Guangzhou. Green taxis are
2		definitely driven by *waidiren*, while the company which owns yellow, red and
3		blue taxis only recruits drivers who are Guangzhou people. So if you take a
4		green taxi, not many drivers can speak Cantonese, yes. So it doesn't make a
5		difference if you don't speak Cantonese. Many taxi drivers come from
6		outside Guangzhou. And what impressed me is when I visited the
7		French-speaking region of Canada, what is it called?
8	Me	Quebec
9	F14	yes, Quebec, those who have a low level of education, such as waiters or bus
10		drivers, speak French, and only those who have higher education can speak
11		English. So it is possible that in Guangzhou only people like this, local
12		neighbours who live in an old town neighbourhood, speak Cantonese, they
13		cannot speak Putonghua and have low education
14	Me	Hold on a second, I have a reservation about this
15	F15	It is just like, it's like when you go to other provinces, you'll see those who
16		speak the local language have never stepped outside their home
17	Me	ok
18	F15	they've never been to other places so they don't need to know how to speak
19		Putonghua, but as long as you have visited different places across China you
20		know how to speak Putonghua, if you've been to different countries then
21		you know how to speak English, right? That's it.

F14 presents information about a division between *waidiren* and *bendiren* drivers corresponding to a separation of taxis from different companies in different colours, arguing that speaking Putonghua is not a concern if one intentionally takes a green taxi driven by *waidiren*. She relates this concern about language use in a bilingual community to her experience in Quebec. Comparing the social statuses of French and English in Quebec to those of Cantonese and Putonghua in Guangzhou, she associates French and Cantonese monolinguals to a population with lower education and income,

while attributing competence in using English and Putonghua to those in a higher position in terms of socioeconomic situations. This constructed division indexes an imagined hierarchy of languages, in which higher value is attached to English and Putonghua and lower status to French and Cantonese.

This view over-simplifies the language environments of two multilingual communities. Drawing parallels between Quebec and Guangzhou with regard to language and socioeconomic status has the effect of ridiculing Cantonese and essentialising its users. She specifically categorises 街坊 *jiefang* (*bendiren* who live in a neighbourhood in old town districts) as low-educated Cantonese monolinguals, entailing her negative evaluation of this group of people and an implicit distancing from them.

F15 brings in another analogy and attempts to justify F14's argument. F15 correlates the difference between those who only speak regional varieties and those who can speak Putonghua with whether they have travelled outside their original places or not, and compares this to a connection between one's competence in English and one's experience of travelling abroad. Associations are built up between language varieties and social variables including one's knowledge, life experience, interests and socio-economic situation, which provide or ensure the premise to travel abroad. In this way, the status of Putonghua in China is compared to English in terms of its universalism and superior communicative power, while Cantonese is related to a lack of economic and symbolic resources. From another point of view, this analogy also establishes a link between one's mobility and language varieties, similar to how Spanish nationalism connects isolation and backwardness to Catalan and openness and democracy to Castilian in response to a surge in Catalan sovereignty (Woolard, 2016: 53). While the situation of immobility or isolation is associated with a regional variety Cantonese and its users, mobility or broad horizons is associated with the official language Putonghua and its users.

In addition, two sub-groups are demarcated among people who live in Guangzhou, which are Cantonese monolinguals and those who speak at least one language in addition to Cantonese, such as Putonghua and English. These representations and stances indicate her orientation to the latter group and assigning F14 to the same group, as they both speak three languages and/or language varieties and have travelled or studied abroad (F15 did a one-year exchange programme in the U.S. when she was an undergraduate). The shared attitudes of F14 and F15 towards Putonghua and Cantonese reveal their perceptions of Guangzhou people as less a homogeneous group than a diverse one, and they identify with a sub-group characterized by individuals' economic and symbolic resources.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the ways in which immigrant participants negotiate their self-identifications regarding their views on language use and the *Tuipu Feiyue* language dispute. Overall, my participants show a common stance towards Putonghua and Cantonese – they acknowledge the dominant status of Putonghua in Guangzhou while they see high value in Cantonese and show an orientation to Cantonese. However, their social and ethnic identities related to language beliefs are much more diverse.

6.3.1 An orientation to Cantonese language

Although only selected extracts from my interviews are presented in this chapter, all immigrant participants who commented on the *Tuipu Feiyue* proposal are opposed to its suggestion of replacing Cantonese with Putonghua for broadcasting. The proposal is represented as demonstrating and reproducing unification and assimilation ideologies by the central government, and as an instrument through which the hegemony of Putonghua can be reinforced. Cantonese is constructed as facing eradication, and the Putonghua Promotion Policy and this proposal are presented as

contributing to this danger. Immigrants show their empathy and affinity with the use of Cantonese. For example, F5, M5, F14 and F15 object to the proposal, M5 aligns with people who protest against it with the authentic aim of protecting Cantonese, F16 problematizes the absence of Cantonese resources and the de-moralization of Cantonese use vis-à-vis the dominance of Putonghua and the ideology of Putonghua standardization in formal schooling, and more generally M1 disapproves of the negative evaluation of Cantonese by his father.

Immigrants' attitudes towards Cantonese and Putonghua reveal that in Guangzhou Putonghua is not necessarily invested with a high value in accordance with the central government's wishes. Participants assign value to Cantonese, and they resist policies and strategies aiming to make Putonghua the dominant variety and to maintain its status at the cost of local speech, Cantonese. This is illustrated by the fact that most participants do not stratify the two language varieties, rather they focus on constructing arguments that the use of Cantonese has been stigmatised, marginalised and condemned, and making positive evaluations of the use of Cantonese. This stance corresponds to that of many participants in Chapter 5 who claim they are competent in using Cantonese, and especially of those who justify or normalise the use of Cantonese in school contexts even when they are excluded by Cantonese-speaking classmates and/or teachers. Although there are two exceptions – F14 and F15 dichotomise Cantonese and Putonghua and connect monolingual Cantonese speakers to low levels of education and socio-economic situation, participants show an overall position of orienting to Cantonese and the local community.

6.3.2 Negotiating between or among (seemingly) conflicting self-identifications

While immigrants construct their identities through making positive or negative representations of the groups they interact with and showing their alignment with or distancing themselves from certain groups, their identities often emerge as negotiation between or among conflicting self-identifications. For example, M1 demarcates

students coming from outside Guangzhou from *bendiren* students, and gives a more positive evaluation of the latter group than the former group, displaying his desire to affiliate to the latter. However he classifies himself in the former group, presenting ambivalence towards his self-identification. F14 represents a division between her body's identity and that of her spirit, and she describes her self-identification as a Guangzhou person as a decision she has no choice but to make. Additionally she orients to a created category, namely that of a second generation Guangzhou person. F1 shows her enthusiasm in watching native melodramas, and attaches value to the standard pronunciation of Cantonese. These positions in regard to cultural products of the local community and the local language variety reveal her orientation to both. However, she does not affiliate herself to the group of Guangzhou people. She self-identifies as a person on the margin.

That is to say, the process of self-identifying is also a process of managing several identity options, such as resisting imposed identities, constructing desired identities, creating or innovating identity categories, assigning different identity categories to different parts of the self, aligning to but restraining from proclaiming particular identities, staying away from any accessible identity options and so on. It is not that one identity emerges at one moment and immigrants take on different identities under different circumstances; instead, more than one identity emerge simultaneously and immigrants may hold various identities without having them conflict with each other.

It is important that they actively or passively become accustomed to the environmental, cultural and social features of the host city, which facilitates their conformity to local customs and conventions. The cases of F1, F5, F14, F16 and M1 present their internalization of language use and living habits similar to those of Guangzhou people. Contrasting the motivations for the Hong Kong people's protest against the proposal with those of Guangzhou residents, M5 shows an orientation towards the latter group through praising their sincere protest as demonstrating genuine love and concern for Cantonese; meanwhile, he distances himself from the

group of Guangzhou people. M1's self-classification as one coming from outside does not contradict his desire to affiliate to native Guangzhou students, as these people are represented as having better skills and excelling over others in completing tasks, which is admired by M1 and presumably would give *bendiren* students access to more chances in university and even job markets. And in F14's case, her separate identities of body and spirit are in a complementary relationship, creating a category of a second generation Guangzhou person emphasizing her uniqueness in language use habits and her look which is different from 'typical' Guangzhou people; self-categorising as a second generation Guangzhou person also helps distance herself from Guangzhou people who are Cantonese monolinguals constructed by her with low levels of education, low income occupations, limited horizons and little experience of going abroad. Underlying F14's seemingly contradictory but actually compatible self-identification is her alignment with a particular social-economic status and her recognition of multilingualism as a resource.

In other words, participants' hybrid and diverse self-identification is accomplished through negotiating and reconciling the contradictions between or among identity categories that are available to them. The ways in which they position themselves with regard to those groups or categories reflect how they deal with understandings, values and ideologies permeating such domains as school, family and workplace with regard to particular identity categories. Their self-identifications also relate to how they understand or imagine what makes a member of those categories in relation to their existing definitions, as well as how they celebrate the diversity of others' and their definitions of the same categories.

Chapter seven

Situated code-switching and speakers' orientation to languages and language user groups

In this chapter, I apply Peter Auer's sequential approach and Harvey Sacks's membership categorisation analysis to analyse immigrants' code-switching in interviews as well as in inserted service encounters in restaurants and cafes within interviews. My aim is to explore how their use of code-switching contributes to their linguistic identity construction and impacts upon the organisation of talk. In other words, I am concerned with not only how participants make their particular identities relevant through talk, but also how these identities further contribute to the development of talk or are procedurally consequential to ensuing turns of talk, particularly in reference to language alternation.

Understanding the relationship between their acts and the identity orientation does not only rely on language negotiation and co-constructed activities in the flow of conversations, but also depends on a) social norms of language practice within the service industry (nineteen out of all twenty three interviews were conducted in restaurants or cafes that contain service encounters) and b) the wider language environment in which those norms are shaped and changing. I will analyse the functions of code-switching in conversational structure and how these functions help build up immigrants' linguistic identities in sections 2-6, and summarise my findings in section 7.

7.1 Switching code to mark dispreferred second pair parts

As discussed in Section 4.5.2.1, scholars (Gal, 1979, Auer, 1984, and Li Wei, 1994) have shown that in bilingual interaction code divergence is used to mark dispreferred second pair parts (although it often co-occurs with other markers found in monolingual talk). Code-switching as marking dispreferred seconds is community-specific and

generation-specific in the study of Li Wei (1994), as it is mostly found in inter-generational conversation and in the majority of cases it is children who use English to mark their dispreferred responses to Chinese first pair parts uttered by their parents or grandparents. Gal (1979) finds that symbolic value can be ascribed to linguistic options in a bilingual community. Switching from Hungarian to German in the second pair parts is linked to authority and expressions of anger in interactions of conflicting positions. Moreover, one's non-acceptance in the second pair parts of the new language switched to by the interlocutor parallels one's non-cooperation on the topical or activity type level in Auer (1984). A more recent study by Higgins (2009) investigates how speakers employ switching code from Swahili to English to resist the social identities that interlocutors ascribed to them, or to mark a disjunction with the identities attributed to them. In my data code-switching as marking dispreferred seconds applies to speakers of the same generation in the Putonghua/Cantonese bilingual community in Guangzhou. The examples below illustrate that the dispreferred second pair parts are accompanied by contrastive language choices where the next turn speakers use a language different from that of the preceding turn speakers. I will discuss the relation between code-switching and identity orientation in the next section.

Extract 1

	M2 **噉周係边度人**	1	M2 **then where does Zhou come from**
	Me **周好似係湖南嘅**	2	Me **Seems she's from Hunan**
→	M2 （5.0）她不像湘妹子，湘妹子长什么样，我也没什么印象	3	M2 (5.0) She doesn't look like a Hunan girl (.) how does a typical Hunan girl look like I don't have many ideas
→	Me （1.0）我也不像湘妹子，**好多人都以为我东北人**	4	Me (1.0) I don't look like a Hunan girl either(.) **many people think I come from the northeast**
	M2 **嗯，不过嗰个时候无主要研究下，哩啲野**	5	M2 **mm(.) but back to those times I didn't spend time to get this type of information**
	Me **中学嗰阵时唔问哩啲野嘅**	6	Me **in high school students generally don't bother to ask for this**
	M2 **中学讲两样野，一个係被逼要学嘅，一个係？？**	7	M2 **in high school two things are usually talked about (.) one is what we are forced to learn (.) the other is ??**

Immediately prior to this sequence, I, the interviewer, have said that I planned to interview Zhou, a common friend of the interviewee M2 and I. M2 asks me where Zhou comes from. After I give my answer, there is a five-second silence before M2 responds and switches to Putonghua. This pause and his divergent language choice from mine in the preceding turn mark his response as dispreferred. Meanwhile M2's utterance of this turn displays his disagreement with my statement, though with reservations. Once again there is a short silence before I respond to M2's comment, indicating another dispreferred second pair part. I converge to his language choice at the beginning of the turn (the convergence has to be understood in terms of my language choice as an interviewer, who is reluctant to diverge from my interviewees' language choice in the preceding turn; as this may indicate my diverging position from theirs and may discourage them from sharing with me their life experiences), but I switch to Cantonese after a pause and show my implicit disagreement. M2 then converges to my language choice and quits the 'debate'.

This type of divergence from the preceding language choice which signals dispreference is also evident in the following sequence.

Extract 2

	Me 诶，高一她在六班吗	1	Me eh(.) was she in class six at year one
	F5 高一她在三班	2	F5 at the first year she was in class three
	Me 哦，所以你跟那个，钟还有**罩**都很熟	3	Me ah(.) that's why you have been close to Zhong and **Zao**
→	F5 不是，钟跟**罩咧=**	4	F5 no(.) Zhong and **Zao le**=
→	Me =是五班的！[对对	5	Me = they were at class five [right right
→	F5 **[佢哋，佢哋系高二国阵时先去三班嘅，嗰阵时我已经走咗了**	6	F5 **[they(.) they went to class three at the second year when I was not there anymore**
	Me **哦：：係啊，高一佢哋同我一个班嘅五班嘅**	7	Me **a::h(.) right(.) at year one I was in the same class as theirs class five**
	F5 **哦：：嗷你而家同钟同罩有无联系啊**	8	F5 **a::h then do you keep contact with them**
	Me **有啊，偶然会有少少联系**	9	Me **yes(.) sometimes a little**

In this sequence F5 and I are trying to make clear which classes a few of our common friends were allocated to in the first two years of senior high school. After getting F5's answer about a common friend in turn 2, I assume that F5 was also in that class at year one, the same class as that of Zhong and Zao, and that's the reason why she became close friends with them. I make my conjecture and request her confirmation in Putonghua in turn 3, only transferring to Cantonese when mentioning Zao's name. F5 gives a negative in the second pair part. Then her statement begins by 'copying' two friends' names and converging to my language choice, which is immediately followed by a Cantonese modal particle 'le' 咧, indicating a delay before giving a full statement and marking a dispreferred response. Realising my mistake I initiate an other-repair in turn 5 to make another conjecture, and continue using Putonghua, diverging from F5's language choice at the end of her preceding turn. After a micropause of mine and when I self-confirm my conjecture, F5 repairs her statement, overlapping with my self-confirmation, and she continues using Cantonese, the divergent language choice from mine, to introduce the real situation in detail.

What is particular and common to the above sequences is that the dispreferred second pair parts are accompanied not only by contrastive language choices but also by explicit or implicit evaluation of the statements in the preceding turns. Through negatively evaluating the interlocutor's statements or opinions, speakers display their non-alignment and distance from their interlocutors. Thus, the diverging positions are taken up both on the level of 'content' and on the level of language choice. This dispreference can be employed for orienting to particular languages and social groups. This is illustrated by extract 3.

7.2 Switching code to orient to particular language users and social groups

The following exchanges are all extracted from an interview with F6, which is a subordinate conversation to an interaction of university classmates' (F6, T, X and Me) reunion in a restaurant. F6 and I sit at the same side of a table, facing T and X at the other

side. F6, X and I can speak both Putonghua and Cantonese fluently. T understands a little Cantonese and can only utter a few Cantonese words and phrases. The way four of us are seated is designed for separating F6 and I from the other two in order to have the interview semi-independently. When four of us are all engaged in a chat, or whenever T is included in a conversation, Putonghua is the medium-of-interaction, but when any communication emerges between or among F6, X and Me, F6 very often goes back and forth between Putonghua and Cantonese.

Extract 3

	F6 [马哭什么	1	F6 [why did M cry
	X [马哭什么	2	X [why did M cry
	T 马就觉得她为学生会做了太多东西然后 [??	3	T M thought that she contributed a lot to the student union and then [??
	F6 [然后她没选上吗?	4	F6 [then did she fail to be elected
	T 没选上，我也觉得她哭得莫名其妙，我当天晚上去就是为了顶马，然后她那么表现，我就跟小斌说，完了没戏了	5	T she failed (.) I could not understand why she cried either (.)I went there that night only for supporting M (.) after seeing her presented like that(.) I told B(.) no way she had no chance at all
	X （2.0）是选主席吗	6	X (2.0) was that a president election
	T [恩，是回了南校之后？？	7	T [mm. after we moved to southern campus??
→	F6 **[一个学生会啫，使唔使搞成噉=**	8	F6 **[it's just a student union (.) do they have to do all that =**
	Me **=係咯係咯**	9	Me **= right exactly**
→	X 我们这些远离政治圈的人=	10	X we distance ourselves from the politics=
	F6 =对啊看我们多好	11	F6 =yes see how we can live peaceful lives
	T 我也觉得挺苦，后来也离他们都挺远的了	12	T I also found it distressing (.) afterwards I stayed away from them

Prior to this sequence T tells three of us how his failure in the student union president election at the second year resulted from a conflict among a few groups, and another story of failure, about a common classmate M, in the student union committee election at the third year. There is a two-second silence after T recalls the night of election in turn 5, and before X self-selects and requests T to confirm that the position M failed to get is also that

of president. Overlapping with T's confirmation with X, F6 turns to me and comments on X and M by speaking Cantonese, diverging from the language choice of the preceding turn and the language-of-interaction when four of us are engaged in a conversation.

On the one hand, the absence of a response from her to T's turn 5, the two-second silence and her self-initiated turn that overlaps with T's response to X's question indicate a dispreferred second pair part, and her comments (also implicit evaluation) on the stories of X and M explicitly shows her divergent position from their enthusiasm in working with the student union; On the other hand, the switch to Cantonese indicates a change in the participant framework (Goffman, 1959/1982) or her selection of her addressee in the next turns – she looks for association with and expects a similar position from me, a Cantonese speaker. And my response verifies that it is me who F6 is addressing. Moreover, switching to Cantonese which implies selecting a Cantonese speaker as the recipient and next speaker also indicates she is (intentionally or unintentionally) excluding T for the duration of the switch. Hence her switch to Cantonese here signals language preference (Auer, 1984), which consists of 'interactional processes of displaying and ascribing predicates to individuals' (Auer, 1998: 8).

X initiates a new turn and expresses her position towards T and M which is similar to that of F6, however X minimises confrontation in respect of both content and language choice to convey her standpoint. Instead of explicitly evaluating the acts of T and M, X categorises herself as 远离政治圈的人 'a person staying away from politics', implying a different stance from that of T and M. And X continues to use Putonghua to speak to T. Realising that X has the same viewpoint and conveys this to T in a way that can save T's face, F6 immediately shows her support and agreement through switching back to Putonghua, converging to X's language choice.

This contrast in F6's code choices parallels the preferred and dispreferred second pair parts from her, in other words, code-switching is used by F6 to 'take sides'. Switching to Cantonese collaborates with her negative evaluation of the reported acts of her

interlocutors in the preceding turns to build up her stance of aligning to Cantonese speakers and distancing Putonghua speakers.

The similar contrasting use of code choice is evidenced by the next extract. Instead of using code-switching to indicate a dispreferred second pair part, F6 switches from Cantonese to Putonghua to respond to a dispreferred second pair part to her prior turn. Code-switching is employed to show that she is willing to change her stance so as not to trigger an implicit exclusion of a Putonghua speaker in a multi-party talk.

Extract 4

	Me 除了谢还有木有其他八卦	1	Me any other stories apart from Xie's
	F6 **李就嚟生了你知唔知啊**	2	F6 **Li's going to deliver her baby you know**
	Me **哦哦哩个我有发现少少痕迹嘅，喺佢微薄**	3	Me **oh oh for her case I saw some traces. on her Weibo**
→	T 什么八卦	4	T what gossip
	X **李颖欣係咪都有咗**	5	X **Is Li also going to deliver her baby**
→ →	F6 **嗯你都知喔，[Ok 喔有 follow 喔**	6	F6 **mm you know it (.) [that's good of you you also paid attention to it**
→	Me **[呵呵呵呵 就争一个正式嘅八卦协会嘅其实真係，大家都有潜质嘅**	7	Me **[hahahaha everyone has the potential to be a good gossip (.) we're just missing a gossip society**
→	F6 **嗯：：**	8	F6 **mm::**
→	T 讲八卦一定要用普通话	9	T when you gossip you have to use Putonghua
→	Me [哼哼哼哼	10	Me [hm hm hm hm
→	F6 [嗯嗯嗯	11	F6 [mm mm
→	（4.0）（X 咳嗽）		（4.0）(X coughed)
→	F6 **做咩你**	12	F6 **what happened to you**
→	（X 咳嗽）		(X continues coughing)
→	T 怎么了，一说八卦就激动	13	T what's wrong (.) excited about the gossip
	X 不是有辣椒黏到我喉咙里	14	X no some chilli got stuck in my throat
	T [喝点水	15	T [have some water
	F6 **[饮茶啦**	16	F6 **[have some tea**
	（5.0）		(5.0)
	太有喜感了	17	you are so hilarious
	Me [哈哈哈	18	Me [hahaha
	T [哈哈哈。你好坏啊这句话	19	T [hahaha (.) Your comment is so cruel

This sequence begins with my request to update me with university classmates' current situation, uttered in Putonghua towards all three friends. F6 self-selects and brings in the story of Li by speaking Cantonese, and I show my acquaintance with Li's current situation. T as the only one among four who is not a Cantonese speaker but understands a lot of Cantonese and can speak a few Cantonese words, asks F6 and I in Putonghua to clarify it, implicitly make a request to use Putonghua to him. However, this request is ignored, as X self-selects and uses Cantonese to confirm with F6 Li's condition, and F6 also uses Cantonese to respond to X. Then following three turns in Cantonese (including F6's and my comments on X's statement and F6's minimal response to my comment) T self-selects and straightforwardly requests three Cantonese speakers to speak in Putonghua. This receives minimal responses from both F6 and I, not knowing which language is used, and no action is made to realise this request.

After a four-second silence, X starts to cough, and F6 checks on X, continuing using Cantonese, which is followed by X's cough again and no response to F6's question. When T asks X in Putonghua how she is, X answers him in Putonghua. Then T and F6 simultaneously suggest X should have some water or tea, during which once again T uses Putonghua and F6 sticks to Cantonese. X gives no verbal response to T or F6, and there is a five second silence (perhaps during which X is having some water or tea) before F6 finally (and the first time in this exchange) switches to Putonghua and makes teasing comments on X. F6's comments in Putonghua are followed by my and T's laughter and T's comment.

If we look at the exchanges between turn 9 and turn 19, it can be found that after T requests the others to use Putonghua F6 continues using Cantonese in two turns but she hadn't received any response until she switches to Putonghua. It is likely that F6 pays all her attention to X, a Cantonese speaker, and selects solely X as her recipient, so she uses Cantonese to accommodate an unmarked medium for X. And Cantonese is also the preferred medium for F6 and X in all the conversations between them in the reunion. It seems F6's insistence on using Cantonese, regardless of T's request, has the effects of

emphasising her identity as a Cantonese-speaker, marking her membership to a group of Cantonese-speakers. However, F6's insistence on speaking Cantonese is followed by no response, i.e. silence. This apparently indicates that X regards Cantonese as the dispreferred language choice, and that X prefers to address to all four as recipients instead of only F6. It is through the switch to Putonghua after a five-second silence that F6 finally loosens her hold on proclaiming her identity as a Cantonese-speaker. The teasing comment indexes her dropping out of the preceding position and entering a new one in a light-hearted way.

