English in China: Language, Identity and Culture

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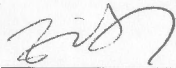Australian National University

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Declaration

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text this thesis is entirely my own work.

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Abstract

China's relations with the world have been an influential factor determining Chinese self-perceptions and how 'foreigners' and one of their languages, English, are perceived in the country. Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, China's defeats in wars, unequal treaties and humiliations by foreign countries (mainly from the West) destroyed China's self-image as a 'middle kingdom'. Exacerbated by the deteriorating relations with the West in the twentieth century, English became associated with "barbarians", "military aggressors", and "anti-Communists" (Adamson 2002). There is, and always has been, the fear of the spread of culture(s) associated with English which can lead to the weakening of Chinese identity. This fear was instrumental in the development of the 'ti-yong' principle: "Chinese learning for essence (ti), Western learning for utility (yong)" ("中体西用") (Zhang 2001:18), which prescribes the role of English as a tool separated from Chinese essence and, has been guiding China's English education policies.

Since the late 1980s, there has been a massive progression of globalisation in China, characterised especially by the entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and the hosting of the Beijing Olympics in 2008. The two events signify the most active participation of China in the global community in the last few decades following the 'reform and opening up' ('改革开放') in the late 1970s. As a global language, the roles English plays in China's integration are significant. English is the principal language of trade partners, technicians, scientists and tourists, an essential tool for modernisation and a vehicle to ensure China's voices are heard. In China, a series of government-initiated and bottom-up English campaigns have been embarked on and foreign

language education policies have also aimed to equip Chinese people with this essential modern skill.

Despite the eagerness to integrate into the global community, globalisation has opened up China to the world and, in learning English, Chinese people are more exposed to western cultural values and beliefs. This, coupled with the absence of a clearly identifiable self-image, has presented challenges to the integrity of Chinese identity and the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle. Chinese identity and culture has had to confront the influx of English and its associated culture(s).

The present research stems from two issues of interest which are interrelated: the roles of English in today's China and what it means to 'be Chinese'. From an applied linguistic perspective, this research aims to investigate Chinese perceptions of 'Self' in relation to other countries symbolising 'the Other' through English as a window. In particular, this thesis looks into what it means to 'be Chinese' from the official and popular perspectives using the 'ti-yong' principle as a reference point.

To address the research aims, a case study was conducted. It investigates the Chinese government's views on English as reflected in a government newspaper, as well as popular opinions through questionnaires and interviews. Official discourses are identified and analysed using critical language analysis frameworks including the work of critical literary criticisms, in particular, that of Bakhtin, and Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis is also inspired by Pennycook's critical approaches to global English. In investigating the popular discourses about English, Q methodology was used to collect questionnaires and interviews data. This research focuses on the interviews as the primary data. In particular, the analysis of Chinese identity draws on post-

structuralist approaches which take identity as ever-changing and multiple.

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter One reviews and establishes the concept of 'being Chinese' and the ways Chinese perceive their country, identity and language which are important contextual information for the present study of Chinese identity. The Beijing Olympics are used as a window into modern China to provide the broader socio-cultural and political contexts of the study. To conclude the chapter, some keywords that are central to the understanding of Chinese perceptions of itself and the world are also explained.

Chapter Two discusses the history of English in China from the eighteenth century onwards, the impacts of English on Chinese perceptions of its identity and how English learning has been linked to the identity challenges of China as a nation. Along the lines of how the 'ti-yong' principle has manifested in different periods, the official discourses about Chinese identity and the challenges English learning has presented are illustrated with reference to China's current policy directions and some existing literature. Chapter Two then discusses the theoretical framework adopted in the case study to analyse the impacts of English on Chinese identity as well as the research focus and aims that guide the present research.

The case study of this thesis, including data collection methodology and analysis, is presented and discussed in Chapter Three to Chapter Five. Chapter Three introduces and discusses the data collected for the case study, the data collection methodology and approaches to data analysis. The chapter discusses the theoretical frameworks used including Bakhtin's literary theories, Critical Discourse Analysis and Q methodology. Chapter Four examines the data collected from the government newspaper, *People's*

Daily, to uncover the official Chinese perceptions of English and 'being Chinese' in relation to the outside world. It discusses how Chinese agency is claimed in learning or using English and is related to Chinese discourse of globalisation. Chapter Four also demonstrates how Chinese cultural values and ideologies are manipulated to re-accentuate the purposes of English and postulate the ideological construction of Chinese identity in the discourses about English.

Chapter Five discusses the results of the interviews conducted during fieldwork in Beijing with university and high school students, teachers and parents. Within the framework of 'frame-shifting' of cross-cultural psychology, the interviews were set up to investigate the significance of Chinese identity for the participants. The chapter particularly focuses on the similarities and differences between the official and popular discourses. In comparing the two discourses, it also investigates the extent to which 'non-standard' language and identity ideologies exist and the ways in which English learning influences 'being Chinese' among the people. The findings reveal some issues around the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle.