In a word, F6 uses code-switching to show her group orientation. What differs from her actions in extract 4 is that code-switching in this exchange is used to show a shift of position towards two groups. When F6's insistence on using Cantonese implicitly builds up a Cantonese-speaker in-group and excludes Putonghua speaker T and leads to no response from her selected recipient, F6 draws upon code-switching to show that she withdraws her previously constructed orientation to Cantonese speakers and engages with all parties that are present. The next example is another in which F6 uses code-switching to indicate her orientations to particular language groups.

Extract 5

	T	李快要当爸爸了吗	1	T	then is L going to be a father
	F6	对啊，我觉得他，一个小孩的样子	2	F6	yes (.) I think he (.) looks like a kid
	X	（2.0）然后人又长得矮一点	3	X	(2.0) and he is short
	Me	[哈哈哈	4	Me	[hahaha
→	F6	[哈哈哈，真的很像 s-，**真係好似细路啊生得**	5	F6	[hahaha (.) really looks like s- (.) **really looks like a kid**
→	X	（3.0）诶不是可是为什么李怀孕了还总在微博上说啊	6	X	(3.0) eh but why is Li keep posting on Weibo about her pregnancy
→	F6	可能[心情复杂	7	F6	perhaps [she has a lot in her mind
	X	[好奇怪	8	X	[so weird

When T raises a topic about L and requests for confirmation about whether he and Li have their baby now, F6 instantly gives him affirmation and comments on L's look. After

a two-second silence following F6's speech, X expresses her agreement and adds detailed comments on L's height. This is responded to by simultaneous laughter from F6 and me. F6 emphasises her prior comment again in turn 5, by starting the comment in Putonghua, which is the medium of the exchange so far, but ends it with Cantonese. There is an abrupt cut off 's-' when she is about to say the word **细路** *sailou,* 'kid', which is a Cantonese word (the corresponding Putonghua word is 小孩 *xiaohai*), and this is the precise point where she switches from Putonghua to Cantonese and repeats the first part of the sentence in Cantonese (from 真的很像 *zhende henxiang* to **真係好似** *zanhai houci,* 'really looks like') and completes it in Cantonese. Serving as a self-initiated repair, this code-switching is interesting, as both X and I have acknowledged her view about L by either adding details or laughing. It is not necessary to repeat this to X and I. And if F6 wants to confirm that T is aware of her view as T gives no response so far, she shouldn't use Cantonese, because T is very likely to find it difficult to understand this sentence.

What is important here is that when F6 switches to Cantonese implying choosing Cantonese speakers X and I as her recipients, neither X nor I provide any response. This turn is followed by a three-second silence and X initiates a new topic and comments on Li's current situation by continuing to speak Putonghua, not converging to F6's choice in the preceding turn, signalling that X's speech is a dispreferred second pair part. F6 responds to X by giving her conjecture and switches back to Putonghua. Although T does not join in the discussion after he asks the question in turn 1, X's insistence on using Putonghua implies that she keeps seeing T as a recipient. What should be noted is that this exchange occurs a few minutes after the sequence of extract 4, after T's request for using Putonghua to chat about common friends. Compared to X's consistent use of Putonghua, F6's switch to Cantonese apparently deviates from the preferred medium for all four of us, and it serves to emphasise her view to only X and I, excluding T from the selected recipients. Her switch to Putonghua in turn 7 indicates her recognition of not keeping her promise to heed T's request, which leads to no response, and that her use of Cantonese implicitly proclaims her membership as a Cantonese speaker again, which excludes Putonghua speaker T. Therefore she shifts to Putonghua soon after realising this.

In extracts 3-5, F6's switches to Cantonese in a multi-party talk where the medium is Putonghua serve participant partition and selecting recipients in her Cantonese speaker in-group. She draws on code-switching to orient to Cantonese speakers and claim her linguistic identity as a Cantonese speaker. Switching to Cantonese is an act of language preference and serves to categorise F6 as a member of Cantonese speakers.

However, contradictory to her orientation to Cantonese and Cantonese speakers, F6 also shows her alignment to Putonghua through her use of Putonghua to highlight her main arguments in conversations, which will be demonstrated in the extracts below.

7.3 Code choices and emphasis

In this section, the extracted conversations are held between only F6 and I, two bilinguals. While the main code F6 and I use is Cantonese, F6 every now and then switches to Putonghua within a turn and soon switches back to Cantonese. This way of switching codes is related to her plan of ascribing primary and secondary importance to different information and opinions.

Extract 6

	I 噉你一世人都喺 **H** 咯	1	Me **you probably will stay in H for a lifetime**
	F6 唔:::唔知以后？？ 可能好玩嘅咯	2	F6 **emm::: have no idea about the future ?? perhaps more interesting things**
	Me 我老豆老母都想我留喺 **Z**（2.5）但係都好闷啊	3	Me **my parents also want me to stay in Z (2.5) but it will be very boring**
	F6 係咯。啫个个人性格都唔同（4.0）我觉得唔知你中意点呢，我就觉得我喺香港读完一年变咗好多	4	F6 **I see (.) I mean every individual has his or her particular personality (4.0) I don't know what kind of life you like (.) for me after one-year study at Hong Kong I changed a lot.**
	Me 啊：	5	Me **a:h**
→ →	F6 好似因为觉得太攰，压力太大，跟住那些，那些梦想之类的，(叹气) 算了（2.0）	6	**F6 because it seems I felt too tired (.) and too stressed (.) and then** those (.) those dreams (.) ((sigh)) **let it go** (2.0)

	Me 可以理解=	7	Me I understand your feeling=
→	F6 =平静的生活吧。**因为我份人，唔知啊，我觉得好似承受压力嘅。我会，我会，我会失眠啊，朝早砸醒啊，我只不过系有个 assignment 嚓度有个 project 我会好似**寝食难安，**跟住又嚓度，又自己**大哭，**尤其是香港係咁细嘅地方？？**	8	F6 =peaceful life would be better (.) **as I seem to (.) don't know (.) Seems I can't handle pressure (.) I would (.) I would (.) I had insomnia (.) woke up very early in the morning (.) just because I had an assignment or a project to be completed and I found it** hard to eat and sleep well (.) **and then (.) when I was by myself I** cried (.) **especially in such a small place like Hong Kong ??**

Prior to this sequence F6 tells me how her family settled on the campus of a local university. She was raised there and she attended the affiliated high school to that university. I show interest in the reason why she chooses to return and work where she has lived since she moved to Guangzhou.

F6 claims that her one-year study in Hong Kong influenced her thinking about where to live her life. In turn 6 when she describes the effect, she firstly ascribes her changed mind to the tiring and stressful life, and then she switches from Cantonese to Putonghua uttering 那些，那些梦想之类的 *naxie mengxiang zhilei de* 'those, those dreams'. The following sigh indicates she found this a disappointing result. This is confirmed by the presentation of her decision 'let it go'. There is a two-second silence before I converge to her code choice and show my understanding with her feeling and decision in turn 7. She immediately continues using Putonghua to introduce how she changed her mind as preferring a less intense life. After completing presenting her changed mind, she switches back to Cantonese to provide details of her emotional problems led by pressure and her poor ability to deal with it (two instances of transfers to Putonghua 寝食难安 *qinshi nanan* 'hard to eat and sleep well' and 大哭 *daku* 'cry' can be categorised as another type of code-switching, which will not be discussed here), which echo her speech uttered in Cantonese at the beginning of turn 6, prior to the switch to Putonghua.

It is clear that while F6 uses Cantonese to elaborate the problems she met during her stay

in Hong Kong, she switches back to Putonghua to state her changed decision (although there is a very brief transfer to Cantonese to point out her decision of giving up dreams in her statement), which serves to reiterate 'the change' that has been conveyed in Cantonese, and this is the most important information for the central theme of this exchange. In other words, Putonghua serves to mark the most salient information and indicate that the surrounding content uttered in Cantonese helps to build up its importance. In effect, the reiterated speech is 'upgraded' and the function of Putonghua here has been called 'upgrading' (Sebba and Wooton, 1998: 271), as it contributes to highlighting the importance of some message and indicating its central and essential position in the exchange.

The next two extracts are also examples of how Putonghua is used by F6 to emphasise her main view.

Extract 7

	Me **噉即係平时普通话用得比较多？**	1	Me **so you speak Putonghua more often in daily life**
 → → → →	F6 **我会，em，遇到讲广东话嘅人，就会有啲**自来熟的感觉，**你识讲广东话？就即刻 blahblah，虽然普语用得最多，但系好似，人人都识嘅，**没什么，没什么能套近乎的东西	2	F6 **I will (.) em if I meet Cantonese speakers (.) I would** feel like getting close to them (**.) you also speak Cantonese (.) I would immediately speak a lot in Cantonese to them (.) Although I speak Putonghua on most occasions (.) It seems (.) everyone speaks it (.)** I don't (.) don't have specific connection with people I can use to get close to them
	Me **哦：**	3	Me ah::

Not giving a direct answer to my question about her language preference in daily life, F6 presents her feeling of and attitudes towards Cantonese, Putonghua and meeting Cantonese speakers. She argues that speaking Cantonese makes her different from ordinary people, and she links the sense of closeness and solidarity to the act of using Cantonese to speak to Cantonese speakers. Interestingly, in terms of the content she shows her alignment to Cantonese and Cantonese speakers, demonstrated by a contrast

between 'feel like getting close to' Cantonese speakers and her regret of 'not having specific connection with people that can be used to get close to them' when meeting those who do not speak Cantonese; however regarding the code choice, she switches to Putonghua for expressing these attitudes. It is clear that the key aspect of her language reference regards to a sense of closeness and solidarity, which happened to be uttered in the two instances of switches to Putonghua. This will be illustrated again in the following extract.

Extract 8

	Me 如果遇到类似我哋背景嘅人，你会同佢讲咩话	1	**Me what if you meet someone with similar background as ours**
	F6 我哋背景嘅人	2	**F6 our background**
	Me 即係唔係广州出世	3	**Me those who were not born in Guangzhou**
→	F6 广东话咯。即係硬係觉得讲白话会 close 啲咯，因为讲白话嘅人始终係少过讲普通话嘅人。感觉心理上的距离拉近了。但係唔係，我觉得都睇习惯，你知唔知边个係邓？好似我同佢，我哋高中同学啊嘛，即係我哋两个都识讲白话，但係我哋两个习惯咗讲普通话，因为高中我哋都讲普通话，一直都讲普通话。	4	**F6 Cantonese (.) I somehow feel closer to people when I speak Cantonese to them (.) Because the number of Cantonese speakers is less than that of Putonghua speakers (.)** I feel like the psychological distance between me and them gets shortened (**.) But (.) Sometimes I think it depends on one's habit (.) Do you know** Deng (**.) seems that he and I (.) He's my high school friend (.) We both can speak Cantonese (.) But we used to speak Putonghua to each other (.) As we talked to each other in Putonghua in high school (.) we keep doing that**

This time F6 gives me a direct answer to my question, which is designed to explore her attitudes towards Putonghua and Cantonese in relation to self-identification and the group of immigrants. Her detailed account is similar to those in the preceding extract. She connects the sense of closeness to speaking Cantonese, and after uttering this in Cantonese the first time she uses Putonghua to rephrase it. Again she contrasts the number of Cantonese speakers and that of those who cannot speak Cantonese, hence highlights the distinctness of being able to speak Cantonese. What is important is that she

switches to Putonghua to repeat and emphasise the theme – speaking Cantonese is connected to a sense of closeness and specificity. She then introduces that the habit of using Putonghua to speak to friends shaped at high school will nullify her preference to speaking Cantonese linked to solidarity.

In both extracts 7 and 8, F6's speech is centered upon the constructed connection between using Cantonese and solidarity and a sense of closeness, and every time she switches from Cantonese to Putonghua to present this idea. It seems that Putonghua is the code she orients to for highlighting important information and her attitudes. Sometimes this function of using Putonghua is accompanied by another. It can be found in the following example.

Extract 9

     → → →	F6 **我係觉得，哩件事无佢哋讲得咁夸张咯，即係话唔係真嘅要废咯，感如果你话真係方言节目要少啲啊，噉样我肯定唔赞成噶但係我又觉得，**没有被，没有大家上升到，没有人家一听就觉得（1.5）**啫啲人太激动咯，一听就好唔理性噉样，啊你哋要废咗我哋噉样，好偏激**	1	F6 **I think (.) This incident was exaggerated by those people (.) I mean Cantonese is not going to be eradicated (.) if you ask to cut programmes that broadcast in dialects (.) I definitely disagree but I think (.)** It's not (.) It is not as how it was elevated by many people to a level (.) It is not that once heard about it people will feel (1.5) **I mean those people are too emotional (.) their reactions are irrational (.) ah you are going to eradicate our language (.) it's too extreme**
	Me **噉微博度你有无转发**	2	Me **did you retweet on Weibo**
	F6 **我觉得有嘅，啫:好似**凑热闹**，如果人哋发啲咩我觉得讲得啱我肯定会转发，但係我又唔会，激动到冲去=**	3	F6 **I think yes (.) I mean: it seems** I went along for the ride (.) **If what they tweeted is reasonable I certainly would retweet (.) but** I **wouldn't become too emotional (.) and rushed to=**
	Me **=**江南西	4	Me **=Jiangnanxi**
	F6 **係啊，唔会**	5	F6 **exactly (.) I won't**
	Me **係啊我觉得[偏激咗啲**	6	Me **right I think their act is [a little extreme**
  →	F6 **[唔会咯，啲人有时有啲有啲，唔知啊又唔知係叫啲**上纲上线	7	F6 **[I won't (.) they somehow sort of (.) don't know don't know if it's ok to describe it as** making a mountain out of a molehill
	Me **係咯我觉得香港嗰边真係会吵得好似好热**	8	Me **right and I think the scale seems to be bigger in Hong Kong**

In this exchange, F6 shares with me her view on the proposal about replacing Cantonese with Putonghua for broadcasting in GZTV I discussed in Chapter 3 which catalysed the *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute, and on the reactions of people who oppose the proposal in an emotional way. She at the beginning argues that the proposal and the underlying beliefs are represented as more extreme (夸张 *kuazhang*, 'exaggerated') than they really are. She very soon attempts to reiterate this opinion by switching to Putonghua. However, she cannot find the appropriate expression, evidenced by the negative predicate 没有 *meiyou* ('is not') repeated three times among which the first is followed by a sudden cut-off, the second without completing a sentence, and the third incomplete sentence is followed by one-and-a-half second silence. She subsequently switches to Cantonese to make a reformulation, signalled by Cantonese word 啫 *ze* ('which means'), and clarifies her view that hasn't been made clear through the negative constructions in Putonghua – these opponents exaggerated and overreacted to the proposal. Although she does not successfully highlight what she has just said, the switch to Putonghua is an attempt to emphasise her main view on the overreactions to the proposal.

In turn 7 she makes another attempt at reiteration, which begins with Cantonese 啲人有时 *dijan jausi* 'they sometimes' and ends with Putonghua, but it seems she fails to find a proper Putonghua phrase again. The Cantonese hesitation markers 有啲有啲 *jaudi jaudi* 'sort of/somehow' and 唔知啊又唔知係叫啲 *mzi a jau mzi hai giu di* 'don't know don't know if it's ok to call it as' and the pause between them indicate that she cannot find a *mot juste* in Cantonese and has to resort to Putonghua, but she also lacks confidence to summarise the situation by the Putonghua phrase 上纲上线 *shanggang shangxian*. This phrase literally means 'to raise an issue to the level of political principles and the level of "two-line" struggle between the communist and the capitalist', and it is a frequently used political term. What is of importance here is that she finds another expression to convey once again the idea that some people exaggerated the purpose of this proposal. This echoes her switch to Putonghua in turn 1 for stressing her argument.

The function of F6's switches to Putonghua in turn 1 resonates with what switching to

Putonghua serves to do in the extracts of 6-8. Surrounded by Cantonese, the use of Putonghua is drawn upon to 'upgrade' the theme of a conversation or her main view, whereas Cantonese is used to convey the secondary importance of information.

Situated linguistic identities

One of the most seminal works on the relationship between code choice and social identity is the framework of we-code and they-code proposed by Gumperz (1982). In spite of studies (Sebba and Wooton, 1998; Stroud, 1998; Li Wei, 1998) that discuss the problem of direct mapping we-code/they-code onto speakers' first/second language from the researcher/analyst's perspective, Sebba and Wooton's (1998) sequential analysis of code-switching in conversations show that the differential use of London English and London Jamaican by young Caribbean Londoners does present the 'we' versus 'they' distinction in the way Gumperz predicts. The functions of Cantonese and Putonghua in the extracts above also provide evidence of this distinction.

This then leads to an ostensible contradiction in F6's orientations to languages and language user groups. In section 2 her switches to Cantonese signal her inclination to prefer Cantonese speakers as recipients in a multi-party talk where Putonghua monolingual and bilinguals are present, and this type of code-switching also accompanies her divergence from the view expressed in Putonghua in the prior turn. Switching to Cantonese is used for categorising her as a speaker of Cantonese. However in extracts of this section when she is situated within conversations between two bilinguals, she opts for Putonghua to stress her argument or the most important information she wants to express, which indicates that Putonghua is seen as the code invested with the primary importance and as the marker of 'we' group. Therefore, F6 takes on different linguistic identities depending on what language speakers she encounters in conversations.

In addition, the ways immigrants build up linguistic identities include construction of their linguistic competence or knowledge through medium repair. As discussed earlier, in

turn 1 of extract 9 F6 has a lapse into Putonghua and has to make medium repair (Gafaranga, 2000; Gafaranga and Torras, 2002), switching to Cantonese to reformulate her idea. In turn 7, she meets a problem of how to specify a situation through a *mot juste* in Cantonese and resorts to Putonghua, but she also shows uncertainty about selecting that Putonghua phrase. A similar situation occurs in M2's language use and he presents particular difficulty in finding Cantonese expressions to convey his views. Two examples are shown below.

7.4 Medium repair and an identity of 'not-so-competent Cantonese speaker'

Extract 10

M2 我老豆老母做野地方都係讲普通话，佢哋嗰个企业都係讲普通话	1	M2 **Putonghua is the medium for communication at my parents' workplace (.) Their corporate uses Putonghua as common language**
Me 感佢哋两个之间讲咩	2	Me **what do they use to speak to each other**
M2 普通话	3	M2 **Putonghua**
Me 普通话啊	4	Me **it is Putonghua**
M2 所以喺屋企我哋都係讲普通话	5	M2 **so at home we all speak Putonghua to each other**
Me 哦：噉样，但係其实三个人都係可以讲白话	6	Me **a:h I see (.) although actually each of you can speak Cantonese**
M2 係啊（**3.0**）但係因为佢哋工作环境感，跟住决定我返屋企我都要讲哩种啊	7	M2 **yes (3.0) but because of the language environment of their workplace (.) then I have to speak Putonghua at home**
Me 哦：：	8	Me **I see::**
M2 所以我决定返学嗰阵就讲广州话，就好似你大学嗰阵，你上咗大学之后你都要讲普通话係咪？到处都要讲普通话，除非你同中学同学或者大学同学见面，啱好係广州嘅，先至会讲广州话，先会发生语言转换啊嘛	9	M2 **so I decided to use Cantonese at school (.) It's like when you studied at your university (.) you also spoke Putonghua generally right (.) Putonghua is used everywhere (.) Then unless you meet your high school friends or university classmates (.) who happened to be Guangzhou people (.) you don't speak Cantonese (.) until then you don't have the need to switch language**
Me 啫係就算小学中学啲聚会都係讲白话多	10	Me **so you use more Cantonese than Putonghua when you have gatherings with school friends**
M2 但係，梗係你普通话讲多咗，一时间：会拗口，一时间：会兜唔翻翻来，有时	11	M2 **but (.) of course as you speak Putonghua more often than Cantonese (.) Someti:mes you get stuck (.) Someti:mes you feel hard to find an**

→	候会突然间（0.5）蹦出一个普通话词，**就好似噉样**		**expression in Cantonese (.) sometimes suddenly** (0.5) blurt out a word in Putonghua (.) **just like this**
	Me **哦明了明了**	12	Me **oh I see I see**
→	M2 **啫突然间林唔到个词点讲，或者顺口就讲咗普通话嗰个词出来**	13	M2 **I mean sometimes I just cannot think of an expression in Cantonese (.) or I just utter a word in Putonghua without thinking**

In this sequence, M2 explains his language use patterns under different circumstances. He summarises that as he is made to use Putonghua most of the time in daily life, he decides to use Cantonese in high school (where Cantonese-speaking students take up a large proportion), and this sometimes leads to the problem of finding an appropriate Cantonese expression. In turn 11 he describes this difficulty and that he has to get help from Putonghua, either intentionally or unconsciously. He exemplifies this problem through giving a trouble marking half second pause, before switching from Cantonese to the Putonghua phrase 蹦出一个普通话词 *beng chu yige Putonghua ci* 'blurt out a word from Putonghua', and instantly switches back to Cantonese and notes **就好似噉样** *zau houci gamjoeng* 'just like this'. After I show my understanding of his difficulty, he initiates a self-repair in turn 13 in Cantonese, which is both a reformulation and his remarks on the preceding switch to Putonghua.

It is ambiguous if M2 intended to use the transfer to Putonghua to illustrate his problem or he does it without much thinking. Either way, M2's competence-related switching to Putonghua and the medium repair afterwards resonate to his construction of this situation as a problem in his preceding and following comments, and displays his self-categorisation as a user of Cantonese but not a fully competent one. In the next extract M2 meets a similar problem and invites me to help.

Extract 11

Me **啫你不停仲要去考证=**	1	Me **so you must continuously aim for certificates**
M2 **=我哋嗰种考证两年有效期咋**	2	M2 **=the certificate we need is valid for only two years**
Me **咁短啊**	3	Me **such a short time**
M2 **所以我觉得佢靠哩个**	4	M2 **so I think that institutions do make money**

	都可以赚钱=		**through conducting the test=**
	Me =係咯	5	Me **=right**
	M2 啫考哩个成万蚊一笔，仲要去，某部分要出国考，去其他国家考，所以成本比较: 所以你就知道，我哋哩种压力大话，你参加一个考试，你必须要充分准备，啫你 fail 左，哩几万蚊	6	M2 **it usually costs around 10,000 RMB to take one test (.) and it requires (.) and we need to take some sessions of it abroad (.) Take some in another country (.) so the cost is relatively: so you know that (.) our pressure is like (.) if you are going to take a test (.) you must fully prepare yourself (.) once you failed it (.) those money**
→	就，打水漂了（0.5）哎呀，讲咗普通话，就噉，哩啲哩啲林唔到嘅词，但係普通话係好顺口嘅词=		**would (.)** flow away in a river **(0.5) ah (.) I used Putonghua (.) like this (.) things like this that I cannot find expressions in Cantonese (.) but I can use expressions in Putonghua without thinking=**
	Me **=係啊係啊**	7	Me **= right yes**
→	M2 广州话点讲啊哩係	8	M2 **how would you say that in Cantonese**
→	Me （**2.0**）筛咗？又唔係，唔係[果个意思	9	Me (2.0) **wasted (.) no (.) that's not. not [what you meant**
→	M2 [但係表达唔出嗰种感情=	10	M2 **[but it cannot express exactly what I wanted to say=**
	Me =係啊	11	Me **=true**

In turn 6 M2 explains the high cost of taking a test which imposes huge pressure on him, and when he attempts to embody the consequence of failing the test he slips into a Putonghua phrase 打水漂了 *dashuipiao le* ('flows away in a river'), and terminates the trajectory of his speech by half-second silence, an exclamation 哎呀 *aija*, and switching back to Cantonese to account for this sudden switch to Putonghua. Then he invites me to help find a *mot juste* in Cantonese. I take two seconds to think about it and provide him a phrase but instantly disapprove my proposal. He also shows an unfavourable opinion on the proposed phrase.

M2 ascribes a lack of competence in Cantonese to himself through his recognition of the *mot juste* problem almost immediately and searching for help from his interlocutor. Meanwhile by not ratifying my proposed phrase he demonstrates that he is aware of the tiny and delicate differences in the similar denotations of two phrases from two languages and the (im)proper usage of them in situ. This indicates his knowledge about both Putonghua and Cantonese, which can be seen as his negotiation of the preceding

self-categorisation as a not-so-competent Cantonese user.

That is to say, in these two sequences, M2 talks into being a linguistic identity as a ‘not-so-competent Cantonese speaker’ through medium repair and requesting his interlocutor for reformulation, but by disapproving my proposal and showing his knowledge of proper usage of two languages in situ he resists his own self-categorisation and attempts to demonstrate he is a competent bilingual.

7.5 Code choice in service encounters and ‘doing being’ Cantonese users or/and bilinguals

In this section I explore immigrants’ code choices within service encounters in restaurants or cafes. These interactions occur briefly and are surrounded by interview conversations. Different from ordinary talks with friends or discussions centred upon particular topics in which conversational activity types are comparatively casual, service encounters are goal-oriented (Drew and Heritage 1992), primarily transactional (Aston, 1988: 75), and the speech is mainly a pragmatic act based upon institutional roles of customers and servers. Within this setting, the way immigrant customers choose codes can relate to both the ‘task-related standard shape’, and participants’ ‘oriented-to identities’ (Zimmerman, 1998: 96) in the dynamics of conversations, as well as the symbolic roles of Putonghua and Cantonese and the related power relations of different language user groups (see discussions in Chapter Five).

In this section, I adopt the views of Gafaranga (2001), Gafaranga and Torras (2002), Torras and Gafaranga (2002) and Cashman (2005) on language preference as a membership categorisation device for speakers to ‘doing being bilingual’, and Zimmerman’s notion of ‘oriented-to identities’ (1998) that approaches the mutually acknowledged identities of participants which grounds what actions to follow in the conversational structure. Both are based on Sacks’s (1986a, 1984) notions of membership categorisation device, economy and consistency rules, and Auer’s theory of language

preference (1984). I aim to investigate how immigrants use preference-related switching (Auer, 1995: 125) in service encounters to categorise themselves as Cantonese speakers and/or bilinguals. At the end I compare their code-switching pattern to observation of customer-server's code choices in the last three decades in Guangzhou, in order to show a snapshot of the change of language environment of this language community.

Extract 12

	Me 现在出来吃饭特别尴尬的一件事就是，每次大家都说你还在念书，我来买单	1	Me nowadays it's really embarrassing that (.) every time I join meal gatherings I was told not to pay the bill(.)as I am still a student
→	M5 我倒不是因为你在念书，我是我可以报销的，**唔该**（0.5）算了一会儿再说（4.0）你跟我们班还有谁联系	2	M5 it's not because you are still a student (.) I can get reimbursement (.) **excuse me** (0.5) never mind I will call her later (4.0) do you keep contact with any of our classmates
	Me 我们班：就刘跟周=	3	Me our classma:tes only L and Z =
	M5 =刘在干嘛	4	M5 =what is L doing now
	Me 在在哪	5	Me she is at at
	M5 她好像孩子都生了	6	M5 seems she has a baby now
	Me 对，她儿子快三岁了=	7	Me yes(.)her son is almost three-year old=
	M5 =真假的	8	M5 =are you kidding
	Me 真的	9	Me it's true
	M5 想这么明白啊这个人	10	M5 she really knows how to live her life
	Me 哈哈哈	11	Me hahaha
	M5 人生想得很明白	12	M5 she really knows that
	Me 对，我觉得那时候她特：别单纯一个小妹妹=	13	Me right (.) at that time I thought she's a ve:ry simple person and a small girl=
→	M5 =对啊，**唔该，埋单**	14	M5 =yes(.) **excuse me(.)bill please**
	Wai. 好	15	Wai. ok
	Me 结果	16	Me it turned out
	M5 单纯的小妹妹	17	M5 a small girl
	Me 结果结婚那么早	18	Me it turned out she got married very early

The switches from Putonghua to Cantonese in turn 2 and turn 14 are the only two tokens of code-switching used by M5 in his 76-minute interview. After the first time M5 switches from Putonghua to Cantonese to call for service, there is a very short pause of silence before he switches back to Putonghua and resumes the conversation with me, deciding to put aside temporarily his request for service. When he makes a call in

Cantonese again a waitress immediately responds to his call and responds him in Putonghua.

The switches coincide with a change of the footing (Goffman, 1979), which shifts from a talk between two friends to the service encounter in a restaurant. The successful service call consisting of turns 14 and 15 occurs very fast and smoothly, without any delay or problem of understanding. M5's turn 14, including summons 唔该 *mgoi* ('excuse me') and request 埋单 *maaidaan* ('can I have the bill'), is devoted to establishing a mutually oriented-to set of identities which can imply what actions should follow in the exchange (Zimmerman, 1998: 98), however brief the following sequence will be. According to Sacks (1986a, 1984), social actors sort the social world they engage into categories, which is a process of discursively 'doing being' social roles and identities under particular circumstances, and they accomplish goals through using or invoking their categories (Kasper, 2009: 6).

M5 performs as a caller and service requester, expecting a participant to be a hearer as well as a service provider to respond to his act. M5's awareness of his situated identity as a customer allows him to call a server and leads him to expect the server to meet his requirement. The moment the waitress responds to M5 implies that she is conscious of her identity category as a server, and that her knowledge about what her duty is in this restaurant enables her to recognise the speech of M5 as a call for service and to respond to the request. In other words, her situated identity makes relevant M5's call for service and her duty to respond.

More importantly, linguistic identities are relevant categories for informing speakers what is expected to be done in this service encounter. Gafaranga (2001: 1921) argues that 'in order to talk, bilingual speakers categorise themselves and one another either as monolingual or as bilingual and in which language(s)'. M5's choice of Cantonese to engage with the waitress reflects his analysis of who he is going to address, and whether the medium he chooses, which is related to what linguistic identity he takes up, can

accomplish the activity of service request. M5 presents him as a Cantonese speaker and he assumes that the server can understand Cantonese so as to show him the bill and organise the payment. And the waitress' fast response implies that she can get on well with M5's self-identification and she matches the linguistic identity he ascribes to her and to which he orients. She understands M5's call in Cantonese and provides the preferred second pair parts. When she uses Putonghua for response which is acknowledged by M5, her self-categorisation as a Putonghua speaker and the comprehension in Putonghua she expects M5 to have are approved by M5.

However, it would also be normal if the proposed linguistic identity is not acknowledged by the other party in a conversation, leading to the negotiation of code choice and linguistic identities and attempts to confirm the relevance of particular choices. The next exchange shows a communication problem arising in the service encounter in relation to code choices and the oriented-to linguistic identities.

Extract 13

	F5 **我同你讲，我听到最夸张就係，你知唔知唐係边个=**	1	F5 **let me tell you (.) The most dramatic thing I've heard is (.) do you know who T is =**
	Me **=我知我知我知，嫁咗俾澳洲一个（1.5）**	2	Me **= I know I know I know (.) she's married to an Australian (1.5)**
	F5 **黑社会[大佬**	3	F5 **gang [leader**
	Me **[係啊係啊係啊=**	4	Me **[yes yes right=**
	F5 **=美型同我讲嘅**	5	F5 **=Mei told me this**
	Me **因为有同学喺澳洲读书，跟住我哋初中一个班嘅嘛，所以就知**	6	Me **as I have a friend who's studying in Australia (.) and three of us were in the same class at junior high school (.) so I know it**
	F5 **嗯：：唔该**	7	F5 **mm:: excuse me**
	Me **=唔该=**	8	Me **=excuse me=**
	F5 **=唔该**	9	F5 **=excuse me**
	(服务员过来)		((a waitress comes))
	F5 **你要咩啊=**	10	F5 **what do you want=**
	Me **=呃:一杯拿铁**	11	Me **=u:h a cup of latte**
→	Wai. 呃要冷的还是热的	12	W uh cold or hot
	Me (0.5)冷的=	13	Me (0.5) cold =
	Wai. =冷的=	14	W =cold=

	Me =嗯=	15	Me =mm=
→	**F5 =呃仲有一杯摩卡**	16	**F5 =uh and a cup of mocha**
→	Wai. （0.5）嗯 :	17	W (0.5) mm:
→	**F5 要热嘅**	18	**F5 hot**
→	Wai. 呃，是：	19	W uh (.) you wan:t
→	F5 摩卡=	20	F5 mocha=
	Wai. =热的，是不是=	21	W =hot (.) Is that right=
	F5 =嗯=	22	F5 =mm=
	Wai. =那个还用吗=	23	W =do you still need that=
	F5 =不用了	24	F5 =no
	Me 初中的时候就觉得，唐以后会，是这种大姐头的感觉	25	Me when I was at junior high school I thought (.) T would become a person like this
	F5 会吗，我以前觉得她，她很好喔	26	F5 really (.) previously I thought that she (.) she's really nice

This sequence begins with F5 and I chatting about a common high school friend's current situation, during which Cantonese is the medium-of-interaction. In turn 7 F5 calls for service by using Cantonese, and after three repeated calls, the waitress comes. It would be presumptuous to argue that the waitress understands our calls in Cantonese, as our calls may be accompanied by particular gestures such as waving arms, which would also catch her attention and indicate our request for service. At this point when it is not clear if the waitress understands Cantonese or not, before the waitress' opening, F5 firstly asks me to decide on my order by continuing to use Cantonese, and my ordering in Cantonese comes immediately after a brief hesitation. The waitress's response in the form of requesting for more details indicates her receipt of the order. However she uses Putonghua and projects her identity as a Putonghua user, ascribing to me the role of a user of not only Cantonese but also Putonghua. There is a half-second pause preceding my response to her question by switching to Putonghua, which signals that I acknowledge the linguistic identity she ascribes to me. The waitress confirms my selection with me and my receipt of it ends the encounter in Putonghua.

F5 then immediately initiates her ordering by using Cantonese in turn 16. As shown in the previous talk between F5 and I, F5 is proficient in Putonghua, but she insists on speaking

Cantonese at this moment. This choice seems to be F5's attempt to negotiate the medium for the following sequence, indicates her self-projection as a Cantonese speaker and ascribes to the waitress an identity as someone who comprehends Cantonese, so that the choice of Cantonese would be relevant for the continuity of the ordering. There is a half-second silence before the waitress gives a back channel indicating her engaging in this interaction in turn 17. This minimal response is seen by F5 as an acceptance of the order as well as acknowledging the category she ascribes to the waitress, as F5 instantly specifies that she prefers a hot coffee by continuing speaking Cantonese in turn 18. This time it is followed by a filler and a pause in turn 19, and the waitress uses Putonghua to request F5 to repeat her preceding utterance. This turn signals not only a problem of keeping the activity of ordering going, but also the waitress's attempt to negotiate the linguistic identity that F5 ascribes to her.

Selecting a language or medium is revealing one's self-categorisation, and by the consistency rule (Sacks 1986a, 1984), speakers hope their interlocutors will acknowledge their self-categorised identities (Torras and Gafaranga, 2002: 543). In this sense, participants of a conversation are classified into language-based categories through their code choices. Code or medium choice becomes the device used for membership categorisation (ibid) and relevant in the success of service encounters involving more than one medium options and where a norm of code choices has not yet been established. And the consistency between what identities interlocutors ascribe to one and one's own categorisation lays the foundation of the flow of a goal-oriented conversation. This explains F5's convergence to the waitress' language choice and repeats her order in Putonghua in turn 20, which indicates F5's adjustment of which linguistic identities she assigns to the waitress and herself, respectively a Putonghua speaker who knows very little Cantonese, and a user of both Cantonese and Putonghua. Not until this point does the language and category negotiation between F5 and the waitress come to an end. Now the waitress can use Putonghua to confirm with F5 her order in details. Putonghua then becomes the medium until the closing of this encounter.

Similar to this exchange, the following sequence presents negotiation of language and language-based categories. However the negotiation is won by the customer.

Extract 14

	T ?? （大笑）	1	T ?? (laughter)
	F6 好清晰	2	F6 so clear
→	W 请问喝茶还是喝水呢？	3	W what would you like. Tea or water
→	**F6 饮茶，唔该**	4	F6 **tea (.) please**
	（2.0）		(2.0)
	X 你怎么这么有空，又来，昨天也吃饭	5	X how come you have so much free time (.) you dined out yesterday and today again
	T 我明天还有课	6	T I have classes tomorrow
	……		……
	X ??	7	X ??
	W 鳗鱼饭是吧，这个要三十多分钟的	8	W an eel set right (.) It will take more than 30 minutes
	X 那么久	9	X such a long time
→	F6 **两个哩个**	10	F6 **two for this one**
	W **哦**	11	W **mm**
	F6 **有饭嘅**	12	F6 **it comes with rice right**
	W **午市先有，晚上无嘅=**	13	W **only for lunch time (.) but not dinner=**
	F6 **啊=**	14	F6 **=ah=**
	Me **=哈，啫哩个无嘅**	15	Me **=what (.) it comes with no rice**
	F6 **要自己加**	16	F6 **we have to order rice separately**
	W **晚上无嘅，午市先有嘅，可以单点白饭**	17	W **no rice served with this set during dinner time (.) it's only for lunch time (.) you can order rice separately**

This example is extracted from the interview conversation where extracts 3 and 4 come from. In turn 2 when F6 is engaged in a conversation of four of us she uses Putonghua. It is likely that when the waiter approaches us and hears the medium we use, he chooses Putonghua to begin the service encounter. However, F6 immediately responds to him by switching to Cantonese, diverging from both the language choice of her preceding turn (turn 2) and the waiter's choice. She projects herself as a Cantonese speaker to the waiter, and the two-second silence without any request from the waiter about more information implies that he acknowledges her self-categorisation and the linguistic identity she

implicitly aligns him to – someone who understands Cantonese.

After the waiter serves us drinks we begin to order main courses. The earliest turn that is audible in this exchange is X's order uttered in Putonghua in turn 7, and her ordering hasn't completed in turn 9 but immediately is interrupted by F6's ordering in Cantonese, a language choice again diverging from that of the waiter and X's choice in the preceding turn (turn 9). F6 claims her linguistic identity as a Cantonese speaker and she reassures herself of the waiter's competence in understanding Cantonese. The waiter's receipt of this is demonstrated through immediate convergence to F6's language choice. By adopting the language choice preferred by F6 to provide his second pair part, the waiter also sorts himself into the category of Cantonese speaker, in addition to the category of understander of Cantonese, which he displayed in completing the sequence of drink ordering.

F6 sticks to using Cantonese to speak to the waiter and negotiates the medium of the conversation, both when she initiates a pair and when she gives the second-pair part. Despite the fact that the preceding ordering conversation between a Cantonese-speaker friend and the waiter occurs in Putonghua, when it's F6's turn to order she still chooses to use Cantonese. Her preference for Cantonese as the medium in a service encounter indexes her orientation to a linguistic identity of Cantonese-speaker, and her assumption that the waiter understands Cantonese.

Although F6 is a proficient speaker of both Cantonese and Putonghua, she insists on categorising herself as a Cantonese speaker through her language preference and language negotiation. It is interesting to compare the cases of F5 and F6. Both of them prefer using Cantonese and claim an identity of Cantonese speaker, nevertheless F5 is forced to take up her identity category as a Putonghua speaker to accomplish the activity of ordering while F6 makes the waiter adopt her language choice. Different from both cases, M2 in the following exchanges firstly aligns to an identity of Cantonese speaker but then shifts to self-categorising as a user of both Cantonese and Putonghua, and

accommodates to Putonghua-speaking servers' language choice and categorisation.

Extract 15

	M2 我觉得，梗係唔好取消啦（**14.0**）因为我已经融入咗，我觉得自己已经係广州人	1	M2 **I think (.) of course it shouldn't be replaced (14.0) as I've already integrated(.) I think I am a Guangzhou person**
	Me 啫係你会觉得，取消咗哩个话係，影响到自己嘅（**3.0**）影响到自己嘅，生活方式	2	Me **does it mean that in your opinion (.) Stopping broadcasting in Cantonese will affect your (3.0) affect your (.) lifestyle**
	M2（**3.0**）冇喔，反而乜都冇，反而对于我来讲唔会有任何影响，因为我唔睇电视	3	M2 **(3.0) no (.) it affects me nothing (.) On the contrary it makes no difference for me (.) cos I don't watch TV**
	Me 哦	4	Me **ah**
→	M2 但係，我就觉得首先係，拿，涉及好多政治因素就死啦，讲咗出来俾人闹，就係话，觉得里边有种，专政嘅意味係里边，啫，大一统，哩种，意味喺里边，呃，所以咧，噉样就唔系咁好**=**	5	M2 **but (.) Firstly I think (.) you know (.) when it is related to politics it's not good to comment on it (.) I will be criticized (.) I mean (.) This proposal contains a sense of dictatorship (.) That's (.) unification(.) Sort like this in it (.) uh (.) so(.) That's not good =**
→	Wai =不好意思啊 (服务员上菜)	6	W =excuse me ((a waitress serves food))
→	M2 另外一个**=**	7	M2 **and secondly=**
→	Me =其实我觉得，推广普通话已经搞咗感多年（**2.0**）	8	Me **=actually (.) PTH promotion has been implemented for so many years (2.0)**
→	M2 哩个咩来噶	9	M2 **what's this**
→	Wai 这是你们的，这个的三文鱼	10	W it's your (.) salmon dish that goes with this

This sequence comes from the conversation containing extract 1. In this sequence, M2 shares with me his view on the dispute of *Tuipu Feiyue*, and the medium of the conversation is Cantonese until a waitress interrupts his remarks. The waitress uses Putonghua to make her opening in turn 6, requesting our attention and intending to serve food. No oral response is provided to the waitress. In turn 7 M2 continues presenting his view on the dispute. This time I cut into his speech and propose my view, and it seems that very soon I become aware of my impolite and improper act as an interviewer, which might discourage my interviewee from continuing to share his opinion, as I suddenly cut off my speech and there is a two-second silence after that. Apparently M2 is not happy with this interruption. Instead of providing a second pair part to my speech, he initiates a

new turn and requests information about the dish just served to us. Immediately the waitress responds to his request by continuing to use Putonghua. It is very likely that during the conversation between M2 and I in turn 7 and turn 8 the waitress has been engaging in serving food, or else she could have left right after accomplishing her task, which would not enable her to be present and answer M2's question. This indicates that M2 orients to the waitress as a potential answerer, even if M2 may also orient to me to be the answerer.

In this regard, by using Cantonese for requesting information, M2 takes on the identity of a Cantonese speaker and categorises the waitress as one that is competent in understanding Cantonese. The immediate response indicates that both categories are acknowledged by the waitress. However, when the interview conversation within the restaurant approaches the end, M2 proposes the identity of a Putonghua speaker to another Putonghua-speaking waitress, in the following exchange.

Extract 16

→	M2	**我大学嗰阵时我做账本，一个月嘅花费係几多，跟住哩餐饭嘅花费係噉噉噉，我除翻个比例，除开每个月开销同而家[开销**	1	M2	**when I was an undergrad I recorded my monthly expenses(.) like bills for meals(.) now I divide this by my monthly expense and by current [monthly expense**
→	Wai	[一百三十八	2	Wai	[a hundred and thirty-eight
→	M2	可以刷卡吗	3	M2	can I pay by card
	Wai	可以刷卡，有密码吗	4	Wai	yes (.) does it have a pin code
	M2	有	5	M2	yes
	Wai	有密码那你要下去自己=	6	Wai	you need to go downstairs and=
	M2	=那我给现金算了	7	M2	=then I'd pay by cash

Prior to this sequence I ask for the bill but the summons and the response are not included in the recording. It seems that both I and the server only use body language and eye contact for communicating the request.

In this sequence when M2 explains why he should pay for the bill by using Cantonese, a

waitress comes and uses Putonghua to inform us how much the bill is. Her words interrupt M2's speech and overlaps with a few words of M2's. M2 shows his receipt of it by requesting to use a card for payment, meanwhile he switches to Putonghua to complete this request. The medium of the following interaction between M2 and the waitress becomes Putonghua. M2's switch to Putonghua shows that M2 not only is willing to take on the category the waitress ascribes him to (one who understands Putonghua), but also claims his identity as a Putonghua speaker.

In his interactions with two waitresses who both use Putonghua, M2 chooses different self-categorisations. He shifts from doing being a Cantonese speaker to a Putonghua speaker. Although in this extract, it would be more appropriate to remark that he in fact performs as a bilingual, as he was playing a role of a Cantonese speaker when the waitress interrupts his speech. And considering M2's statement in turn 1 of the previous extract that 'I've already integrated; I think I am a Guangzhou person', M2 self-categorises as a Guangzhou person discursively, as well as self-categorising as a user of both Cantonese and Putonghua through code choices. 'Doing being a bilingual' is perfectly consistent with claiming to be a Guangzhou person.

In the above discussed service encounters, both immigrants' and servers' code choices are very important to accomplishing transactions and activities. Taking on discourse identities such as questioner and answerer and performing situated institutional roles of servers and customers include making it clear which language or medium will enable the communication to proceed or/and strike an agreement on medium choice between both parties' in a multilingual context, especially where a norm of language use seems not to have been established and widely accepted. Hence the goal-oriented interactions can only be successful when immigrant customers classify themselves into linguistic identities which are acknowledged by servers in their interactions and when their categorisation of servers' linguistic identities also gets ratified. Language preference and negotiation is the instrument through which immigrant customers ascribe, align and construct their own linguistic identities, and negotiate servers' linguistic identities. These oriented-to

linguistic identities ground the flow of conversational activities including call for service, ordering, request for more information and selection details, affirmation, receipts of call, and so on.

In these extracts, immigrants categorise themselves as Cantonese users, and they get on well with servers' self-categorisation as Putonghua speakers as long as the conversations can continue. In addition to the identity as a Cantonese speaker, F5 also takes on the identity as a speaker of Putonghua when she realises her self-categorisation as a Cantonese speaker is not acknowledged by the server she engages with. M2 also ascribes himself to a Putonghua speaker which means he aligns to the identity as a user of both Cantonese and Putonghua.

7.6 Code choices, linguistic identities and the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese in service encounters in Guangzhou

Different from analysis sections 2-5, I introduce in this section my observation of the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese indicated by participants' language choices and their comments on their language use in my interviews conducted in restaurants or cafes, I compare the indicated power relations of two varieties with literature that deals with language practice in similar contexts, and I show a change in the power relations in this community. By doing this, I aim to emphasise the importance of the overall language environment of the community where the norm of language use in service encounters is embedded, because both the large language environment and the language-use-norm in service encounters condition participants' language choices and linguistic identity orientation, and these practices not only emerge within multi-layered contexts but also serve as participants' negotiation of or resistance to the current power relations of two varieties. That is, investigating their language choices and self- and other-categorization/identification help inform the statuses of Cantonese and Putonghua in this

language community. This observation is also driven by my motivation (section 1.1) to understand the language context of this community through investigating immigrants' language use, apart from my main interest in immigrants' language-use-related identities through investigating the language beliefs and ideologies of this community.

The commonality of immigrants' code choice patterns and linguistic identities in service encounters is that they ascribe to themselves the identity of 'Cantonese speaker' and ascribe to servers the identity of 'Cantonese user' or 'person who understands Cantonese', although in the meantime servers tend to ascribe the identity of 'Putonghua speaker' to themselves. This seems to reflect an ideology or a belief from the customers' perspective about language use in service encounters. Particularly, entering into a service encounter requires the servers to be at least able to understand Cantonese in order to communicate with Cantonese-speaking customers, but they show no concern over the use of Putonghua, which seems to imply the use of Putonghua being ordinary and widely accepted.

This is demonstrated by my participants' explicit arguments and their language negotiation in their conversations with servers. The first example is F5 who insists on using Cantonese to negotiate the language-of-interaction even after seeing my convergence to the waitress's language choice, and she does not give up speaking in Cantonese until she realises the waitress's lack of competence in understanding Cantonese. Evidence can also be found in her speech at 27'13'' in the interview recording. She says that she mainly uses Cantonese in daily life, and when she eats out and communicates with restaurant servers she also speaks Cantonese, because '服务员招人肯定要说广东话的' – 'it is a must for restaurants to hire those who can speak Cantonese'. Apparently F5 assumes a local language norm and she orients servers as Cantonese users, so she implicitly urges the waitress to conform to it through her language choice and linguistic identity ascription in the service encounter. F6 aligns to a similar language norm in the next sequence.