Chapter Six discusses the manifestations of 'being Chinese' at the national, local and personal levels as reflected in the case study. It concludes the thesis with the implications of the case study for the status of the 'ti-yong' principle and a note on the potential areas for future research.

Contents

Chapter One

China and 'being Chinese'

> In China, there is both a "longing for a total reconstruction of a past that is gone" and "the
> employment of a refurbished past in beginning a new history" (Barmé 1999:344).

This chapter discusses some traditional and modern Chinese perspectives on the

relationships between China and the world. It also aims to introduce the concept of

'being Chinese' and the ways Chinese conceive of their country, identity and language

which is important contextual information for the present study of English and its

relation to Chinese identity. The Beijing Olympics are also used as a window into

modern China to provide the broader socio-cultural and political contexts of the study.

To conclude the chapter, some keywords that are central to the understanding of the

Chinese perceptions of itself and the world are also illustrated.

China once regarded itself as the 'middle kingdom', meaning the centre of the world.

Before its contacts with the outside, it perceived of 'the others' as backward and as

'barbarians' (Gelber 2007:33). It is generally agreed that there were two periods of

intensive confrontation and self-isolation during the recent two hundred years in terms

of China's relations with the West[1]. One was the period before the Opium War (and

during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900) and the other was the first thirty years of the

Communist rule before the 'reform and opening up' ('改革开放') in the late 1970s.

From 1860 on, following the end of the Opium Wars which first exposed the military

weaknesses of China, western powers such as Britain and France coveted the rich

resources China could provide in the era of the Industrial Revolution. During the

nineteenth century, China underwent a series of wars with the West which resulted in a

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[1] Gerame Barmé (1999:258) mentions that for China, 'the world' essentially means 'the West' and vice versa.

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long period of hostility between China and the West. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the military, economic and political strength of the United Kingdom and United States grew tremendously. Their language, English, has been perceived by Chinese as a means necessary to follow in their footsteps and achieve modernisation.

Since the 'reform and opening up' commenced in the late 1970s and intensified in the late 1980s, China has literally been opening up to the world, and modernisation has become the national development direction. Although, for some Chinese people, the English language has had a long history of humiliating and unpleasant associations with the West as the enemy of China, it provides the major medium to modern information and knowledge indispensable to modernisation. With China's economic growth and increasing involvement in international affairs, English learning is unprecedentedly widespread and welcome especially after China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and the hosting of the Beijing Olympics in 2008. While modernising the country in order to re-negotiate a place in the world (Rofel 2007), China also strives to preserve and promote to the world its own characteristics. In achieving this, the Chinese people need to look back and reflect on themselves in search of their identifiable and distinctive national characteristics. What constitute these characteristics of 'being Chinese' has opened up studies and discussion in the fields of China studies. Under the current economic, political and cultural atmosphere, China studies scholars (for example, Rofel 2007, Barmè 2010) have shown that China relies on both the past and modern period to establish its world status and identity.

Throughout Chinese history, contacts with foreign countries have played a big part in China's transformation into its current 'being'. The spread of English and what Chinese identity means in today's China cannot be considered independently of these contacts.

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China's relations with foreign countries thus underline the mindset that guides the present research and are examined further in this chapter. From a sociolinguistic perspective, one of the purposes of the present research is to explore and identify the 'Chinese national character' in today's China.

1.1 From the traditional perspectives of the relations with the world to the Beijing Olympics: an overview

From its early restricted contacts with foreigners to its openness today, China's perceptions of the world in relation to itself have not changed considerably. The major difference between the past and present mainly lies in the changes in the nature of the relationships between China and other countries over time. In the contemporary period, China's desire to obtain world recognition is unprecedentedly strong. In the following sections, the traditional and modern Chinese perspectives of its relations with the world are discussed.

1.1.1 Traditional Chinese perspectives on its relations with the 'world'

Based on Gelber (2007), the table below highlights some of China's contacts with the outside world in different periods of Chinese history. While Gelber's (2007) detailed accounts cover 2,500 years of the encounters between China and the outside world from the creation of the 'middle kingdom' to the end of the twentieth century, this thesis focuses on more recent encounters in the early twenty-first century as they provide the social and cultural milieu in which the current research is situated.

Year	Dynasty	China's contacts with the outside world and cultural exchanges
1100 BC – 206 BC	Isolationist period	• Creation of 'middle kingdom': "developed from an aggregation of tribes into a single people" (Gelber 2007:21)
206 BC – 581 AD	Qin, Han, Jin and Sui dynasties	• Trade and cultural contacts with Greece, Rome, and Indian Buddhism through the Silk Road
581 - 1276 AD	Tang and Song dynasties	• Contacts with the Eastern Roman Empire, Venetians, Near East and Central Asia (for example, Arabia and Persia); • Contacts with India, Korea and Japan
1210 - 1368 AD	Song and Yuan dynasties	• Continued cultural contacts with India, Korea and Japan
1368 - 1644 AD	Ming dynasty	• Zheng He's expeditions; • Cultural contacts with Christianity; • Import of western knowledge such as science and mathematics and export of Confucianism by western missionaries
1644 - 1727 AD	Qing dynasty	• Conflicts with the Russian Empire
1719 - 1816 AD	Qing dynasty	• European missionaries and trade
1816 - 1860 AD	Qing dynasty	• Trade conflicts with European powers; • Opium Wars • Unequal status between China and the West began