Extract 17

1	F6	好似我有时同男朋友出去吃饭，跟住咧，佢有时，譬如话，我哋两个睇好食乜了，佢就嗌个人过来跟住话要什么什么，跟住我就会，觉得有哋，唔知啊，好似有哋唔咩咯。就话你做乜唔用广东话落单，跟住佢话距惊人听唔明，我就话听唔明佢会再问啊嘛。	1	F6	**like sometimes I dined out with my boyfriend (.) after we decided what to order (.) he called the server in Putonghua.** I'd like to have something (.) **then I would (.) sometimes I would feel a bit (.) I don't know (.) a little un- (.) then I asked him why didn't you order in Cantonese (.) he answered that they might not understand (.) I said that they would ask you if they could not**

F6 shows displeasure with her boyfriend's choice of using Putonghua and orienting to an identity as a Putonghua speaker in the communication with servers. She sees using Cantonese for ordering the default choice unless servers cannot understand Cantonese.

Despite this belief in the prioritisation of Cantonese, immigrants in these extracts, except for F6, engage with servers who mainly use Putonghua and may or may not fully understand Cantonese. Only F6 meets a waiter who is a competent bilingual and accommodates to her use of Cantonese. F5 has to accommodate to the waitress's use of Putonghua to accomplish the ordering. Two more examples are the cases of M5 and M2. Their conversations with servers go smoothly when they speak Cantonese and servers use Putonghua.

Among all the 19 interviews I conducted, 16 interviews took place in restaurants, cafes or public space that involves service encounters. Service encounters in 4 interviews are shown here which contain use of code-switching. I was unable to record the service encounters within 2 interviews that were held in Cantonese. There was only 1 interview in which immigrant participants frequently switch codes among themselves, and Cantonese is the mutually acknowledged medium by servers and immigrants for their interaction right from the beginning. All others contain no code-switching and Putonghua is the medium of both service encounters and the surrounded interview conversations. It seems

that Putonghua is the main code selected by servers even when customers ascribe Cantonese speakers to themselves. Even though this small corpus does not represent the whole picture of language choice patterns in service encounters, this snapshot provides a brief understanding of situated language use which reflects particular traits of the wider language environment of this community during 2012-2016 when my interviews have been conducted. This snapshot contrasts with the language choice in the server-customer interactions observed in 2006, around the millennium and 1980-1990s in Guangzhou in the very little literature which focus on this issue.

1) Pan (2000a: 26) remarks that '**prior to the early 1990s**, Putonghua speakers always complained about the unfriendliness and even hostilities they encountered in the Guangzhou service industry. Very often service people simply ignored Putonghua-speaking customers'. This resonates with the attitude of excluding Putonghua-speaking outsiders presented in Chapter 5 and the discrimination against Putonghua speakers discussed in Chen (1989: 5).
2) Pan (2000a) reveals a division in service people's code choice in **late 1990s**— while service people in **state-run businesses** do not switch codes to accommodate Putonghua-speaking customers, those in **private businesses** made efforts to speak Putonghua despite having a low proficiency level in Putonghua. Salespeople's use of code-switching in private businesses aims to promote business transactions. She argues that the language barrier and hostilities created by the increased communications among speakers of different dialect groups due to the economic reform and population mobility are reduced, partly because business people in Guangzhou are motivated to attract customers by using Putonghua.
3) and her more recent observation **in 2000b** and **2000c** of service encounters in department stores and small shops shows that salespersons tried to accommodate Putonghua-speaking customers in one way or the other if they were able to speak Putonghua, and there is a tendency of mutual adjustment between service people and customers.
4) In **2006** van den Berg's observation of department stores shows small differences in

salespersons' and customers' code choices from that of studies in 1990s and 2000. Salespeople are found to be using more Cantonese and code-switching and have a lower level of using Putonghua than customers in service encounters, meanwhile each party tried to restrict their code choices to those that can be matched by the other. Salespeople's use of Cantonese decreases significantly when they shift from speaking to colleagues to speaking to customers, and this difference is compensated for by the increased use of Putonghua and code-switching.

When it comes to **2010s**, it is common in my observation that both servers in restaurants and cafes and customers are competent Putonghua users, however not all Putonghua-speaking servers in restaurants and cafes are capable of understanding or using Cantonese for accomplishing service or transactions, and sometimes customers have to switch code to accommodate Putonghua-speaking servers. The key to service encounters becomes whether servers have a basic level of understanding Cantonese, in addition to their competence in Putonghua, in order to accomplish transactions and provide service.

This difference from the previous studies should draw our attention to the symbolic roles of Putonghua and Cantonese in current Guangzhou. The previous studies offer evidence of a general trend of Putonghua popularisation, from the discrimination against the use of Putonghua and social groups who use it to the socio-economic value gradually invested to it particularly in business transactions, and that in the mutual language adjustment Putonghua-speaking customers are mainly those who are accommodated. The positions of Putonghua and Cantonese in this community are clearly reflected by and reinforced through these language practices. Putonghua has become so powerful and influential that competence in using Putonghua and understanding Cantonese should be sufficient for service people to fulfil their duties. Knowing how to speak Cantonese seems to be the icing on the cake for servers. Hence there are servers speaking Putonghua and immigrant customers speaking Cantonese separately in service encounters, and sometimes bilingual customers have to accommodate Putonghua-speaking servers, even when there is one

bilingual server who can accommodate Cantonese-speaking customers.

Facing this situation in which Putonghua has a higher status in terms of the practicality in service encounters, it is important to pay attention to the fact that when my immigrant participants play the roles of customers encountering Putonghua-speaking servers (who may also be immigrants but this may not bother participants), some of my participants prefer taking on the identity as a Cantonese speaker which is related to the identity of Guangzhou person. They do this to signal distancing from Putonghua speakers even if orienting to the identity as a Cantonese speaker sometimes may result in putting off a conversation, language negotiation, and shifting to a Putonghua-speaker identity before they can continue the transactions or service requests. Their language preference and identity orientation can be seen as ways in which they resist or negotiate the current power relations of Cantonese and Putonghua within the customer-server interactions. In other words, my participants go against the omnipresence of Putonghua use or challenge a predilection for Putonghua monolingualism in service industry through language choices and negotiation of self- and other- categorisation.

7.7 Conclusion: Code-switching and linguistic identities

In this chapter, I have shown three patterns of code choices through which immigrants talk their linguistic identities into being within interview conversations or service encounters inserted into interviews.

Firstly, immigrants use code-switching to show alignment with speakers of Cantonese. This pattern occurs in multi-party interviews involving bilinguals and monolingual Putonghua speakers. Switching to Cantonese is used by immigrants to mark a dispreferred second pair part to the preceding turn in Putonghua. Immigrants draw upon this act to align with Cantonese speakers as well as distance themselves from Putonghua monolinguals.

Secondly, medium repair can act as an instrument through which immigrants accomplish their linguistic identities. This pattern occurs in two-party interviews where a bilingual immigrant interacts with another bilingual. An identity of 'not-so-competent Cantonese speaker' is talked into being when immigrants cannot find a *mot juste* and draw upon self-repair in Putonghua and/or request the hearer for repair.

The third pattern occurs when immigrant participants speak to servers who self-categorise as Putonghua speakers and who ascribe Putonghua use to immigrants. In this case, the immigrants may a) not acknowledge the identity ascribed by servers and switch to Cantonese or insist on using Cantonese, 'doing being' Cantonese speakers, even though some servers cannot understand Cantonese and immigrants then have to switch to Putonghua so that their service requests can continue; or b) acknowledge the identity as a user of Putonghua ascribed by the servers, and use both Putonghua and Cantonese for 'doing being' bilinguals.

In short, what linguistic identities my bilingual immigrant participants talk into being depend upon what kind of language users they engage with. Whenever Putonghua monolinguals (including both people who can only use Putonghua and understand very little or no Cantonese, and servers who only speak Putonghua but can understand some Cantonese) are present, they align with Cantonese speakers, or self-categorise as Cantonese speakers or bilinguals through code choices. It seems that they highlight their competence in speaking Cantonese compared to Putonghua monolinguals, and see Cantonese as a highly-valued resource. In contrast, they show lack of confidence in using Cantonese when they interact with other bilinguals, and show anxiety about their difficulty finding a *mot juste* in Cantonese. This anxiety also shows that they attach importance to competence in using Cantonese.

Meanwhile, immigrant participants negotiate their own linguistic identities, presenting ambivalence towards self-identification. One immigrant talks an identity of

‘not-so-competent Cantonese speaker’ into being through medium repair, however he also tries to claim an identity of ‘competent Cantonese speaker’ through providing reformulation in Cantonese, not ratifying the proposed reformulation by the hearer, and showing that he is aware of the tiny and delicate differences in using Putonghua and Cantonese to convey what he wanted to express. Another participant aligns with Cantonese speakers in multi-party interviews, while in two-party interviews she uses Putonghua to emphasise the theme of conversations and Cantonese to mark other content as less important. This way of using Putonghua and Cantonese separately to ‘upgrade’ and ‘downgrade’ information (as ‘we-code’ vs. ‘they-code’) indicates a higher value attached to the use of Putonghua. This appears to conflict with her identification with Cantonese speakers on other occasions.

These patterns of code choices by which my participants take on their linguistic identities reveal the influence of language beliefs in this community upon them. On the one hand, they highlight the value of competence in using Cantonese and take on an identity of Cantonese user; on the other hand, it seems they internalised the superior status of Putonghua and this conditions their allocation of importance to speech in Putonghua and in Cantonese. These language beliefs revealed through their code choices are consistent with what they display in their views on the two language varieties in Chapter 6.

Chapter eight Conclusion

This study originated in my questioning about 'who I am' in my 'second hometown', Guangzhou. It is also related to another motivation, which is my belief that 'dialects' in China have been losing ground in various ways and have been subject to oppression. The invisible or semi-visible oppression is justified by bold political propaganda and disguised as 'good' intentions, such as improving communication or empowering *waidiren* in host cities, and it is acquiesced to, internalized or even reproduced by ordinary people, including both *bendiren* and *waidiren*, both dialects users and Putonghua monolinguals, both language professionals and lay people. The huge internal population mobility since the late 1980s, after the country began its economic reform and officially opened to the world, has been a catalyst for the oppression, and migrants are both subjects of and an excuse for this oppression. As a multilingual and multicultural state, the centralized political system faces big challenges when its population with its diverse languages and cultures moves around. Many of them gather in the most developed and diverse cities, which means these cities have a more heterogeneous population consisting of migrants and locals. To widely and rigorously promote the use of an official language in every social domain is less a problem-oriented approach to minimize communication gaps and produce economic development than an instrument for unifying and homogenizing a heterogeneous population as a part of the country's 'social harmony' agenda. In other words, the Putonghua Promotion Policy is a component of its long-term project to make regions with diverse cultures loyal to a centralised polity and the Party, especially highly-developed regions with a small degree of autonomy and highly-valued and prestigious cultures, such as Guangdong province and its capital Guangzhou. These meet resistance at the grass-roots level. The *Tuipu Feiyue* dispute demonstrates that local voices scapegoated migrants for causing and legitimating more activities and events being conducted in Putonghua and reducing the space

available for the use of Cantonese. This latter view, that migrants are the reason why Cantonese is declining, seems to correspond to the act of categorising Putonghua-speaking migrants as *laau* persons (see chapter 5). This act may derive from a sense of superiority held by *bendiren* regarding Cantonese, their successful economy and prestigious culture compared to people from other regions. However, at present it is hard not to associate it with a counteracting position opposing a large incoming immigrant population, the ever-increasing extent of the use of Putonghua, and concerns over the decline of Cantonese language.

In this study I set out to show, and have shown, how those people who fall under my general definition of second generation migrants, see, understand and represent this complex situation, and how they position and define themselves in it. In the following sections, I will present my methods and findings, my contributions to studies on internal migrants, bilingualism and language policy processes in contemporary China, the limitations of my research and suggestions for future research directions.

8.1 Summary of theories, methods and findings

A salient feature of multilingual societies that has an impact upon individuals' identities is the power relations of languages that condition the social positions of every individual and their language practices. There are forces that make efforts to maintain the stratification of languages and connected social groups (of language users) and to secure the social statuses of users of the most valued language varieties or linguistic forms and the associated symbolic resources they obtain (Bourdieu, 1991). However, the language reality of multilingual contexts is always 'heteroglossia' (Bakhtin, 2008), namely that there are tendencies which emphasise the value of heterogeneous and diverse language practices. This conflict is intertwined with and translates into uses of language beliefs and ideologies by individuals, social groups and institutions to acquire or maintain power of their social positions (Woolard,

1998a), or to justify or challenge particular language practices and social acts (Kroskrity, 2010) such as stereotyping, exclusion, or imposing discriminating identity categories upon immigrants. Immigrants may negotiate others' categorisation and claim their identities through using the self- and other-representation (Wodak, et al. 2009), very often reduced to a positive 'us' versus a negative 'them' (van Dijk, 1998). Apart from this strategy of 'Othering' (Coupland, 2010) those who categorise them, immigrants' negotiation of imposed identities in multilingual contexts (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) can also be achieved through affirming the positive features and uniqueness of themselves as finding 'a third space' (Bhabha, 1994). For instance, they may innovate 'in-between' or 'neither-nor' categories to celebrate the hybridity and complexity of their identities and language practices that are seen as 'abnormal' by the mainstream. This can also take the forms of re-defining taken-for-granted categories and creating identity categories for self-identification. In the meantime, conflicting language beliefs and ideologies ground speakers' negotiation of code choices and linguistic identities when they accomplish ongoing talk/action in daily interactions. Code choices can be employed to show individuals' alignment with particular groups of language users, to highlight or attenuate the importance of information and indicate the in-group and out-group codes (Sebba and Wootton, 1998), and can be used as 'category-bound activities' (Sacks, 1986a) to negotiate the categories imposed by interactants and make self-categorisation. Engaging in these processes of constantly negotiating self- and other-categorisation, immigrants are participating in a dialectics of external-internal identification (Jenkins, 2008) through both representations of selves and others and code choices or language alteration in interactions.

Therefore, I proposed to combine perspectives of critical discourse studies and conversation analysis to investigate immigrants' language practices and identity construction in multilingual Guangzhou, where the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese have critical influence on immigrants. A CDS perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Fairclough, 2015) aims to study immigrants' representation of their life stories and their stances (Du Bois, 2007) towards others' actions towards them,

towards others and themselves and relevant language beliefs. An integrated framework of a sequential approach to CA (Auer, 1995) and membership categorisation analysis (Sacks, 1986a) serves to reveal their patterns of code choices in talk in relation to their alignment with particular groups of language users, their self-categorisation as users of particular code(s), and orientation to particular languages as in-group codes. In order to investigate these, I conducted individual interviews and group interviews (focus groups) set in restaurants or cafes with twenty-three second generation immigrants in Guangzhou, who were born and bred in Guangzhou to parents from other regions or moved to Guangzhou at a very young age with parents from other regions.

Based on audio-recordings of these interviews, I have explored immigrants' narratives of language-practice-related life stories, and examined how immigrants drew upon discursive strategies (Wodak, et al. 2009) of stancetaking (Jaffe, 2009) to evaluate and take up positions towards themselves and others, events, actions and language beliefs and ideologies, and displayed alignment with or identified with particular individuals or social groups. I have shown in Chapter 5 that there is a local language belief in Guangzhou that invests higher value in Cantonese than that in Putonghua. The use of Putonghua has been enregistered as an index of an immigrant and many Guangzhou *bendiren* attach a derogatory category of *laau* to immigrants and Putonghua users. Immigrant participants reported to have been categorised as *laau* persons in schools, workplaces and business transactions due to their use of Putonghua or inability to use Cantonese. The categorisation is consequential, as they were excluded by or discriminated against by Cantonese-speaking classmates, teachers in their schools and blamed for using Putonghua by customers in workplaces, or they intentionally chose to speak Cantonese in business transactions in order to avoid being cheated.

In their representations of these experiences, they constructed identities through negotiating the imposed categories in three ways. Firstly, they resisted the categorisation by a) showing negative feelings such as anger towards it and a desire to

dissociate from it; b) describing those categorisers as self-referring as ‘us’ and constructing a Cantonese-speaking in-group, and demarcating themselves from and attributed negatively-evaluated features to these categorisers; c) constructing power difference and a confrontation between these two parties through using the Putonghua second personal pronoun *ni* vs. the third personal pronoun *ta* for reference. Secondly, some participants negotiated the categorisation in a minimal sense. They problematized the categorisation and the connected exclusion, but they may not question it or may even find excuses for categorisers by acknowledging the importance of Cantonese or highlighting a necessity for immigrants to integrate. Thirdly, some other participants negotiated the imposed category through re-defining it, investing positive implications in it, and creating a new category of Guangdong/Guangzhou *laau* for self-categorisation. Overall, participants shared a common act in their negotiation of claiming that they are competent Cantonese speakers, attempting to disprove the assumption that they cannot speak Cantonese on which the categorisation was grounded.

Although their experience of discrimination was mainly due to a local language belief in the higher value of Cantonese, I found that immigrant participants displayed a general orientation to Cantonese, as I showed in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 6 I have shown that all participants who commented on the *Tuipu Feiyue* proposal were opposed to its suggestion to replace Cantonese with Putonghua for broadcasting, and the underlying ideologies of unification and assimilation that serve to maintain the hegemony of Putonghua. Most participants did not stratify the two language varieties, rather they pointed out that the use of Cantonese has been stigmatised and condemned. Not only displaying identification with Cantonese, they also show alignment with the population, culture and community of Guangzhou. However, they did not generate consistent identification with Guangzhou people or *bendiren*, instead they embraced various interpretations of the concept of Guangzhou people, presented diverse, fluid and complex self-identifications. They managed to reconcile these and felt secure about their unique identities. Their identity reconciliation demonstrated as a)

assigning different identity categories to different parts of the self and innovating identity categories for self-identification, b) demarcating oneself from *bendiren* while showing desire to be affiliated to them; c) self-identifying with both one's place of origin and Guangzhou and dissociating from *waidiren*, d) shifting from orienting to immigrants to aligning with Guangzhou *bendiren*, and e) staying away from any identity category options and self-identifying as a person on the margin.

Upon arriving at these findings, I wondered if participants' use of two language varieties in interactions could inform me about other features of their identities and can resonate with their constructed identities through narratives. In Chapter 7 I showed how I employed a sequential approach to conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis to examine their code choices and code-switching in ongoing interactions and how these contribute to accomplishing identities. I have shown that whenever Putonghua monolinguals were present in interactions, participants aligned with Cantonese speakers, or self-categorised as Cantonese speakers or bilinguals through code choices. In contrast, they showed lack of confidence in using Cantonese when they interacted with other bilinguals, and showed anxiety about their difficulty to find a *mot juste* in Cantonese. They employed three patterns of code choices to construct these linguistic identities. Firstly, in multi-party interviews involving bilinguals and monolingual Putonghua speakers, participants used Cantonese to mark a dispreferred second pair part to the preceding turn in Putonghua, and to align with Cantonese speakers as well as distance themselves from Putonghua monolinguals. Secondly, in two-party interviews where a bilingual immigrant interacted with another bilingual, when immigrants could not find a *mot juste* they drew upon self-repair in Putonghua and/or requested the hearer for repair and talked into being an identity of 'not-so-competent Cantonese speaker'. Thirdly, when participants spoke to servers who self-categorised as Putonghua speakers and ascribed Putonghua use to participants, the immigrants either a) did not acknowledge the identity ascribed by servers and switched to Cantonese or insisted on using Cantonese, 'doing being' Cantonese speakers; or b) acknowledged the identity as a

user of Putonghua ascribed by the servers, and used both Putonghua and Cantonese and accomplished an identity as a bilingual. In addition, participants showed ambivalence in their linguistic identities, including using Putonghua as ‘we-code’ vs. Cantonese as ‘they-code’ in two-party conversations whilst switching to Cantonese to align with Cantonese speakers in multi-party interactions, and refuting the preceding accomplished identity in medium repair through not ratifying the reformation by interactants.

In brief, by juxtaposing CDS and CA, I have found that immigrant participants’ identity construction can be understood as constantly engaging in a dialectics of external-internal identification that is associated with their language beliefs and local and national language ideologies. They resisted the categorisation of themselves as *laau* persons due to their use of Putonghua, and negotiated this through aligning with various individuals and social groups, re-defining the derogatory category, innovating identity categories for self-identification, and claiming their competence in using Cantonese. They also dissociated themselves from categories of *waidiren*, and aligned with diverse, hybrid and complex social groups and celebrated the seemingly contradictory but unique self-identifications. They also used Cantonese to show alignment with Cantonese speakers and used code choices as category-bound activities to self-categorise as Cantonese speakers or bilinguals. Underlying their identity negotiation is a general orientation to Cantonese and acknowledgement of the higher social status of Putonghua. Additionally, some of them also emphasised the value of being proficient speakers of both Cantonese and Putonghua or its superiority over monolinguals.

8.2 Significance of this study

In this section, I suggest that my study makes contributions in three fields, namely,

bilingualism, language policy, and migrantion studies in China.

8.2.1 Implications for studies on bilingualism and language policy in China

This study makes its main contributions to the field of bilingual studies in mainland China in two respects. First, I have shown how the Chinese national language policy of Putonghua promotion and its underlying monolingual ideologies meet bilingual reality and a resisting belief that the value of Cantonese is higher than that of Putonghua in the language community of Guangzhou. The observations I have made can provide a good entry point into studying Chinese language policy as multi-layered processes and the various policymakers in these processes. In addition to the explicit efforts to make and promote the national language policy by the government, how ordinary people use language and how the underlying language beliefs are reproduced by their language practices are also components of language policy processes (see Spolsky 2009: 4–5; Bonacina, 2012, ‘practised language policy’; section 2.4). That said, written language policy in documents may or may not be consistent with language beliefs and/or real language use.

I have found that Guangzhou *bendiren* imposed the *laau* category on Putonghua users and immigrants and excluded them due to their use of Putonghua in daily communications and within various institutions. This revealed a belief in the superiority of Cantonese over Putonghua, which to different extents drove bilingual immigrants to consciously use Cantonese. Bilingual immigrants’ preference for using Cantonese in service encounters also demonstrated that they assigned value to Cantonese, and implies their beliefs in the appropriateness and servers’ obligation to use and understand Cantonese. This resonates with a few participants’ reported belief in a norm of using Cantonese in service encounters. In the school context, the use of Cantonese in and out of the classroom was shown to be normal. Teacher participants normalised their insertion of Cantonese into Putonghua in the classroom by saying its

purpose is to clarify materials and help students understand them, even though using this translanguaging strategy breaks the rule of Putonghua-only instruction. It is a sign that teachers as powerful decision-makers appropriated and negotiated the national language policy at the local level and attempted to 'wedge open local ideological space' (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 509) in the Putonghua monolingual school context to develop or maintain the use of Cantonese.

These language practices in public communications, service industries and education have been taken as creating *de facto* language policies. Not only school teachers, but also any other people can be agents (Johnson, 2013) in language policy processes; particularly, they are powerful policymakers able to resist or challenge state language policies and create language policies to enforce or promote their language beliefs at a micro-level. Apart from micro- and macro-levels, I have also shown that meso-level policies matter. The participant who reported entering a primary school where all the students and teachers used Cantonese and Cantonese was used for instruction revealed the school's real language policy as Cantonese monolingualism, which went against the national language policy. Meso-level language policy can, however, also be negotiated through micro-level language practice. In the case where my participant as a bank teller spoke to customers in Putonghua, conforming to the language policy of her bank branch, two of her customers were reported to have demanded that she speak Cantonese and discriminated against her due to her use of Putonghua. It can be seen that the Putonghua Promotion Policy at the national level is constantly implemented and negotiated through language beliefs and practices by institutions and individuals at the micro- and meso-levels.

The *de facto* language policies do not imply that Putonghua is less powerful than Cantonese. Putonghua is a prestigious variety and, practically speaking, seen as more valuable than Cantonese in many contexts. This is acknowledged by participants, and illustrated by their reported language-use-habits when interacting with school friends, code choices in public spaces with strangers and in workplaces, and the importance of

Putonghua in reported family language practices. Moreover, recorded service encounters showed that Putonghua was the common code in the restaurants and cafés where I conducted my interviews. Particularly, some of my participants had to switch to Putonghua to accommodate servers who are non-Cantonese speakers before ordering food or service requests could continue. As a case study of bilingual/multilingual communities of China where huge numbers of migrants reside, this research can tell us the features of a particular type of language environment, which is very likely to resemble that of a few other such cities, such as Shanghai, Nanjing and Xiamen. On the one hand, the official language Putonghua has superior social status. While Cantonese is used in various walks of life, this does not indicate a threat to the authority and the wide distribution of Putonghua. On the other hand, even if the (over-rigorous) implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy and the reproduction of its underlying ideologies have restricted or will restrict the space for the use of Cantonese and children's acquisition of this variety, there were and are individuals and social groups at the local community making efforts to counteract this influence. They strive for maintaining the use of Cantonese and they welcome bilingualism instead of the dichotomy of two varieties. This research provides evidence that the power relations of the local language variety and the official language Putonghua can reach subtle harmony in cities with vast immigrant populations, considering the interplay between the governmental and institutional intervention of language use and individuals' and social groups' negotiation of language choices.

Second, my research adds to the few existing bilingual studies which take a conversation analytic approach to investigate code-switching between Putonghua and Cantonese (e.g. Pan, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, on politeness and code-switching and whose data were collected in the late 1990s). My study is probably the first to draw on an integrated framework of Membership Categorisation Analysis and Conversation Analysis to discover how linguistic identities can be accomplished through code-switching. Specifically, I have presented that investigating the procedural

sequentiality of talk and speakers' code choices in face-to-face interviews helps to reveal speakers' alignment with particular group of language users. Approaching preference-related code-switching as linguistic-identity-bound activity is fruitful for understanding immigrants' self-categorisation as Cantonese speakers or bilinguals in service encounters in restaurants or cafés. I demonstrated a new example of how Conversation Analysis, as an enquiry and approach oriented towards understanding the organizational structure of talk emerging from analysing English data, can be gainfully applied to analysing Chinese bilingual data and producing convincing findings about linguistic identity construction.

I combined this broad approach of conversation analysis of code alteration with discursive analysis of views on language practices, which provided a new route for investigating language beliefs and ideologies of a bilingual community in China. By juxtaposing what people said and implied in their views and how they actually used language varieties in interactions, it is possible to show a complex picture of both individuals' language practices and the language ecology of the community of Guangzhou which they are embedded within. And this integrated approach can also be applied to other bilingual/multilingual communities of China for understanding the power relations of the official language Putonghua and regional varieties as well as non-Han (ethnic minority) languages.

8.2.2 Implications for internal migrant studies in China

My research takes an innovative perspective to study internal migrants in China. The majority of contemporary China's internal migrant studies focused on the institutional and social structural impacts (such as the *hukou* (household registration) system, related economic situation and social welfare, formal education) upon migrant workers and forced migrants in huge water transfer projects or hydroelectric projects,

and professional migrants' integration and sense of belongingness to culture, social status, occupation, and region. I examined how the discrepancy between China's state language policy of Putonghua Promotion and the local language beliefs in the value of Cantonese in Guangzhou translated into language practices that influenced second generation immigrants' life experiences and conditioned their language use in daily life. This was illustrated by Guangzhou *bendiren*'s imposition of a derogatory category *laau* to immigrants and exclusion of them in schools, workplaces and trade business due to their use of Putonghua. As the first attempt to research this act which has long been taken for granted, my study calls for attention to value-laden language practices permeating daily life that have been seen as normal but have real impact upon migrants' lives. I highlighted that in the bilingual community of Guangzhou the symbolic power of Putonghua and Cantonese largely mediated migrants' language choices under various circumstances.

Meanwhile, I see immigrant participants as agents who were able to negotiate the Cantonese monolingual ideology imposed to them, through resisting, challenging and de-constructing the *laau* categories and claiming that they are competent Cantonese speakers. They also attempted to impose their language beliefs on others, by insisting on using Cantonese to speak to Putonghua-speaking servers. In relation to this, an overall orientation to Cantonese manifested that immigrants' alignment with the local language variety Cantonese is a constituting part of their identification with the local community and contributes to their sense of security about fluid, complex and unique self-identifications. The promotion of Putonghua may bring better communications for immigrants, however, creating chances for them to know about and develop affection for local language varieties can also help them live in the local community with ease and feel less difficulty in managing their self-definitions. These perspectives reminded us of the important role that language practices and beliefs play in immigrants' life in bilingual communities in China, that problems in language use should never be underestimated as it is intertwined in other walks of life. This will broaden our understanding of what problems immigrants may meet, and provide

helpful reference for policy makers and the implementation of policies in institutions about how to help immigrants deal with communications, especially in terms of learning the local language varieties of bilingual/multilingual communities and managing the relationship between Putonghua and other regional varieties.

8.3 Reflections and limitations

As discussed in Section 3.4, my position as an insider brought both benefits and challenges to this research. I have elaborated the problems and how I addressed them in the stages of data collection and analysis. When I look back in this final stage on how I positioned myself in the whole process, I find that in the course of encouraging participants to talk about their experiences and views on language practices and events, my viewpoint and wording influenced what they revealed to me and how they described their experiences in the interviews to some extent. However, I managed not to make judgement of my participants' views based on their beliefs and particular ideologies, and I did not impose my language beliefs and opinions on them. Rather I encouraged them to say aloud what they hesitated to express and I showed in the analysis the potential influence that some of my speech may have had on what ideas they expressed and how.

Considering the small group of participants I recruited, what I showed regarding the complexity of language practices, local language beliefs and the characteristics of migrants' identity construction is only a small part of the larger picture. What is omitted from this study is much more than what I have been able to include. For example, at the stage of participant recruitment and pre-communications I shared my experience of being called *laau* by *bendiren* classmates with a potential participant and asked for his or her view on it, and the reply was: '*Laau* is just a word, and you cannot bear it?' I suddenly felt offended and could not continue the conversation. If I

had included this person among my participants, I could have shown another viewpoint on the exclusion of migrants, migrants' integration and social identity construction. Furthermore, only around half of my interviews contain code-switching, which may have been conditioned by the particular interview setting and participants in the interviews. Also, only some of the code-switching carries meanings that are relevant to participants' self-identification. I do not, however, think this represents how often migrants in Guangzhou or the population of Guangzhou switch codes in daily life. Indeed, code-switching seems to serve many varied goals in daily interactions in Guangzhou.

Furthermore, in the present study, I have not managed to show possible changes in the meaning of the *laau* category. Most of the participants recalled their experiences of categorisation in their school lives or during the early days of their time in Guangzhou, which was at least ten years before the interviews were conducted. Three other participants reported their current experiences of categorisation, in the workplace or trading situations. Therefore, there is no diachronic comparison in the same contexts. The current situation may have changed (a lot). For instance, teachers showed that more and more students nowadays use Putonghua after class, and even at home. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a new generation of children who were born in Guangzhou who use Putonghua as their first language. If Cantonese speakers are becoming fewer among the younger generation and Putonghua is their main language, nowadays the categorisation and exclusion of Putonghua speakers may not occur as often as it used to. To put it in another way, whether these acts still occur (a lot) could evidence changes in the power relations of Putonghua and Cantonese.

8.4 Future directions

The current study makes a start in understanding the language environment and language change in Guangzhou related to the long-term promotion of Putonghua and

a huge influx of population. Interviews that span four years (2012–2015) can only show a relatively static view of what people living in this city think about and how they use language. As my second-generation migrant participants recalled their lives no earlier than the mid-1990s, their narratives can only capture the language conditions of this city some 20 years after China started its economic reform, population mobility began and the project of Putonghua Promotion resumed after the Cultural Revolution. If I were to try to show how language has changed, I would also include first-generation migrants and compare two generations' views and language practices. In fact, in my interviews with two generations of two families that are not included in this thesis, first-generation migrants recalled language-related experiences that are different from what I have shown so far. For example, one reported being categorized as *laau* by her colleagues in a state-owned factory, even though she spoke Cantonese, but a variety of Cantonese from Guangxi province and thus different from the standard Cantonese of Guangzhou. Another who came to Guangzhou even earlier told me how she learned to speak Cantonese with the help of her colleagues. And in one interview with two generations of immigrants from one family, when both showed concern over the decline in Cantonese, the daughter commented that all students who want to come to Guangzhou to study should pass a Cantonese test. This idea resembles what a lot of European countries have been doing to limit immigration.

Meanwhile, family is an important field for language maintenance and shift and migrant parents face the challenges of preserving minority/ home languages and negotiating use of the majority languages of the host city. Immigrants' family language policy plays a critical role in the language environment and change in the whole city. In my research context, it is critical to ask, beforehand: which is the minority language and which is the majority one? This current study is a simplified representation of the language environment of Guangzhou, focusing only on Putonghua and Cantonese. There are other language varieties used in both the public and private sectors. For example, Hakka and Teochew are two varieties that have high status in Guangdong province and Guangzhou, and a large group of immigrants speak

these two varieties as their first or home languages. These two varieties also represent two cultures that are influential in Guangdong, in addition to the Guangfu culture associated with Cantonese. The different degrees of importance endowed to three varieties make up the complex power relations of languages in Guangzhou. As just mentioned, speakers of other varieties of Cantonese also make up a proportion of immigrants in Guangzhou. The local belief in the high value of Cantonese may be accompanied by partitioning processes within Cantonese itself, characterised as a hierarchy of sub-varieties. How the Putonghua Promotion campaign has managed to continue expanding its space in the encounter with these 'strong dialects' in Guangzhou and Guangdong is a question to think about. Only by including all these particularities and complexities can I paint a full picture of the language environment and migrants' conditions in Guangzhou.

References

Adriansen, H. K., & Madsen, L. M. (2009). Studying the making of geographical knowledge: The implications of insider interviews. *Norsk geografisk tidsskrift–Norwegian journal of geography*, *63*(3), 145-153.

Afridi, F. Li, S. & Ren, Y. (2015). Social identity and inequality: The impact of China's *hukou* system. *Journal of public economics*. 123, 17-29.

Agha, A. (2003). The social life of cultural value. *Language & communication*, *23*(3), 231-273.

Agha, A. (2005). Voice, footing, enregisterment. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, *15*(1), 38-59.

Ainsworth, S., & Hardy, C. (2004). Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother?. *Critical discourse studies*, *1*(2), 225-259.

Álvarez-Cáccamo, C. (1996). The power of reflexive language (s): Code displacement in reported speech. *Journal of pragmatics*, *25*(1), 33-59.

Álvarez-Cáccamo, C. (1998). From 'switching code' to 'code-switching': Towards a reconceptualization of communicative codes. In P. Auer, (ed.). *Code-switching in conversation*. London: Routledge. 29-50.

Aston, G. (1988). Interactional speech in service encounters. In G. Aston, (ed.). *Negotiating service: Studies in the discourse of bookshop encounters*. Bologna: CLUEB. 73-98.

Auer, Peter. (1984a). On the meaning of conversational code-switching. In P. Auer, and A. di Luzio (eds.). *Interpretive sociolinguistics*. Gunter narr verlag Tubingen. 87-112.

Auer, P. (1984b). Introduction: John Gumperz' approach to contextualization. In P. Auer, & A. di Luzio, (eds.). *The contextualization of language*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing. 1-37.

Auer, P. (1984c). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John benjamins publishing.

Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (eds.). *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press. 115-135.

Auer, P. (1996). From context to contextualization. *Links & letters 3*. 11-28.

Auer, P. (1998). Introduction: Bilingual conversation revisited. In Auer, P. (ed.). *Code-switching conversation.* London: Routledge.1-24.

Auerbach, C., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis*. New York: New York university press.

Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words. The William James lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955.* Oxford, New York: Oxford university press.

Bai, J. (1994). Language attitude and the spread of standard Chinese in China. *Language problems and language planning*, *18*(2), 128-138.

Bailey, B. (2001). Dominican-American ethnic/racial identities and United States social categories. *International migration review*, *35*(3), 677-708.

Bailey, B. (2007), Heteroglossia and boundaries, In Heller, M. (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 257-74). Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan.

Bailey, B. (2012), Heteroglossia. In Martin-Jones, M., Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (eds), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism.* London: Routledge. 499-507.

Baker, C.D. (2002). Ethnomethodological analyses of interviews. In J. Gubrium, & J. Holstein, (eds.). *Handbook of interview research: context and method*. London: Sage. 777-796.

Baker, P. (2006). *Using corpora in discourse analysis.* London: Continuum.

Baker, P. (2010). *Sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh university press.

Baker, P. (2016). The shapes of collocation. *International journal of corpus linguistics*, *21*(2), 139-164.

Baker, P., & Potts, A. (2013). 'Why do white people have thin lips?' Google and the perpetuation of stereotypes via auto-complete search forms. *Critical discourse*

studies, *10*(2), 187-204.

Bakhtin, M.M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four essays*. Holquist, M. (ed.) Emerson, C & Holquist, M. (trans). Austin: University of Texas press.

Barnes, D. (1982). Nationalism and the Mandarin movement: The first half-century. In R. L. Cooper (ed.). *Language spread: Studies in diffusion and social change.* Washington: Center for applied linguistics. 260–290.

Becker, C., Chasin, L., Chasin, R., Hazig, M. & Roth, S. (1995). From stuck debate to new conversation on controversial issues: A report from the public conversations project. *Journal of feminist family therapy*. 7, 143-163.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture.* London: Routledge.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

Biq, Y. O. (1991). The multiple uses of the second person singular pronoun *ni* in conversational Mandarin. *Journal of pragmatics*, *16*(4), 307-321.

Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and power in a multilingual world.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing.

Blix, B. H. (2015). "Something decent to wear": Performances of being an insider and an outsider in indigenous research. *Qualitative inquiry*, *21*(2), 175-183.

Block, D. (2000). Problematizing interview data: Voices in the mind's machine? *TESOL quarterly*. 34(4), 757-763.

Blom, J.P. & Gumperz, J.J. (1986). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. In J.J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes. (eds.). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. Oxford and New York: Basil blackwell. 407-434.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Blommaert, J., & Verschueren, J. (1998). *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. London, New York: Routledge.

Bloor, M., Frankland, J., Thomas, M., and Robson, K. (2001). *Focus groups in social research*. London: Sage.

Bonacina-Pugh, F. (2012). Researching 'practiced language policies': Insights from

conversation analysis. *Language policy*, 1-22.

Bosker, M. Brakman, S. Garrestsen, H. & Schramm, M. (2012). Relaxing hukou: Increased labor mobility and China's economic geography. *Journal of urban economics*. 72, 252-266.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge: Polity press.

Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics. Quarterly publication of the international pragmatics association (IPrA)*, *21*(4), 493-525.

Briggs, C. L. (2003). Interviewing, power/knowledge, and social inequality. In J.F. Gubrium, & J.A. Holstein. (eds.). *Postmodern interviewing*, 243-254.

Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. (2015). Interviews: learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing (3rd edition). London: SAGE.

Brown, W. (2014). A map of China, by stereotype. *Foreign policy*. http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/03/04/a-map-of-china-by-stereotype/. Accessed on 2 November 2016.

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and society*, *29*(1), 1-47.

Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal hygiene*. New York: Routledge.

Cao, Q. (2014). Introduction: Legitimisation, resistance and discursive struggles in contemporary China. In Q. Cao, H. Tian, & P. Chilton. (eds.). *Discourse, politics and media in contemporary China.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing. 1-24.

Cashman, H. R. (2005). Identities at play: Language preference and group membership in bilingual talk in interaction. *Journal of pragmatics*, *37*(3), 301-315.

Chan, K. & Buckingham, W. (2008). Is China abolishing the hukou system? *The China quarterly*. 195, 582-606.

Chen, E. 陈恩泉 (ed.). (1989). *双语双方言 Shuangyu shuangfangyan*. Guangzhou: Sun Yat-sen University Press.

Chen, F. 陈沸宇. (2010). 语言学家热议语言多样性 未来我们怎样"说话". *People's daily.* Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Chen, H. (2008). 广东“反地方主义”运动与派系冲突 1949-1975 年 (Guangdong ‘fandifang zhuyi’ yundong yu paixi chongtu zhi fenxi 1949-1975 nian). *Zhongguo dalu yanjiu*. 51(3), 1-36.

Chen, P. (1999). *Modern Chinese: History and sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheng, M. 程美宝. (2006). 地域文化与国家认同 (*Diyu wenhua yu guojia rentong*). Beijing: SDX joint publishing.

Chi, W. 池伟添. (2015). 统战、推普和粤港两地的粤语保育 (Tongzhan, tuipu yu yuegang liangdi de yueyu baoyu). https://www.thestandnews.com/society/%E7%B2%B5%E8%AA%9E%E7%9A%84%E6%94%BF%E6%B2%BB-%E7%B5%B1%E6%88%B0-%E6%8E%A8%E6%99%AE%E5%92%8C%E7%A9%97%E6%B8%AF%E5%85%A9%E5%9C%B0%E7%9A%84%E7%B2%B5%E8%AA%9E%E4%BF%9D%E8%82%B2/. Accessed on 21 September 2016.

Chilton, P., Tian, H., & Wodak, R. (2010). Reflections on discourse and critique in China and the West. *Journal of language and politics*, *9*(4), 489-507.

Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh university press.

Codo, E. (2008). Interviews and questionnaires. In Li, Wei & Moyer, Melissa. (eds.). *The Blackwell guide to research methods in bilingualism and multilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing. 158-176.

Coupland, N. (2010). ‘Other’ representation. In J. Jaspers, J. Verschueren, & J. Östman. (eds.). *Society and language use*. Amsterdam: John benjamins. 241-260.

Court, D., & Abbas, R. (2013). Whose interview is it, anyway? Methodological and ethical challenges of insider–outsider research, multiple languages, and dual-researcher cooperation. *Qualitative inquiry*, *19*(6), 480-488.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching?. *The modern language journal*, *94*(1), 103-115.

Cummins, J. (2003). Challenging the construction of difference as deficit: Where are

identity, intellect, imagination, and power in the new regime of truth? In P.P. Trifonas (ed.). *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social justice*. London: Routledge. 39-58.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, *20*(1), 43-63.

De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing.

Deng, X. 邓圩. (2010). 广州激辩"粤语保卫战" (Guangzhou jibian yueyu baoweizhan). *People's daily.* http://news.xinhuanet.com/2010-07/19/c_12345942_3.htm. Accessed on 26 February 2014.

Denzin, N. K. (2001). The reflexive interview and a performative social science. *Qualitative research*, *1*(1), 23-46.

Deppermann, A. (2013, September). Interviews as text vs. interviews as social interaction. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative social research* (Vol. 14, No. 3).

Dong, J. (2010). The enregisterment of Putonghua in practice. *Language & communication*, *30*(4), 265-275.

Dong, J., & Blommaert, J. (2009). Space, scale and accents: Constructing migrant identity in Beijing. *Multilingua*. 28, 1-24.

Doran, M. (2004). Negotiating between Bourge and Racaille: Verlan as youth identity practice in suburban Paris. In A. Pavlenko, & A. Blackledge, (eds.). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual matters. 93-124.

Drange, E. M. D., Hasund, I. K., & Stenström, A. B. (2014). "Your mum!" Teenagers' swearing by mother in English, Spanish and Norwegian. *International journal of corpus linguistics*, *19*(1), 29-59.

Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew, & J. Heritage, (eds.). *Talk at work*. 3-65. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson, (Ed.). *Stancetaking in*

discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction. 139-182.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *8*(1), 54-63.

Edley, N. & Litosseliti, L. (2010). Contemplating interviews and focus groups. In L. Litosseliti, (ed.). *Research methods in linguistics*. London: Continuum. 155-179.

Fairclough, N. (1985). Critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis. *Journal of pragmatics*, *9*(6), 739-763.

Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd edition). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2014). What is CDA? Language and power twenty-five years on. http://www.academia.edu/8429277/What_is_CDA_Language_and_Power_twenty-five_years_on. Accessed 30 March 2016.

Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power* (3rd edition). Abingdon: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In Van Dijk, T. *Discourse as social interaction*. London: SAGE. 258-284.

Fan, C.C. & Sun, M. (2008). Regional Inequality in China, 1978-2006. *Eurasian geography and economics*. 49 (1), 1-18.

Fan, C.C. (2001). Migration and labor-market returns in urban China: results from a recent survey in Guangzhou. *Environment and planning A*. 33, 479-508.

Farquhar, C. and Das, R. (1999). Are focus groups suitable for 'sensitive' topics? In R. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger, (eds.). *Developing focus group research*. London: SAGE. 47-63.

Faure, D. (2007). *Emperor and ancestor: State and lineage in South China*. Redwood City: Stanford university press.

Fitzgerald, R. (2015). Membership categorization analysis. In K. Tracy, C. Ilie, & T.

Sandel, (eds.). *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction*. John wiley & sons, Inc. DOI: 10.1002/9781118611463/wbielsi018.

Flowerdew, J., Li, D. C., & Tran, S. (2002). Discriminatory news discourse: some Hong Kong data. *Discourse & society*, *13*(3), 319-345.

Flowerdew, J., & Richardson, J. E. (eds.). (2017). *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Fontana, A. & Frey, J.H. (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. In N.K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln, (eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research*. 61-106. London: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1971). Orders of discourse. *Information (International social science council)*, *10*(2), 7-30.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical inquiry*, *8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller. (eds.). *Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: The university of Chicago press. 87-104.

Gabrielatos, C., & Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English linguistics*, *36*(1), 5-38.

Gafaranga, J. (2000). Medium repair vs. other-language repair: Telling the medium of a bilingual conversation. *International journal of bilingualism*, *4*(3), 327-350.

Gafaranga, J. (2001). Linguistic identities in talk-in-interaction: Order in bilingual conversation. *Journal of pragmatics*, *33*(12), 1901-1925.

Gafaranga, J. (2005). Demythologising language alternation studies: Conversational structure vs. social structure in bilingual interaction. *Journal of pragmatics*, *37*(3), 281-300.

Gafaranga, J., & Torras, M. C. (2001). Language versus medium in the study of bilingual conversation. *International journal of bilingualism*, *5*(2), 195-219.

Gafaranga, J., & Torras, M. C. (2002). Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of codeswitching. *International journal of bilingualism*, *6*(1), 1-22.

Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. Cambridge: Academic press.

Gan, Y. 甘于恩 (2008). 粤语多元论 (Yueyu duoyuan lun). *Xueshu yanjiu*. 8, 147-151.

Ganga, D., & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural "insiders" and the issue of positionality in qualitative migration research: Moving "across" and moving "along" researcher-participant divides. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative social research* (Vol. 7, No. 3).

Gao, X. (2012). "Cantonese is not a dialect": Chinese netizens' defence of Cantonese as a regional lingua franca. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, *33*(5), 449-464.

Gao, Y., Su, X., & Zhou, L. 高一虹，苏新春，周雷. (1998). 回归前香港，北京，广州的语言态度 (Huigui qian Xianggang, Beijing, Guangzhou de yuyan taidu). *Foreign language teaching and research*. 2, 21-28.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

García,O. and Li, Wei. (2014), *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism, and education.* Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood cliffs: Prentice-hall, Inc.

Giampapa, F. (2004). The politics of identity, representation, and the discourses of self-identification: Negotiating the periphery and the center. In A. Pavlenko, & A. Blackledge, (eds.). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual matters. 192-218.

Goffman, E. (1959/1982). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Middlesex: Penguin books Ltd.

Goffman, E. (1964). The neglected situation. *American anthropologist*, *66*, 133-136.

Goffman, E. (1967/2005). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face to face behavior.* New Brunswick: Transaction publishers.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard: Harvard university press.

Goffman, E. (1979). Footing. *Semiotica*. 25(1/2),1-30.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address. *American sociological review*, *48*(1), 1-17.

Gong, H. (1995). Spatial patterns of foreign investment in China's cities, 1980-1989. *Urban geography*, 16(3), 198-209.

Goodwin. C, & Heritage, J. (1990). Conversation analysis. *Annual review of anthropology*. 19, 283-307.

Goss, J. D., & Leinbach, T. R. (1996). Focus groups as alternative research practice: experience with transmigrants in Indonesia. *Area*, 1, 115-123.

Greatbatch, D. (1988). A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in society.* 17(3), 401-430.

Greer, T.G. (2007). *Accomplishing identity in bilingual interaction: Code-switching practices among a group of multiethnic Japanese teenagers*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of southern Queensland.