The history of China's links with the world, especially the West, is very diverse,

characterised by China's self-isolation, mutual learning and foreign interference. All

along, it can be said that China has relied on the categorisations of itself and 'the Other' to create its ideal self-image. The old Chinese saying: "非我族类，其心必异" (literal translation: "those who are not our kin surely have a different heart"), which first appeared in the documentation of Chinese narrative history <<左传>> (<<Zuo Zhuan>>) in around mid-400 BC, has been applied not only to issues regarding the internal stability of China, but also to the comparisons between the outside world and China itself (Zhang 2001). China's ideal self-image, as discussed below, was formed by comparing the "psychologically salient" differences between itself and the world (Tajfel 1978:66) which included cultural beliefs and values.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, 'the world' was perceived by China as 'barbaric'. The Silk Road, extending from China to Rome, played a significant role in the early economic and cultural communications between China and other states in imperial Chinese history. The contacts of China with Rome and Greece during the Qin and Han period might have been the first for China links with Europe (Gelber 2007). According to Gelber (2007:35-36), these early contacts between Rome and China were indirect. Via the Silk Road and by sea, there were exchanges of goods including Chinese silks, ceramics, weapons and furs, and Roman glass, textiles, iron goods and gold (Zhang 2012). Around 300 BC, China also had contacts with Greek merchant groups in Bactria (now Afghanistan) (Gelber 2007:32). Apart from what could be considered 'cultural artefacts', the Chinese envoys sent to Rome also brought back to China new information and knowledge of Rome and its neighbouring countries. Through the Silk Road, Buddhist cultural exchanges between China and India in the Han dynasty also took place, and the four inventions of ancient China: paper, the compass, gunpowder and printing spread to Western Asia and Europe.

During the Tang dynasty, the Eastern Roman Empire sent Christian missionaries and monks to China. Despite the prohibition of western religion, influences of Christianity were found in the western part of China. As Gelber (2007:51) states, most of the emperors of Tang and Song were open to foreigners and their influences. People from Japan, Korea and the Middle East, and communities such as Nestorians, Arabs, and Persians were allowed to open shops in China (Gelber 2007:58). When the Mongols ruled over China during the Yuan period, there were also many Italian and Islamic merchants in China such as the Polo family from Venice. As a favourite of the Mongol emperor Khan, Marco Polo was given a governor position in China and when he returned to Europe, he wrote a book on his travels, providing Europeans with information about China[2] (Gelber 2007:77-78).

During the Tang and Song dynasties, China had more cultural contacts with Asian countries. Chinese monks were sent to India to bring back Buddhist texts. There were also exchanges of Indian medicine, music and dance, and Chinese paper and printing (Xu, Zhao and Wen 1981). From Korea, many students were sent to China. The capital of Korea also duplicated the capital of Tang, Changan, and adopted its bureaucratic systems (Liaoning Ministry of Education 2010a). During the Song period, Korea also sent goods such as ginseng and herbal medicine to China. Japanese students and monks sent to China took back to Japan Chinese government systems and land and tax policies of the Tang dynasty (Liaoning Ministry of Education 2010a).

During the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He made seven oceanic voyages to Southeast Asian regions, taking with him articles from the official Ming dynasty and thus expanding

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[2] In the western countries, there are disputes about whether Marco Polo really went to China and the reliability of his book. It still remains a mystery.

Chinese contacts with other countries (Liaoning Ministry of Education 2010b). In the sixteenth-century Ming dynasty, the relationships of China with 'non-China' were also characterised by early contacts with western priests and missionaries. Matteo Ricci (known as Li Madou), as the founder of the first missionary organisation in China, was the most prominent missionary figure. Ricci and other Jesuits approached Chinese people and the emperor to preach Christian faith and promote mutual learning (Li 2001, Gelber 2007). They transmitted western knowledge of science, mathematics, technology, and most significantly of all for this present research, knowledge of the other side of 'the world'. Ricci amazed the Chinese with the presentation of a world map, and the fact that "the world was round" and inhabited by men on its opposite side (Ricci 1953:325). During this long period of deep cultural contact, Latin was the main western language Chinese people learned.

In the search for knowledge and Chinese tradition for advancing western societies, foreigners also learnt from Confucian ideas and set up oriental studies in Europe with subsequent impact on the European Renaissance (Li 2001). For this reason, it is said that foreign missionaries and Jesuits led to the revival of Confucianism during the Ming-Qing period (Li 2001). Scholars such as Liang Qichao[3] believed that Chinese translations and borrowings of western