Griffith, A. I. (1998). Insider/outsider: Epistemological privilege and mothering work. *Human Studies*, *21*(4), 361-376.

Guangzhou Bureau of Statistics, (1984), (2015). http://www.gzstats.gov.cn/. Accessed on 2 November 2016.

Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (1997). The active interview. In Silverman, D. (ed). *Qualitative research.* London: Sage. 113-129.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Gumperz, J.J. & Hymes. D. (eds.). (1986). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. Oxford and New York: Basil blackwell.

Guo, L. (2004). The relationship between Putonghua and Chinese dialects. In M. Zhou, & H. Sun, (eds.). *Language policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and practice since 1949.* Boston, London: Kluwer academic publishers. 45-54.

Guo, X. Zeng, W. & Liu, Z. 郭熙，曾炜，刘正文. (2005). 广州市语言文字使用情况调查报告 (Guangzhoushi yuyan wenzi shiyong qinkuang diaocha baogao). *The journal of Chinese sociolinguistics*. 2, 133-142.

Hall, Stuart, (1992) 'The question of cultural identity' In S. Hall, D. Held, & A.

McGrew. *Modernity and its futures*. Cambridge: Polity press. 274-316.

Han，Y. 韩艳梅 (2012). 广州小学生的语言态度及其身份认同论析 (Guangzhou xiaoxuesheng de yuyan taidu jiqi shenfen renting lunxi). *Journal of southwestern agricultural university*. 10(1), 201-205.

Harré, R. (2012). Positioning theory: Moral dimensions of social-cultural psychology. In J. Valsiner, (ed.). *The Oxford handbook of culture and psychology*. Oxford: Oxford university press. 191-206.

Heller, M. (1982). Negotiations of language choices in Montreal. In Gumperz, J. (ed.) *Language and social identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press. 108-118.

Heller, M. (1992). The politics of code-switching and language choice. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development.* 13(1/2): 123-142.

Heller, M. (1995a). Code-switching and the politics of language. In Milroy, L. & Muysken, P.(ed.) *One speaker, two languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge university press. 158-174.

Heller, M. (1995b). Language choice, social institutions, and symbolic domination. *Language in society*, *24*(3), 373-405.

Heller, M. (1999). Alternative ideologies of la Francophonie. *Journal of sociolinguistics*. 3(3), 336-359.

Heller, M. & Duchêne, A. (2007). Discourses of endangerment: Sociolinguistics, globalization and social order. In M. Heller, & A. Duchêne, (eds.). *Discourses of endangerment: Ideology and interest in the defence of languages*. London: Continuum. 1-13.

Heller, M., & Martin-Jones, M. (2001). Introduction: Symbolic domination, education, and linguistic difference. In M. Heller, & M. Martin-Jones. (Eds.). *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport and London: Ablex publishing. 1-28.

Heller, M., Pujolar, J., & Duchêne, A. (2014). Linguistic commodification in tourism. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, *18*(4), 539-566.

Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Heritage, J. (2004). Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analysing data. In

Silverman, D. (ed.). *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice (2nd edition).* 222-245. London: Sage.

Heritage, J. & Greatbatch, D. (1991). On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interviews. In D. Boden, & D. H. Zimmerman, (eds.). *Talk and social structure: Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis.* 93-137. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California press.

Hester, S., & Eglin, P. (1997). *Culture in action: Studies in membership categorization analysis* (No. 4). Lanham: University press of America.

Higgins, C. (2009). “Are you Hindu?”: Resisting membership categorisation through language alternation. In H. Nguyen and G. Kasper, (eds.). *Talk-in-interaction: Multilingual perspectives*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, national foreign language resource centre. 111-136.

Holstein, J. A., (eds.). (2002). *Handbook of interview research: context and method.* London: Sage. 777-796.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2011). Animating interview narratives. In David. Siverman, (ed.). *Qualitative research* (3rd edition). London: Sage. 149-167.

Hornberger, N. H. (2005). Opening and filling up implementational and ideological spaces in heritage language education. *The modern language journal*, *89*(4), 605-609.

Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *Tesol quarterly*, *41*(3), 509-532.

Housley, W., & Fitzgerald, R. (2002). The reconsidered model of membership categorization analysis. *Qualitative research*, *2*(1), 59-83.

Hu, J. & Zi, Y. 胡军,资勇庭. (2010). "战争升级"普粤之争引发家庭战争. *Yangcheng evening news.*

Hu, W. 胡伟. (2009). 在穗农民工语言使用与语言态度调查研究 (Zai sui nongmingong yuyan shiyong yu yuyan taidu diaocha yanjiu). *Journal of Guangzhou Panyu Polytechnic.* 8(3), 32-36.

Huang, Y. Bai, Y. & Jiang, Y. 黄奕，白永权，蒋跃. (2010). 第二人称代词在汉英访谈节目中的指称模糊 (Dier rencheng daici zai hanying fangtan jiemu zhong de zhicheng mohu). *Journal of Beijing international studies university*. 4, 28-33.

Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity.

Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2009). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In A. Duranti, (ed.). *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (2nd edition). Chichester: Blackwell publishing. 402-434.

Jaffe, A. (2009). Introduction: The sociolinguistics of stance. In A. Jaffe, (ed.). *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford university press. 3-28.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G.H. Lerner. (ed.). *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing. 13-34.

Jenkins, R. (2000). Categorization: Identity, social process and epistemology. *Current sociology*, *48*(3), 7-25.

Jenkins, R. (2008). *Social identity* (3rd edition). Abingdon: Routledge.

Jing, X. 景小华. (2009). 广东昨迎来回流高峰，50 万外省人来粤寻梦 (Guangdong zuo yinglai huiliu gaofeng wushi wan waishengren lai yue xunmeng). *Nanfang daily*. http://news.southcn.com/community/shms/content/2009-02/01/content_4870538.htm. Accessed on 2 March 2017.

Johnson, D. C. (2013). *Language policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan.

Johnson, J. (2002). In-depth interviewing. In J. Gubrium, & J. Holstein, (eds.). *Handbook of interview research: context and method*. London: Sage. 103-120.

Johnstone, B., Andrus, J., & Danielson, A. E. (2006). Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of “Pittsburghese”. *Journal of English linguistics*, *34*(2), 77-104.

Jones, P., & Krzyżanowski, M. (2008). Identity, belonging and migration: beyond constructing ‘others’. In Delanty, G., Wodak, R., & Jones, P. (eds.). *Identity, belonging and migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool university press. 38-53.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International journal of multilingualism*, *5*(3), 161-176.

Kalmar, I., Zhong, Y., and Xiao, H. (1987). Language attitudes in Guangzhou, China. *Language in society.* 16 (4), 499-508.

Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social work*, *45*(5), 439-447.

Kasper, G. (2009). Categories, context, and comparison in conversation analysis. In H. Nguyen and G. Kasper, (eds.). *Talk-in-interaction: Multilingual perspectives*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i, national foreign language resource centre. 1-28.

Kasper, G. (2013). Conversation analysis and interview studies. In C.A. Chapelle. (ed.). *The encyclopedia of applied linguistics*. DOI: 10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0204.

Kelly-Holmes, H. & Busch, B. (eds.). (2004). *Language, discourse and borders in the Yugoslav successor states*. Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

KhosraviNik, M. (2010). The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers: A critical discourse analysis. *Journal of language and politics.* 9(1), 1-28.

KhosraviNik, M. (2015). *Discourse, identity and legitimacy: Self and other in representations of Iran's nuclear programme*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing.

Kitagawa, C., & Lehrer, A. (1990). Impersonal uses of personal pronouns. *Journal of pragmatics*, *14*(5), 739-759.

Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of health & illness*, *16*(1), 103-121.

Kitzinger, J. (1995). Qualitative research. Introducing focus groups. *BMJ: British medical journal*, 311, 299-302.

Kitzinger, J., & Miller, D. (1992). African AIDS: the media and audience beliefs. In Aggleton, P., Davies, P. M., Davies, P., & Hart, G. (Eds.). (1992). *AIDS: Rights, risk, and reason*. 28-52. Taylor & Francis.

Koefoed, L., & Simonsen, K. (2012). (Re) scaling identities: Embodied others and alternative spaces of identification. *Ethnicities*, *12*(5), 623-642.

Kress, G. (1996). Representational resources and the production of subjectivity: Questions for the theoretical development of critical discourse analysis in a multicultural society. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (eds). *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*. London: Routledge, 15–31.

Kroskrity, P. V. (2010). Language ideologies–Evolving perspectives. In J. Jaspers, J. Verschueren, & J. Östman. (eds.). *Society and language use*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John benjamins. 192-205.

Krueger, R. A. (1994). Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research (2nd edition). Newbury Park: Sage.

Krzyżanowski, M. (2010). *The discursive construction of European identities: A multi-level approach to discourse and identity in the transforming European Union* (Vol. 35). Frankfurt am Main: Peter lang.

Krzyżanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2008). Multiple identities, migration and belonging: 'Voices of migrants'. In Caldas-Coulthard, C., & Iedema, R. (Eds.). *Identity trouble: Critical discourse and contested identities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan. 95-119.

Krzyżanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2011). Political strategies and language policies: the European Union Lisbon strategy and its implications for the EU's language and multilingualism policy. *Language policy*, *10*(2), 115-136.

Kusow, A. M. (2003). Beyond indigenous authenticity: Reflections on the insider/outsider debate in immigration research. *Symbolic Interaction*, *26*(4), 591-599.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance through interviews and dialogues. *Qualitative inquiry*, *12*(3), 480-500.

Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York*. Washington, D.C.:

Center for applied linguistics.

Labov, W. Cohen, P. & Robins, C. (1965). *A preliminary study of the structure of English used by Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City*. Final report, Cooperative research project No. 3091. Washington D.C.: Office of education.

Lähteenmäki, M., & Vanhala-Aniszewski, M. (2012). Hard currency or a stigma–Russian–Finnish bilingualism among young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P., & Räisänen, T. (Eds.). *Dangerous multilingualism: Northern perspectives on order, purity and normality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan. 121-141.

Li, C. & and Bachman, D. (1989). Localism, elitism, and immobilism: Elite formation and social change in post-Mao China. *World politics*. 42(1), 64-94.

Li, H. Luo, Y. Deng, H. Zhang, Y. Deng, P. Zhou, S. & Lin, X. 李鹤鸣，罗苑尹，邓恒，张艳芬，邓佩仪，周世玲，林显军. (2013). 广州新政：外地人买房门槛提高，社保缴三年 (Guangzhou xinzheng: *Waidiren* maifang menkan tigao, shebao jiao man sannian). *Southern metropolis daily*. http://finance.sina.com.cn/china/dfjj/20131119/072117362430.shtml. Accessed on 2 March 2017.

Li, S. & Lin, X. 李溯婉，林小昭. (2010). 媒体称保卫粤语事件背后系对城市多元化焦虑 (Meiti cheng baowei yueyu shijian beihou xi dui chengshi duoyuanhua jiaolv). *Yicai global*. http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2010-07-29/012320778433.shtml. Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Li, X. 李新魁. (1994). 广东的方言 (*Guangdong de fangyan*). Guangzhou: Guangdong people’s publishing house.

Li, X. Huang, J. Shi, Q. Mai, Y. & Chen, D. 李新魁，黄家教，施其生，麦耘，陈定方. (1995). 广州方言研究 (*Guangzhou fangyan yanjiu*). Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Publishing House.

Li, Wei (1994). *Three generations, two languages, one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

Li, Wei. (1998). The ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions in the analysis of conversational

code-switching. In P. Auer, (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge. 156-179.

Li, Wei. (2011), Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of Identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of pragmatics*. 43, 1222-1235.

Li, Wei. & Milroy, L. (1995). Conversational code-switching in a Chinese community in Britain: A sequential analysis. *Journal of pragmatics*, 23(3), 281-299.

Li, Z. 李战子.（2002）话语的人际意义研究 (*Huayu de renji yiyi yanjiu*). Shanghai: Shanghai foreign language press.

Liang, S. (2014). Problematising monolingual identities and competence in Guangzhou in the era of multilingualism and superdiversity. In M. Solly, & E. Esch. (eds.). *Language education and the challenges of globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge scholars publishing. 67-92.

Liang. S. (2015). *Language attitudes and identities in multilingual China: A linguistic ethnography*. London: Springer.

Liddicoat, A. (2011). *An introduction to conversation analysis*. London: Continuum.

Lin, G. C. (2004). Toward a post-socialist city? Economic tertiarization and urban reformation in the Guangzhou metropolis, China. *Eurasian geography and economics*, *45*(1), 18-44.

Lin, L. 林伦伦. (1998). 论强势方言及其对推普的负面影响 (Lun Qiangshi fangyan jiqi dui tuipu de yingxiang). *Yuyan wenzi yingyong*. 3, 13-19.

Litosseliti, Lia. (2003). *Using focus groups in research*. London: Continuum.

Locke, K., & Ramakrishna Velamuri, S. (2009). The design of member review: Showing what to organization members and why. *Organizational Research methods*, *12*(3), 488-509.

Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A radical view* (2nd edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Luo, K. 罗康宁 (2006). 粤语与岭南文化的形成 (Yueyu yu lingnan wenhua de xingcheng). *Xueshu yanjiu*. 2, 122-125.

Lv, L. & Zhao, H. 吕雷, 赵洪. (2008). 国运：南方纪事 (*Guoyun: Nanfang jishi*). Beijing: People’s literature publishing house.

Lv, S. 吕绍刚. (2010). 保卫粤语”是场虚构的战斗. *People's daily.* http://opinion.people.com.cn/GB/40604/12188829.html. Accessed on 16 February 2014.

MacNaghten, P., & Myers, G. (2006). Focus groups. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium, & D. Silverman. (eds.). *Qualitative research practice: Concise paperback edition,* London: Sage. 65-79.

Madge, C. Raghuram, P. Skelton, T. Willis, K. & Williams, J. Methods and methodologies in feminist geographies: politics, practice and power. In Women and Geography study group (ed.). *Feminist geographies: Explorations in diversity and difference*. London and New York: Routledge. 86-111.

Mai, Y. 麦耘 (2009). 从粤语产生和发展看汉语方言形成的模式 (Cong yueyu de chansheng he fazhan kan hanyu fangyan xingcheng de moshi). *Fangyan*. 3, 219-222.

Maquet, J. J. (1964). Papers in honor of Melville J. Herskovits objectivity in anthropology. *Current anthropology*, *5*(1), 47-55.

Mazeland, H. & ten Have, P. (1996). Essential tensions in (semi-)open research interviews. In I. Maso, & F. Wester (eds.). *The deliberate dialogue: Qualitative perspectives on the interview*. 87-113. Brussels: VUB university press.

McEnery, T. & Wilson, A. (2001). *Corpus linguistics* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh university press.

Meeuwis, M. & Blommaert, J. (1998). A monolectal view of code-switching: Layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. In P. Auer, (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge. 76-100.

Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American journal of sociology*, *78*(1), 9-47.

Miao, R, and Li, J. (2006). Urban migration and functional bilingualism in Guangdong province, China. *Journal of Asian Pacific communication, 16*(2), 237–257.

Mick, C. (2011). Discourses of 'border-crossers': Peruvian domestic workers in Lima as social actors. *Discourse studies*, *13*(2), 189-209.

Ministry of Education. (2006). A press conference commemorating the 50th anniversary of the publication of the Putonghua promotion policy & character simplification scheme. http://edu.people.com.cn/GB/4226276.html. Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Ministry of Education. (2017). 我国普通话普及率约达 73% (*Woguo Putonghua pujilv yue da 73%*). http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/xw_fbh/moe_2069/xwfbh_2017n/xwfb_2017090802/mtbd_2017090802/201709/t20170911_314098.html. Accessed on 20 September 2017.

Mishler, E.G. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. London: Harvard university press.

Mondada, L. (2007). Bilingualism and the analysis of talk at work: Code-switching as a resource for the organization of action and interaction. In M. Heller, (ed.). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. London: Palgrave macmillan. 297-318.

Montali, L., Riva, P., Frigerio, A., & Mele, S. (2013). The representation of migrants in the Italian press: A study on the Corriere della Sera (1992–2009). *Journal of language and politics*, *12*(2), 226-250.

Morgan, D. L. (Ed.). (1993). *Successful focus groups: Advancing the state of the art* (Vol. 156). London: Sage.

Morgan, D. L. (1998). *The focus group guidebook*. London: Sage.

Myers, D. G., & Lamm, H. (1976). The group polarization phenomenon. *Psychological bulletin*, 83(4), 602-627.

Myers, G. (1998). Displaying opinions: Topics and disagreement in focus groups. *Language in society*, *27*(1), 85-111.

Myers, G. (2004). *Matters of opinion: Talking about public issues*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Myers, G., & Lampropoulou, S. (2012). Impersonal you and stance-taking in social research interviews. *Journal of pragmatics*, 44(10), 1206-1218.

Myers, G., & Macnaghten, P. (1999). Can focus groups be analysed as talk. In R. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger, (eds.). *Developing focus group research: Politics, theory*

and practice. London: Sage. 173-185.

Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a “native” anthropologist?. *American anthropologist*, *95*(3), 671-686.

Newebcreations. (2017). China rivers map. Scale not given. https://maps-china-cn.com/china-map-rivers. Retrieved on 6 May, 2017.

Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1984). “Native” anthropologists. *American ethnologist*, *11*(3), 584-586.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International journal of multilingualism*, *7*(3), 240-254.

Ouyang, J. Rao, B. and Zhou W. 欧阳觉亚，饶秉才，周无忌. (2010). 广州话方言词典 (*A dictionary of the Cantonese dialect)*. Hong Kong: The commercial press.

Patton, MQ. (2001). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd edition). London: Sage.

Pan, Y. (2000a). Code-switching and social change in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 146, 21-41.

Pan, Y. (2000b). *Politeness in Chinese face-to-face interaction*. Stamford: Ablex publishing corporation.

Pan, Y. (2000c). Facework in Chinese service encounters. *Journal of Asian Pacific communication*. 10 (1), 25-61.

Pavlenko, A. (2001). ‘In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined’: Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies. *International Journal of bilingualism*, *5*(3), 317-344.

Pavlenko, A. (2004). ‘The making of an American’: Negotiation of identities at the turn of the twentieth century. In A. Pavlenko, & A. Blackledge, (eds.). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual matters. 34-67.

Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (eds.). (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

People's Government of Guangdong Province. (2011). 广东省通用国家语言文字规定 (Guangdongsheng tongyong guojia yuyan wenzi guiding). http://zwgk.gd.gov.cn/006939748/201112/t20111216_297089.html Accessed on 2 November 2016.

Phillips, N., & Hardy, C. (1997). Managing multiple identities: Discourse, legitimacy and resources in the UK refugee system. *Organization*, *4*(2), 159-185.

Probyn, E. (1996). *Outside belongings.* London: Routledge.

Qian, J., Qian, L., & Zhu, H. (2012). Representing the imagined city: Place and the politics of difference during Guangzhou's 2010 language conflict. *Geoforum*, *43*(5), 905-915.

Qu, Shaobing. 屈哨兵. (2011). 广州"撑粤语"事件引发的思考 (Guangzhou chengyueyu shijian yinfa de sikao). *Journal of Yunnan normal university*. 43(1), 54-62.

Rampton, B. (1999). Crossing. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, *9*(1/2), 54-56.

Rampton, B. (2014). *Crossings: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Routledge.

Ramsey, S. R. (1989). *The languages of China.* Chichester: Princeton university press.

Rapley, T. (2001). The art(fullness) of open-ended interviewing: Some considerations on analysing interviews. *Qualitative research*. 1(3), 303-323.

Rapley, T. (2004). Interviews. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium, & D. Silverman. (eds.). *Qualitative research practice: Concise paperback edition*. London: Sage. 15-33.

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.

Reissman, C.K. (2002). Analysis of personal narratives. In Jaber. Gubrium, & James. Holstein, (eds.). *Handbook of interview research: context and method.* London: Sage. 695-710.

Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *Tesol quarterly*, *30*(3), 401-427.

Rojo, L. M., & Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). "There was a problem, and it was solved!":

Legitimating the expulsion of illegal migrants in Spanish parliamentary discourse. *Discourse & society*, *8*(4), 523-566.

Roulston, K. (2006). Close encounter of the 'CA' kind: A review of literature analysing talk in research interviews. *Qualitative research*. 6(4), 515-534.

Rubdy, R., & McKay, S. L. (2013). "Foreign workers" in Singapore: conflicting discourses, language politics and the negotiation of immigrant identities. *International journal of the sociology of language*. 222, 157-185.

Ryle, G. (2009). *The concept of mind*. London: Routledge.

Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on methodology. In J.M. Atkinson and J. Heritage, (eds.). *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press. 21-27.

Sacks, H. (1986a). An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In D.N. Sudnow, (ed.). *Studies in social interaction*. New York: Free press. 31-74.

Sacks, H. (1986b). On the analyzability of stories by children. In J.J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes. (eds.). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. Oxford and New York: Basil blackwell. 325-345.

Sacks, H. (1987). On the preferences for agreement and continguity in sequences in conversation. In G. Button, & J.R.E. Lee,. (eds.). *Talk and social organization*. 54-69. Clevedon: Multilingual matters.

Sack, H. Schegloff, E.A. and Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*. 50(4), 696-735.

Schegloff, E. A. (1988). On an actual virtual servo-mechanism for guessing bad news: A single case conjecture. *Social problems*, *35*(4), 442-457.

Schegloff, E.A. (1992). On talk and its institutional occasions. In P. Drew and J. Heritage, (eds.). *Talk at work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press. 101-134.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, *8*(4), 289-327.

Sebba, M. (1993). *London Jamaican*. Harlow: Longman.

Sebba, M., & Dray, S. (2012). Making it real: 'Jamaican', 'Jafaican' and authenticity in the language of British youth. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, *60*(3), 255-273.

Sebba, M. & Wootton, T. (1998). We, they and identity: Sequential versus identity-related explanation in code-switching. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge. 262-289.

Shen, J. 沈家煊 (2001). 语言的" 主观性" 和" 主观化" (Yuyan de zhuguanxing he zhuguanhua). *Foreign language teaching and research*. 33 (4), 268-276.

Shi-Xu. (2005). *A cultural approach to discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan.

Shi-Xu. (2012). A Chinese methodology for discourse studies. *Journal of Guangdong University of foreign studies*. 6, 5-7.

Shohamy, E. G. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London, New York: Routledge.

Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation analysis: An introduction*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Silverman, D. (1998). *Harvey Sacks: Social science and conversation analysis*. New York: Oxford university press.

Silverman, D. (2011). *Interpreting qualitative data (4th edition)*. London: Sage.

Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In P. R. Clyne, W. F. Hanks, & C. L. Hofbauer, (eds.). *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels*. Chicago: Chicago linguistic society. 193-247.

Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & communication*, *23*(3), 193-229.

Sinclair, J. (1996). EAGLES. Preliminary recommendations on corpus typology . Eagles document (Expert advisory group on language engineering) EAG-TCWG-CTYP/P. University of Birmingham, Corpus linguistics group.

Smith, J.A. (1995). 'Semi-structured interviewing and qualitative analysis'. In J.A. Smith, R. Harre, and L.K. Langenhove (eds.). *Rethinking methods in Psychology.*

9-26. London: Sage.

Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Stokoe, E. (2012). Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse studies*, *14*(3), 277-303.

Stroud, C. (1998). Perspectives on cultural variability of discourse and some implications for code-switching. In P. Auer, (ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge. 321-248.

Stubbs, M. (2001). *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Styles, J. (1979). Outsider/insider: researching gay baths. *Urban life*, *8*(2), 135-152.

Sun, Y., Wu, B., Guo, Y., Zhu, D., Wu, M., Wu, G., Li, X., Tan, X., & Liu, K. 孙莹,吴渤,郭媛,朱丹婷,吴梦纾,吴广宇,李晓瑛,谭希莹,刘可. (2010). ‘九成人不同意？要引导嘛’. *Southern metropolis daily*. Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Tang, K. (2014). Baidu autocomplete reveals China’s weird regional stereotypes. *BuzzFeed*. https://www.buzzfeed.com/kevintang/chinese-search-autocomplete-shows-that-regional-stereotypes?utm_term=.vaJBOaOY6#.hqAG393Qn. Accessed on 2 November 2016.

Tang, Y. 唐叶. (2006). 广州市中学生语言态度研究 (Guangzhoushi zhongxuesheng yuyan taidu yanjiu). Unpublished PhD thesis. Jinan University.

Taylor, S., & Littleton, K. (2006). Biographies in talk: A narrative-discursive research approach. *Qualitative sociology review*, *2*(1), 22-38.

Ten Have, P. (2004). *Understanding qualitative research and ethnomethodology*. London: Sage.

Tian, H. & Chilton, P. (2014). Issues in discourse approach to social transformations in China: A synopsis. In Q. Cao, H. Tian, & P. Chilton. (eds.). *Discourse, politics and media in contemporary China.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing. 195-208.

Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001) *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam: John benjamins publishing.

Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community.* London: Longman.

Torras, M. C., & Gafaranga, J. (2002). Social identities and language alternation in non-formal institutional bilingual talk: Trilingual service encounters in Barcelona. *Language in society*, *31*(4), 527-548.

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in society*, *1*(2), 179-195.

Tuimaojun. 腿毛君. (2013). 粤语粗口教程(Yueyu cukou jiaocheng). *Douban*. https://www.douban.com/note/257960440/. Accessed on 2 March 2017.

Unger, J. W. (2013). *The discursive construction of the Scots language: Education, politics and everyday life* (Vol. 51). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John benjamins publishing.

Van den Berg, M. (2010). Socio-economic stratification in the Guangzhou speech community: Language behaviour in shopping areas in Yuexiu and Tianhe district. In M. van den Berg, and D. Xu, (eds.). *Industrialization and the restructuring of speech communities in China and Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge scholars publishing. 227-260.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, *4*(2), 249-283.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2005). *Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America*. Amsterdam: John benjamins publishing.

Vogel, E. F. (1969). *Canton under communism: Programs and politics in a provincial capital, 1949-1968*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university press.

Walker, U. (2011). Linguistic diversity as a bridge to adjustment: Making the case for bi/multilingualism as a settlement outcome in New Zealand. In C. Hélot and M. ÓLaoire, (eds.). *Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible.* Clevedon: Multilingual matters. 149–173.

Wang, L, and Hans J. L. (2008). Language attitudes and gender in China: Perceptions and reported use of Putonghua and Cantonese in the southern province of

Guangdong. *Language awareness 17*(1). 57–77.

Wang, Y.W. (2015). Remaking Guangzhou: Geo-identity and place-making on Sina Weibo. *Media international Australia*, *156*(1), 29-38.

Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. London: Sage.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretative repertoires. In C. Antaki, (ed.). *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods*, 168-183.

Widdicombe. S. (1998). 'But you don't class yourself': The interactional management of category membership and non-membership. In C. Antaki, & S. Widdicombe, (eds.). *Identities in work*. London: Sage. 52-70.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). How useful are focus groups in feminist research? In R. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger, (eds.). *Developing focus group research*. 64-78. London: Sage.

Wittgenstein, L. (1997). *Philosophische untersuchungen/Philosophical investigations (2nd Edition)*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wodak, R. (2007). Pragmatics and critical discourse analysis: A cross-disciplinary inquiry. *Pragmatics & cognition*, *15*(1), 203-225.

Wodak, R. (ed.). (2013a). *Critical discourse analysis: Concepts, history, theory.* London: Sage.

Wodak, R. (2013b). Language, power and identity. In R. Wodak, (ed.). *Critical discourse analysis: Concepts, history, theory*. London: Sage. 393-413.

Wodak, R., & Boukala, S. (2015). (Supra) national identity and language: Rethinking national and European migration policies and the linguistic integration of migrants. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, *35*, 253-273.

Wodak, R., De Cillia, R. Reisigl, M. and Liebhart, K. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity (the 2nd edition).* Edinburgh: Edinburgh university press.

Wooffitt, R. & Widdicombe, S. (2006). Interaction in interviews. In P. Drew, G. Raymond, & D. Weinberg, (eds.). *Talk and interaction in social research*

methods. 28-49. London: Sage.

Woolard, K. A. (1989). *Double talk: Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford university press.

Woolard, K. A. (1998a). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, & P. V. Kroskrity (eds.). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford: Oxford university press. 3-50.

Woolard, K. A. (1998b). Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, *8*(1), 3-29.

Woolard, K. A. (2016). *Singular and plural: Ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st century Catalonia*. Oxford: Oxford university press.

Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual review of anthropology*, *23*(1), 55-82.

Wu, F. 吴福祥. (2004). 近年来语法化研究的进展 (Jinnian lai yufahua yanjiu de fazhan). *Foreign language teaching and research*. 36(1), 18-24.

Wu, R., & Yin, B. (1984). 普通话社会调查 (Putonghua shehui diaocha). 文字改革 (*Wenzi gaige)*, 11, 37-38.

Xiao, R. & McEnery, T. (2006). Collocation, semantic prosody, and near synonymy: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Applied linguistics*. 27(1), 103-129.

Xu, J. 许嘉璐. (1999). 语言文字学及其应用研究 (*Yuyan wenzixue ji qi yingyong yanjiu).* Guangzhou: Guangdong education press.

Xu, J. 徐杰舜. (2000). 广府人的形成及人文特征 (Guangfu ren de xingcheng ji renwen tezheng). *Guangxi minzu yanjiu*. 4, 32-35.

Yan, Y. (2003). *Private life under socialism: Love, intimacy and family change in a Chinese village, 1949-1999*. Stanford: Stanford university press.

Ye, G. & Luo, K. 叶国权, 罗康宁. (1995). 粤语源流考 (Yueyu yuanliu kao). *Yuyan yanjiu*. 1, 156-160.

Ye, J. Peng, Q. Huang, C. Liu, J. & Zhong, Z. 叶健夫，彭启鹏，黄春红，刘建民，钟作勇. (2003). 广东流动人口研究 (Guangdong renkou yanjiu). *Nanfang renkou*. 18, 54-64.

Yin, R.K. (2011). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York: The guilford

press.

Yow, C. H. (2013). *Guangdong and Chinese diaspora: The changing landscape of qiaoxiang*. London, New York: Routledge.

Zeng, N. (2010). “推普废粤”完全是“无厘头” (Tuipu feiyue wanquan shi wulitou). *Nanfang daily.* Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Zhan, Bohui. 詹伯慧. (1993). 普通话“南下”与粤方言“北上” (Putonghua ‘nanxia’ yu Yue fangyan ‘beishang’). *Xueshu yanjiu.* 4, 67–72.

Zhan, B. (ed.). (2000). *An outline of Yue dialects in Guangdong*. Guangzhou: Jinan university press.

Zhan, B. 詹伯慧. (2001). 广东语言文字应用调查的若干启示 (Guangdong yuyan wenzi yingyong diaocha de ruogan qishi). *Xueshu yanjiu.* 8, 121-124.

Zhan, B. 詹伯慧. (2003). 当前推普的一些思考 (Dangqian tuipu de yixie sikao). *Xueshu yanjiu.* 12, 148-150.

Zhan, B. 詹伯慧. (2011). 粤语是绝对不会沦陷的 (Yueyu shi juedui buhui lunxian de). *Xueshu yanjiu.* 3, 152-155.

Zhang, A. 张爱民 (2001). 现代汉语第二人称代词人称泛化探讨 (Xiandai hanyu dier rencheng daici rencheng fanhua tantao). *Journal of Xuzhou normal university*. 27(1), 31-34.

Zhang, J. & Xu, D. 张璟玮，徐大明. (2008). 人口流动与普通话普及 (Renkou liudong yu Putonghua puji). *Yuyan wenzi yingyong*. 3, 43-52.

Zhang, J. Yang, Z. & Zhu, S. 张积家, 杨卓华, 朱诗敏 (2003). 广东大学生对普通话和粤语的印象 (Guangdong daxuesheng dui Putonghua he yueyu de yinxiang). *Xinlixue tanxin*. 1, 51-54.

Zhang, L. (2014). Discourse functions of *ni* in speech. *Shijie hanyu jiaoxue.* 28(1), 44-55.

Zhang, L. & Gan, Y. 张林, 甘韵仪. (2014). 广州：外地人赴广州 3 日内需登记，旅游出差等除外 (Guangzhou: *Waidiren* fu Guangzhou sanri nei xu dengji lvyou chuchai deng chuwai). *Yangcheng evening news.* http://news.jxnews.com.cn/system/2014/11/23/013452261.shtml. Accessed on 2 March 2017.

Zhang, X. 张晓舟. (2016). 南方报业与杨箕村：一个时代的盛宴 (Nanfang baoye yu Yangji Cun: Yige shidai de shengyan). *Tecent dajia*. http://dajia.qq.com/original/category/zxz20161011.html. Accessed on 2 November 2016.

Zhang, Y. (2010). 一份调查引发粤语存废之辩 (Yifen diaocha yinfa yueyu cunfei zhi bian). *Yangcheng evening news*. http://www.ycwb.com/epaper/ycwb/html/2010-06/09/content_848877.htm. Accessed on 16 February 2014.

Zhou, M. (2001). The spread of Putonghua and language attitude changes in Shanghai and Guangzhou, China. *Journal of Asian Pacific communication, 11*(2). 231–253.

Zhou, M. & Ross, H.A. (2004). Introduction: The context of the theory and practice of China's language policy. In M. Zhou, & H. Sun, (eds.). *Language policy in the People's Republic of China*. New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow: Kluwer academic publishers. 1-18.

Zhou, Q. & Liu, Q. 周秋敏，刘秋平. (2016). 居住新政？先别着急抱怨 (Juzhuzheng nanban? Xian bie zhaoji baoyuan). *Xinxi shibao*. http://news.ifeng.com/a/20160722/49508050_0.shtml. Accessed on 2 March 2017.

Zimmerman, D. H. (1998). Discoursal identities and social identities. In Antaki, C., & Widdicombe, S. (eds.). *Identities in talk*. London: Sage. 87-106.

Appendix A Transcription keys for Chapter Seven

These conventions are mainly based on Jefferson (2004). They only apply to the translation of transcriptions in Chapter 7. Each turn is numbered on the left. Speakers are indicated at the start of each turn.

(.)	A dot in parenthese indicates a short pause (around a tenth of a second) within or between utterances.
(1.0)	Numbers in parenthesis indicate elapsed time by tenths of seconds
[	A left bracket indicates the start of overlapping speech
??	Double question marks indicate that the speech cannot be heard clearly
(( ))	Doubled parenthese contain transcriber's descriptions
::	Colons indicate the prolongation of the immediately prior sound. Multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.
=	Equal signs, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of a next, indicate no 'gap' between the two lines. Also known as 'latching on'.
word	Bold font indicate a stretch of talk uttered in Cantonese

Appendix B Transcriptions of interview extracts

Chapter 2

Extract 1

…我复习果阵时肉紧啊你既然写错哩个字，既然写成即使。你记住讲广州话嘅同学，我就讲多个方法比你喇，咁样记啦。噉佢就会，啊，係喔咁样。

Extract 2

是的就算现在我教英语也会冒死在课堂上用广州话教训学生或者解释英语当中广州人也同样发音的词。因为广州是比较早的通商口岸，英语很早就出现了，广州人直接用英文讲的有很多例子。lift 我们就叫电梯 lift

Extract 3

插一点。平时很少说的，说一两句他们觉得好笑嘛。数学这么枯燥，讲一两句让他们开心一下是吧，也好。也不可能全神贯注的，40 分钟都在听。

Extract 4

偶尔讲题目也说两句，开个玩笑的时候也说说。还是故意说说有时候让他们笑一笑啊。不过主要还是，讲普通话为主，很少用粤语。

Extract 5

上课时候就算我现在教英语它现在要全英教学我也是很牛的，骂人的时候我也会用广州话骂。比如我骂，我说，两个人在闹矛盾的时候，就两个学生在闹矛盾，然后我就会说，看你们，**一时糖痴豆，一时水抠油**。然后她很傻地看着我，她听不懂。然后呢有人就说，欸欸欸老师在说什么呀。我就说，糖跟豆粘在一起那不就很密切的关系哦，然后水跟油啊，就就就是混合不起来了嘛，然后我说其实语言当中其实经常有很多很有趣的东西在。

Extract 6

课中我们也会偶尔用来解释，最多的是骂人，因为用母语骂人才爽。

Extract 7

本广东这边的老师啊，他也不是说难改。他可能讲着讲着觉得这个，哎呀，这个粤语讲起来顺口一点也就讲。学生也听得懂啊，默默地接受默认接受啦。你像我们的话，我也用粤语讲啊，这有什么奇怪的。

Extract 8

咁啊五十几岁果啲，都习惯佐攞普通话来上课了。解题咧可能有时会用广州话，好似有啲男老师咁样，佢本身係广州人啊嘛，啲据解题啊譬如数学物理，可能佢会攞翻广州话来解题。但系咧佢讲普通话都无问题嘅。我哋学校又无话喺个语言方面，监督要求得好严好到位。啫大家都有个共识嘅了，需要果阵我用下广州话，需要果阵时我用下普通话。只要唔妨碍你将啲知识传授比学生，唔妨碍你有个好嘅师德就得了。我系噉觉得。

Extract 9

H	我们上次去听教材分析呢那个程海燕，她也有说嘛，用广州话来帮助学生学语文
Y	嘛。
H	对对对。
Y	因为有些古语就，本身就是。
H	保留在广州话。
	保留在广州话里。**咩街：了，一条街，行街，**这些是，很古的嘛。

Extract 10

D	**我，我 87 年来附小就已经係讲，一定要用普通话上课嘅了喔，果阵时就。**
Me	**咁学生咧？有无要求学生都，静係可以用讲普通话？**
D	那段时间我觉得推普还是挺，都是挺，挺严的。
H	挺严的。
D	对，**因为，啱啱，一来无几耐就考果个咩。**
H	有一段时间附小试过讲广州话，会罚钱好像是我印象有我印象就是有一年。
D	啊因为他推普是这样的嘛。海珠区来检查，你知道罚了谁的钱？
Y	谁的？
D	曾。
Me	欸，她是体育老师。
H	而且她是讲普通话的。
Y	哈哈哈哈。
D	她是不知道说了什么一句话。
H	**哦你好记性啊，係啊係嘅。**
D	就用广州话说的，就是给人听到了。
Y	她都不会讲广东话的，她以前的嘛。她可能在学讲广东话，是不是啊
D	对，对，就奇怪。

Extract 11

H	当然是不会呀。本身这个语言，任何一个语言它都可以传授传递这些，历史呀文化呀习俗啊对不对，而且反倒是反倒是如果就是让一种语言
D	独专的。
H	这样消亡了，就是一种语言消亡它反倒是它很多的历史的典故啊就是很多的东西都跟着消失了，对呀。

Extract 12

D 广东话还算好了，就是他还是个大语种嘛。然后那些小地方的那些就真的是，啊呀以后都没有人说了。好像去到那些，四川啊，比如说那个程他儿子就不会说湖

Y 北话了。

H 是啊我回到我们那个县城里小孩子全部讲普通话，本地的话都不会说的。好奇怪。就是就是其实呢统一一种语言其实有必要，因为交流方便嘛确实。但是呢就太强势的，去，去什么什么化，我就觉得真的是，连连历史都没有了。就好像韩国和日本，去汉化去明化最终你是不是连古诗古汉语你都不要了，不可能的嘛对不对。这种东西你变成就是一个没有历史的一个民族了最后变成。

Extract 13

因为广州学生冽，就係因为佢哋老系讲广州方言嘅影响啊，所以冽对佢哋语文嘅影响，书面表达有好大影响咯。佢广州话可以讲得好好，好顺而且表达得好自由。但係冽佢一到书面表达果阵时，譬如话一啲文学鉴赏题啊或者啲作文啊，佢就会好有障碍咯。但係如果普通话好嘅学生冽佢就各方面唔会十分之严重。

Extract 14

D 现在有很多人就很可惜他自己家里面都是说广州话的，但是他教他的小孩说普通

H 话呀。

Y 很多这样的人啊。

D 现在是普遍现象。

H 神经病**嚟。**

Y 程咯，不让他孩子说普通呃广州话咯。

H 他很多可能是觉得，是不是影响孩子学习

佢唔比佢个女讲广州话嘅啵，所以佢个女来办公室我用广州话同佢讲佢话，她不

Y 会听广州话的你跟她说普通话。

H 呃不要讲她就是不让她讲。

Y **真係好鬼傻啊我觉得。**太，太极端了。就是你害怕他用广州话来写作文思维不好

H 其实

是啊从小学会一种语言多好啊。

D 小孩子是完全可以接受。你看，龙应台说她儿子，瑞典话、德语、台湾话闽南话

H 是吧，普通话国语他都会嘛，他可以分得清的。

他在什么环境他就用什么语言的嘛。

对啊。

Chapter 5

Extract 1

Me	那你刚刚说那一点就是你广州那边同学觉得你会说普通话所以就不是广州人？
M5	嗯。
Me	你是怎么，就看出来的。
M5	这一个是，这是在初中非常，非常，印象非常深的那么一个，经历咯。
Me	嗯怎么样的经历。
M5	就是，所有的广东的同学都会叫你**捞仔捞仔**，你有你有经过这个吗？
Me	啊噢。
M5	对啊，然后你没有办法，就哪怕你跟他的生活，各方面的习惯是一样的，打交道的，模式是是一样的或者怎么样，或者价值观，各方面都是一样的，你没有，但是也不会得到他们的认可。就他们可能，说**捞仔**这个，有，在现在看来可能带一点点贬义可是在当时他们不觉得，因为他们觉得那个称谓就是去称呼会说普通话的，这一拨人。对。
Me	就界定标准就是会不会说普通话？
M5	对会不会说普通话这就是他们唯一的评判标准，你是不是南方人你是不是不能说南方了，你是不是广东人的唯一评判标准。
Me	就不管，就算你在广州出生也好。
M5	嗯。就算你在广州出生在广州长大的他们也觉得你是北方人，就是因为你会说普通话
Me	但，但那个，他们那个时候也说普通话吧？
M5	但他们是被迫的，就是，我们是因为，他们觉得我们因为要读书，这是学校的一门课程或者说一个考核标准，我们要去学这个东西，对。
Me	但是，但是你是。
M5	但是我是因为，这是本身具有的，的，的一种能力，对，所以他会觉得，他会觉得不接受你，不会接受不会认同你，或者说不会认同你是当地人。

Extract 2

M3	其实，其实，其实我本来就不是一点也不会粤语，因为我小学啊，因为我也经常来这边。我妈一直在这边工作嘛。然后又经常来这边旅游或者就是玩啊什么什么。就说，也不会一点粤语都不懂。但是你，毕竟在初一在那种环境下，然后别人都，都叫你捞 b 你，那你不可能有一种，那种，就是主动，就是，你也有一种，那种被排斥的感觉。
Me	嗯嗯。
M3	然后你不可能说，我主动去，迎合他们我要跟他们说粤语。但他们也不会，他们知道你既然是外地来的，或者，就北方来的，他们肯定会跟你说普通话。所以，这样子慢慢地在三年之中我没有说过一句粤语。
Me	就是到了初三他们，你们也是说普通话。
M3	对。我们，现在跟我们初中同学还是说普通话。

Extract 3

Me	我是觉得现在其实有点不一样了。像那个时候刚来，广州话还占优势的嘛。但是现在反而觉得，普通话好像，更那个什么。就是以前刚来的时候大家，特别是老人家他根本听不懂普通话你一定要跟他说粤语。现在其实，他们听得懂也会说了。
F7	嗯，可以了。我是在工作的时候还是能遇到这种极少的情况。就老人家真的完全听不懂，他会说，**你唔好同我讲哩啲捞话。我听唔明噶。你就下我哋啦。你学下广州话啦。**然后没办法第二次再帮她办业务只能，有意识地跟她讲广州话。
Me	哦。
F7	然后还记得当时因为，工作的时候讲普通话，我还被那些，好串的那种，唉不好意思。
Me	没有。
F7	好串的那些，呃年轻人呐，那些男的鄙视。因为我们，你知道江南西那边很旺嘛。很多商业街.然后很多那种卖手机的。他们会给年轻人做分期付款。他们会有一个那种。（服务员上菜）
F7	然后当时你知道那些人好过分吗？就是，他就过来还那个手机的分期付款。他其实就存一次现金到一个账号而已。然后我跟他说你办理这个业务需要身份证的。他说**啲捞妹零舍多要求嘅啫。**他就这样说喔。就跟他旁边的那个人。啊：那火噌噌往上滚啊。所以我觉得，算了我还是讲广州话吧。
Me	哈啊？但是如果，对啦，是会啦。肯定是会有这样的人。
F7	对。就是，本地人还是会有一部分的人对外地人有排斥。会觉得只要你说普通话，就是从一些很落后的地方来的。他会有一些自身的优越感在那里。

Extract 4

F3	**我小学果阵时仲係讲普通话，跟住因为我小学係一个，係果种农村学校，啫村入边果种学校，算係，佢哋都好少讲普通话，啲老师都唔识普通话。**
Me	**哦：：：**
F3	**所以佢哋会觉得，我觉得佢哋几排斥我咁样样咯。**
Me	**係啊係啊如果係咁嘅环境嘅话应该会比较**
F3	**係啊係啊。跟住，我记得果阵时印象好深？？啊捞妹咁样叫你**
Me	**啊係啊**
F4	**哦啫佢哋上课都係讲白话**
F3	**係啊係啊。**
Me	**哦。咁啊。**
F3	**係啊啫一开始我係果间学校，佢完全，啫系唔可以话佢，唔可以因为照顾你一个人所以老师讲普通话噶。跟住佢哋，啊你自己快啲学，所以佢哋上课讲咩我完全听唔明。**
F4	**咁语文课都係讲广州话？**
F3	**除非读，读课文果啲咩啦。啫大部分所有课都讲白话噶。数学果啲全部讲白话。**
Me	**哇**
F3	**我觉得一开始会比较，呃，人哋会比较，啫有阵时会觉得，比较难融入哩度**

Extract 5

Me 如果小学初中都是普通话说的人多的话，应该就不会被人提到什么捞之类的？

M2 会啊。

Me 会啊？

M2 会的。这些是不可避免的。而且就是，可能是，这个互为因果关系吧。正因为比如说像我初中军训时候那个宿舍，除了我另外 5 个都是广东人，然后每次聊天的时候，就我都不怎么说话，因为我又不会说，我一直听他们叽里呱啦说一堆，就明显就感觉，就是

Me 他们排斥你

M2 对啊，就会有疏远。然后也正因为这样，所以我又，就会找回，跟我类似背景啊，类似，就是语言习惯的人。就是这样一个相互作用。就越来越，但是也就，就，一下就转，一下就转变过来。我现在就很多朋友就聊得来的都是广东人。对。珠三角的。

对。其实我第一次见你，我以为你就是广州本地人。因为你白话就完全很纯。

我后来跟广东人待的时间多了。就慢慢就聊了起来。我也觉得挺奇妙的，就？？

Me 而且就导致我后来，后来就我觉得我看人还挺准的至少我可以分辨得出来他是不

M2 是广东人。

哦哦哦

就不用说话，就直接看，直接看样子了，差不多了。

Extract 6

Me 我是觉得其实身份认同这个东西，比较难真正做到，因为很多东西我们是潜意识表现出来的，就好像，根据我们自己的态度或我自己的看法去判断自己的认同

F1 我觉得不是，有些认同很奇怪的，比如我现在对广州人的认同跟我以前不一样了。我以前在长沙的时候，认为我不说长沙话就不能跟他们玩，或者可以跟他们玩，他们老嫌我不会说长沙话不好玩。但是来广州我觉得，将普通话就被人歧视是捞 B

Me 那种感觉

F1 真的有人说你是捞 B 吗，因为只有那种感觉不一定说出来

有啊有啊，因为刚来的时候肯定审美，每个地方审美都不一样。我当时也嫌自己捞的，但是后来我自己长大了以后翻回自己以前相册觉得小时候也挺好的，也并不捞，其实。而且就是，我以前老是想象广州人很有钱啊什么，但是后来长这么大一想，其实当时，也未必是这样子。其实我小时候挺自卑的，就刚来广州的时候。因为当时，呃，因为内地的工资肯定比广州的要少而且内地的工资肯定比广州的要便宜嘛，那我以前在家乡吃一碗东西街上很便宜的，5 块钱不到的，但是后来我跟我妈来广州，然后出去逛街去北京路就它一碗要十五六块钱，而且家里其实是有点接受不了的。虽然现在很接受了，觉得随便啦没所谓。但当时真的是那个冲击很大。就觉得自己上街，就不说学校里了，上街，我妈都说什么，要说什么**点买啊**然后什么**几钱**对啊然后就说不然的话他就欺负你外地人。

Extract 7

Me	那你有没有试过，就是被人叫**捞妹**之类的
F5	**好细果阵时咯**
Me	**啫系诶幼儿园，小学？**
F5	**可能幼儿园小学咁咯。果阵时啱来又唔识反抗人哋虾我咪虾我咯，跟住又唔敢同老师讲喔。**
Me	**我细个果阵时真系唔记得咗啲咩喔。不过捞字系我读高中有人帮我起花名就叫捞**
F5	**璟**
Me	**哦**
F5	**可能觉得，可能觉得我讲野都系**
Me	**唔系我觉得你未完全融入以前咧，你比人哋讲捞你会好唔开心**
F5	**哦**
Me	**你融入之后人哋话你咩捞咩捞，都觉得系比较熟嘅人先可以咁样叫**
F5	**系咯。啫系好似系已经，大家玩得埋所以先咁样叫嘅** **系啊**

Extract 8

Me	那你从初中开始一直说白话？基本上说白话？
F5	对啊
Me	就是跟，但是如果是碰到，比如说外地人，像我们类似背景的人也会说白话吗？
F5	大家都会说白话。我身边朋友土生土长广州人非常少诶。基本上都是什么呃，老家是什么，湖南啊，哈尔滨啊，各种地方都有。
Me	真的？
F5	真的是各种地方都有。都是那种属于广东捞。广东捞就是，就是父母不是这里的，但是自己很小过来这里或者是在这里出生已经
Me	那你现在跟他们有联系吗
F5	我身边朋友都是啊。随便一抓就是一把啊。然后土生土长的广州人其实我认识非常少诶，广州人啊。要是说广东人很多就是土生土长，广州的很少。而且，而且我觉得，我印象中土生土长广州那些男生就很小气。
Me	我想一下，对我也接触比较少真的土生土长的。
F5	很少的，其实是。
Me	你刚刚说什么是广州捞啊？就是初中的时候大家说的词，说出来的？
F5	不是。广州捞，这个是我大学一个同学说起。他说，他妈就说，你找女朋友一定要找广广州捞。他说，呃，哦，她不是说一定，说最好是找广州捞的。因为广州人不漂亮。然后他就说广州捞什么意思呢。就是父母不是这边的，然后但是，很小就过来或者在这里出生，就等于是，在这边长大的一个广州人，不过血统不是这边的。

Chapter 6

Extract 1

Me 最近这几年我觉得是从那个撑粤语活动之后，总有一些，不大不小的类似的事情吧，什么那个台又不可以用粤语啊什么，好像主要就是媒体这块

M5 可是我，我倒觉得这，它的根源并不是说语言习惯，语言使用上的矛盾

Me 那这块是

M5 这可能是它的起因，对啊，我觉得根源还是因为，我不知道其他怎么样但香港肯定是，我不知道内地是，我不知道我不能代表广东人说什么，但是起码香港人他不是说，他不是真心觉得说这个语言需要保护或者怎么怎么样，而是他是很大部分程度是带着对内地政府的排斥感

Me 嗯

M5 他不是你让他禁这个语言这个事情，他做另外一件事情他还是会反，对，他冲冲的不是说这个事情来的，是冲着人来的

Me 哦

M5 他不是对事，他是对人

Me 我觉得这件事让他们有了一个，借口

M5 对，有了一个借口可以去，对，然后刚好这件事情又是非常，可以凝聚一个区域的人的那种，就可能，一说到粤语就会觉得是他们，一种，身份的

Me 象征

M5 对象征啊标志怎么样，来定义界定他们是香港或者说粤南粤人，的这么一个，很标志性的东西，所以他们就会，光明正大地站出来去捍卫它，对

Me 我不知道广州的情况怎么我觉得广州的出发点会单纯得，单单单纯一些，最起码就纯粹是对这件事情

M5 嗯可能会有一部分人是纯粹地对语言这件事情。但起码香港人我可以说不是

Me 就是他们积累了很久对于，大陆政府的怨气

M5 对啊，但我会觉得广东人的出发点是纯粹一些，个人感觉，对啊，因为因为他，因为，说实话我觉得广东人，就广就生活在这里的人他们会知道他们知道这个政府到底是怎么，他们知道说采用这种方式去，如果说目的是针对政府的话，那是徒劳无功的。所以我会觉得说他们，即便这样他们还要站出来是真正地爱这个语言，他们是真正觉得，不能失去这个东西。但香港不是，他，动辄就会有？？出来，他们绝对不会这样。

Me 最近这几年我觉得是从那个撑粤语活动之后，总有一些，不大不小的类似的事情吧，什么那个台又不可以用粤语啊什么，好像主要就是媒体这块

M5 可是我，我倒觉得这跟，它的根源并不是说语言习惯，语言使用上的矛盾

Me 那这块是

M5 这可能是它的起因，对啊，我觉得根源还是因为，我不知道其他怎么样但香港肯定是我不知道内地是，我不知道我不能代表广东人说什么，但是起码香港人他不是说，他不是真心觉得说这个语言需要保护或者怎么怎么样，而是他是很大部分程度是带着对内地政府的排斥感

Me 嗯

M5 他不是你让你让他禁这个语言这个事情，他做另外一件事情他还是会反，对他冲冲的不是说这个事情来的，是冲着人来的

Me	哦
M5	他不是对事，他是对人
Me	我觉得这件事让他们有了一个。。。借口
M5	对，有了一个借口可以去。。。对，然后刚好这件事情又是非常。。。可以凝聚一个区域的人的那种，就可能，一说到粤语就会觉得是他们。。。一种，身份的
Me	象征=
M5	=对象征啊标志怎么样，来定义界定他们是香港或者说粤南粤人，的这么一个，很标志性的东西，所以他们就会，光明正大地站出来去捍卫它，对
Me	我不知道广州的情况怎么我觉得广州的出发点会单纯得，单单单纯一些，最起码就纯粹是对这件事情=
M5	=嗯可能会有一部分人是纯粹地对语言这件事情。但起码香港人我可以说不是，
Me	就是他们积累了很久对于。。大陆政府的怨气，
M5	对啊，但我会觉得广东人。。的出发点是纯粹一些，个人感觉，对啊，因为因为他，因为，说实话我觉得广州人，就广就生活在这里的人他们会知道他们知道这个政府到底是怎么，他们知道说采用这种方式去，如果说目的是针对政府的话，那是徒劳无功的，所以我会觉得说他们，即便这样他们还要站出来是真正地爱这个语言，他们是真正觉得，不能失去这个东西，但香港不是，他，动辄就会有??出来，他们绝对不会这样。

Extract 2

Me	那你平时比如说发短信啊，以前聊 QQ 或者发微博会不会用上一些广州话的字啊？还是已经习惯了打普通话的文字？
F16	大多数情况是比较习惯打普通话的字。但是咧，就有两个原因把。第一个原因是因为我们学的书面语是普通话嘛，然后这样就我们比较方便啦。第二个原因就是说，感觉好像用广东话来打字是，不太正规，就是不晓得为什么那个教育系统给你一种这样的感觉。因为你查的字，你你查字典啊什么的这样一些比较标准化的东西都只给你一个普通话的书面语概念，然后你就不晓得说广东话的书面语究竟怎么样才是对的，就究竟那个字音是用哪一个字你都不晓得。所以就，但是你又要打字喔，然后就，感觉好像会把语文弄坏一样。

Extract 3

F16 我觉得他这个建议是，说句不好听，可能是阴谋论喔, 但是我觉得这个政协委员，这个提案是有政治阴谋的。
Me 哈哈哈，具体，就是什么样的政治阴谋呢？
F16 呃，因为广东自古以来就是那种，天高皇帝远你管不着的地方。对，然后他就，感觉整个广东省一直不怎么听话，他，因为他本身经济也还不错，然后，你说你北京真的要把他管得比较严一点的话，那我先把你的文化收了再说。
Me 哦，就是，语言，用语言这种东西去吧，呃，把文化顺便给统一了
F16 对，其实这点在现在小学生身上还蛮明显的，他就感觉上是用普通话？？
Me 用普通话来，来什么？
F16 清洗。
Me 哦，欸，指，这个清洗具体指什么指的是上课的时候还是指
F16 哦他清洗的手段就是说，首先它跟我们小学的时候咧，有个推普的东西你记不记
Me 得？
F16 对对对
Me 对然后那个时候只是说，我要求你在上课的时候就无论老师还是学生都要将普通
F16 话，
嗯
但是他现在的小学教育咧，他就是，把讲不讲广东话提升到一个道德层面，就是变成说我讲广东话是不文明不礼貌的，然后这个就非常的无稽了。

Extract 4

Me 之前不是有什么废粤推普？
F5 哦，对啊。
Me 那不是很大阵仗，还在江南西？
F5 我没有去，但是我微博狂转那些东西。
Me 那你是觉得，你是会觉得？
F5 肯定不赞成啊。
Me 对对对，肯定是不赞成的，那你是因为觉得粤语算是自己母语？
F5 不是我是觉得在电视上看到粤语的节目都觉得很习惯了，然后地铁上都很多粤语的，都觉得很习惯啊。你突然禁止粤语就觉得，天啊。那那个什么南方台啊或者说广州台啊那都不是广州台啦，那说普通话就很怪。而且我们家特别爱看那个，广州卫视或者是南方卫视那种。新闻什么‘今日睇真 D’啊或者，全部都是讲一些比较关乎我们身边的，比如说广州的某个地方发生了什么事或者，或者某个地方那个街区有些什么动乱这些。或者是说，举行什么游行啊，那些也不是游行。或者说是全城义检。反正就是广州身边事。而且还有很多，很多就是批评社会这
Me 些的事情出来。
F5 哦，对对对。
然后我妈就整天说，那个央视新闻啊，都说国家 GDP 又升了啊然后又有什么好事，
Me 研发出什么东西啊。然后广州新闻整天说，现在仁信又怎么样了。
F5 央视那些已经有一套那个稿子了嘛，就填空而已啊。
对啊。看了觉得很无聊啊整天研发出一个什么东西关我什么事。

Extract 5

Me	那你会觉得自己就已经算是广州人了吗？
F5	是：：广州人。我觉得，小学时候还不觉得了，初中也一般般，反正慢慢越来越大就，没有觉得自己是：外地人啊。所以现在就很大方跟人说，诶我是四川人这样子。以前小的时候还怕说是四川人人家瞧不起你。
Me	哦。
F5	现在都很大方跟人家说我是四川人，因为，因为感觉你就是跟那个圈子融合，没有什么，没有什么有隔阂的感觉，不会说因为你说你是四川人家就开始会觉得你
Me	怎么样。
F5	哦，对啊。一方面是自己觉得已经是这边人所以没问题。
Me	对啊。
F5	同时我觉得好像，就，这些年啊，广州人不会那么歧视外地人。
	对啊。而且，我记得前段时间我去一个朋友生日聚会那里。他另外有一些同事什么的不知道怎么就，说起我是我是四川人。然后我是跟人家说我是祖籍是四川的。然后隔壁就，一个可能他没有听清楚，说什么你是四川人？你看上去完全就是一个广州人。

Extract 6

F1	我买了个广州音字典，如果我是对着那本字典读那我男朋友说我的发音是十分的
Me	标准哈哈哈
F1	就它上面有那种拼音嘛
Me	啊我知道
F1	对啊对啊，他说‘你怎么可以念得这么准呢’，很搞笑
Me	诶他应该是广州人吧
F1	他是广州人
Me	但是我觉得你，你可能平时比较少说
F1	刚来的时候，就是以前小学不是学普通话都很严格的吗？就是，以前我看中央电视台觉得发音挺标准的，对啊我来广州看本港卫视那些，然后那些又有新闻，我就会觉得他们普通话很难听，但是，听久了之后我反而会觉得他们更好听
Me	哈哈
F1	我比较喜欢看外来媳妇本地郎的，如果他在演，我绝对会看下去的。然后演那些狗血剧，我也会看。
Me	你是因为它反映了广州本土的生活情境
F1	我觉得它很真实啊那些东西，很有意思，而且又挺搞笑的。我觉得真实的情况加点夸张，挺亲切的啊。我觉得广州可能就是那个样子吧。虽然它可能是建构成那个样子，可能比较地道的广州人就是那个样子的吧我想。
Me	你会觉得自己偏广州人吗？
F1	我觉得我是边缘人啊，哈哈哈，我就既不是那种外地人也不是广州人，没有归属感，碰到你就觉得挺有归属感，呵呵呵
Me	因为我们都是边缘人
F1	对啊对啊

Extract 7

M1	我爸之前跟我讲过一个什么，种族划分，就说广东人是马来人种，然后广东人所谓的北方，就以广东人的概念，包括湖南江西这些，都是蒙古人种。他是这么说的，我不知道是不是。我就觉得，他也是，就怎么说，他一直还是觉得北方比南方好，觉得就是广州不如北京上海，他还是会有这样的想法。就包括对粤语还会有所排斥。他经常讲，鸟语啊，什么之类的。就是，完全就是，习惯不过来。我觉得应该是环境使然吧，我觉得。他经常说一个，他说，是不是很鸟语，他说你用广州话讲那句“各个国家都有各个国家的国歌”，然后他说，你广东话读啊，是不是很鸟语。那如果你习惯了，你一点都不觉得有什么奇怪。对。
Me	对啊对啊
M1	然后又尤其是中学以非附属中学一类的，尤其是像 Z 这种，差一点的学校我就不知道是什么，主要是我们耳熟能详的，尤其是 Z 和 G 这种，就比较非常 native 的。反而 H 和 S 就不是这样了，H 和 S 有很多外地人。S 是因为 S 招粤西的，H 招粤东的。反正我们当时是这样。所以好像也有一个感觉就是说，Z 和 G 这些学校的特别能来事，就怎么说感觉上更拧，拧成一团一样。 就有可能是他们这些学生的成分就比较相近。就是你又很难用一个词概括，但是其实你也知，就是说我们都感觉得到怎么一回事。

Extract 8

Me	其它生活习惯会跟广州这边一样吗？
F14	对，肯定是，你也是，你也应该是
Me	我其实？？没怎么变欸
F14	不是因为你在广州出生，不是，你不是广州出生你在广州生活你，整个人从血到体质都已经成为广州的体质，你的身体是广州人可是你的脑袋不是，但是你身体是，因为，你就是喝的水质就是广州的水质，吃的饭就是广州炒出来这种湿热然后气候也是所以你的身体就是广州人，你不承认也不行
F15	对啊
Me	可是说，那会不会你们有时候跟新朋友聊天见面的时候说普通话他们就“欸”就感觉你不像是广东人
F14	对啊我特别不像，因为我从外我们三个都是就从外观看上去看不出来是广东人
F15	对啊
F14	那你一讲粤语他就说，啊你是广州人，然后你就说是我是广州人，然后就开始怒了，就说广州人哪有你这样的
Me	呵呵呵
F15	哈哈哈
F14	我是第二代广州人

Extract 9

F14	现在广州的的士会有两大派，绿色的就肯定是外地人，黄色和红色和蓝色，才是只招纳广州司机的的士公司。所以你坐绿色的车，会说粤语的人不多。对，所以，没有什么区别，很多的士司机都是外地的，而且，就是，让我的感觉很深就是说，我去那个加拿大的法语区，叫什么
Me	魁北克
F14	对，Quebec，然后，他们那个文化程度不高的比如说是餐厅服务员或者是公交车司机，他们就是法语，文化程度高的人才会讲英语，所以在广州粤语就可能是这么一类的人，是文化程度不高的街坊，就是说粤语的，他是不会说普通话的人都是文化程度不高的人
Me	等一下，这句我有点
F15	确实是，就像你到一个其他的一个省份，你会说方言的就是，他没有没有迈出过他的，这个家门儿
Me	哦
F15	没有去过别的地方所以他不需要说普通话，但是你只要在国内走过的你都会说，额普通话，你如果在国际走过的你都会说英文，对吧，就是这个道理

Appendix C Semi-structured interview questions

Personal Background

1 How old are you?

2 Where were you born?

3 What's your first language?

4 When did you move to Guangzhou with your parents?

5 Did you live in other places before you moved to Guangzhou? If so, did you speak the vernaculars?

6 Where is your origin of place? Do you and your parents still have connections there? How often do you return there?

7 Where do you live right now? How long have your family been living there?

8 Which language variety do residents of your neighbourhood mainly use?

9 Which language variety do you and your family use to communicate with your neighbours?

10 How do you think about adapting to living in Guangzhou? Please give me some examples about your language-use or living habits.

11 How was your time spent in school? Did you get along with local classmates?

12 Were you nicknamed by your classmates as '*laau*'? How do you think about it?

13 Do you hear of your friends talking about whether they should find a non-native to be their girlfriend or boyfriend? How do they call *waidiren* ?

14 When did you fully understand Cantonese and how long did you take?

15 When did you speak fluent Cantonese and how long did you take? Which element(s) contributed to your grasping of Cantonese? (for example, talking to your classmates.)

Parents' Background

16 What made your parents decided to move to Guangzhou?

17 What are your parents' jobs? Which language do they use when they speak to

colleagues in workplaces?

18 What are your parents' first languages? Which language variety do they use when they are speaking to each other?

19 Do they speak Cantonese? If so, do they watch TV programs and news reports broadcasted in Cantonese? If not, do they understand Cantonese? How do they think about TV programs broadcasted in Cantonese?

Language Use within Family, with Friends and Colleagues

20 Which language variety do you use when you talk to your parents?

21 Which language variety do you use when your families dine out with parents' friends and colleagues?

22 Do you live with your grandparents? If you do, which language variety do you use to speak to them?

23 Which language variety did you use in different periods of schools?

24 Which language varieties did you use to speak to classmates and teachers?

25 What are your intimate friends' backgrounds, are they Guangzhou *bendiren*, second generation immigrants like you, or others?

26 Which language do you use to speak to your intimate friends?

27 What language/language variety do you use to talk with, if you have, your boyfriend/girlfriend?

28 Which language do you and your elementary school and high school classmates use when you have gatherings?

29 Where do most of students of your university/college come from? Which is the major language variety do they use? Which language/language variety do you use when you talk to your friends in the university?

30 Which language variety do you use at your workplace? Which language variety do you use when you have gatherings with colleagues after work?

Language Use in Other Daily Activities

31 What language variety do you use when you order dishes in restaurants?

32 What language variety do you use when you go shopping and communicate with sellers?

33 What activities do you do in leisure time? Do you have an interest group? If you do, what language do you use in your group?

34 Which language variety do you use more than the other in general, Putonghua or Cantonese? Why?

35 Do you think the way you speak Cantonese is different from how *bendiren* speak it?

36 Can you use Cantonese slangs spontaneously?

37 What language/ language variety do you use when people ask you directions?

Living Habits

38 How do you think about Cantonese food? Which type of food do you prefer, Cantonese or those from your hometown?

39 How do you celebrate Chinese festivals? Do you stick to customs of your hometown or conform to the conventions of Guangzhou?

40 Do you and your family watch the Spring Festival Gala of CCTV? Do you celebrate the day of Winter Solstice?

41 Which TV channels do you prefer to watch news report and other programmes?

Self-definition

42 Where do you think you belong to, Cantonese or your hometown?

43 How do you introduce yourself in your university and/or at your workplace?

44 Compared to the early days you just arrived in Guangzhou, how do you think about Guangzhou people/*bendiren* now? Is there a big difference?

Attitudes towards the *Tuipu Feiyue* language dispute

45 How do you think about the *Tuipu Feiyue* proposal and the whole dispute?

46 Did you know and/or join the protest in Jiangnanxi? How do you think about it?

Appendix D Consent form (English)

Date: 7 May 2013

INFORMATION SHEET

As part of my doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language, I have been asked to carry out a study involving recording of some interviews and discussion. I am going to transcribe portions of the conversations of them, and will look into particular features that display in the speech that I have recorded.

I have approached you because you live in Guangzhou. I'm interested in what language(s) you use, how you use it/them talking to various people, for instance, families, friends, colleagues, etc. and how you think of speaking different language varieties. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part.

You are going to participate in one or two of these activities. One is to answer a list of questions about how you use languages in daily life and then discuss with me some of the answers in detail. The other is to have a discussion in a small group, discussing certain topics related to your experiences with languages, either those you heard, witnessed or got involved in. Each activity lasts one to two hours.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and to withhold any information you don't want to make public in the speech. At every stage, your name will remain confidential. Your real name will not be used but assigned a pseudonym. The data will be kept securely and will be used for academic purposes only. In other words, your names will be anonymized and some extracts of your speeches will be quoted in my thesis, presentation(s) in conference(s), and/or publications.

If you have any queries about the study, please feel free to contact myself or my course supervisors, Dr. Mark Sebba who can be contacted on m.sebba@lancaster.ac.uk or by phone on +44(0)1524 592453 and Dr. Johann Unger who can be contacted on j.unger@lancaster.ac.uk or by phone on +44(0)1524 592591. You may also contact the Head of Department, Prof. Elena Semino, on e.semino@lancaster.ac.uk or on +44(0)1524 594176.

Jing Huang
j.huang12@lancaster.ac.uk
PhD student

Lancaster University
Lancaster LA1 4YL
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)1524 593045
Fax: +44 (0)1524 843085
http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk

Project title: **Language practices and identity negotiation of the second generation migrants in Guangzhou, China**

1. I have read and had explained to me by **Jing Huang** the Information Sheet relating to this project.

2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

3. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project any time.

4. I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Appendix E Consent form (Chinese)

研究知情同意书

作为本人在兰卡斯特大学语言学与英语语言系攻读博士学位的一部分，我将进行一项包含采访与讨论活动的研究并对其进行录音。我会把采访与讨论中的部分对话进行听写，并进一步讨论它们体现的语言特点。

您被邀请参加这项研究因为您在广州居住和生活。我对您使用何种语言感兴趣，希望了解您与不同人群（如您的家人、朋友、或者同事，等等）对话时如何使用语言，以及您对使用不同语言的看法。十分感激您同意参加此项研究。

您将参与到一项或者两项以下的活动中。其一是回答一系列关于您的日常语言使用的问题，并就部分回答与我进行深入的讨论。其二是加入一个讨论小组，讨论语言使用的相关经历，它们可以是您听到的、您目击的，或者您亲身参与到的经历。每项活动将持续一至两个小时。

您可以在此项研究的任何时间退出，可以在访问和讨论中保留任何您不愿意公开的信息。在研究的每个阶段，您的名字都将被保密，您会被冠以一个假名。访问和讨论中涉及的任何信息和数据都将仅仅用于学术目的。也就是说，您将被匿名，您的其他信息以及看法只会出现在我的博士论文、会议发言、和/或者学术发表物中。

如果您对我的研究有任何疑问或意见，非常欢迎您联系我，或者我的导师 Mark Sebba 博士，您可发送邮件到 m.sebba@lancaster.ac.uk 或者拨打电话 +44(0)1524 592453；或者另一位导师 Johann Unger 博士，您可以发送邮件到 j.unger@lancaster.ac.uk 或者拨打电话 +44(0)1524 592591。您还可以联系我们的系主任 Elena Semino 教授，她的邮箱地址为 e.semino@lancaster.ac.uk ，电话为 +44(0)1524 594176。

黄璟
j.huang12@lancaster.ac.uk
在读博士生
2013 年 5 月 7 日

兰卡斯特大学
兰卡斯特 LA1 4YL
英国
电话: +44 (0)1524 593045
传真: +44 (0)1524 843085
http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk

同意声明

项目名称: **中国广州二代移民的语言实践与身份认同**

5. 我已阅读并被**黄璟**告知该研究项目的信息。

6. 我已被告知该项目的目的以及需要我做出怎样的配合。我的所有提问都得到了令人满意的答复。我同意研究知情书中描述的研究安排，同意参加这次研究。

7. 我的参与是完全自愿的，我有权在研究期间的任何时候退出本次研究。

8. 我已得到了这份同意声明以及研究知情同意书的副本。

参与者姓名:

参与者签名:

日期: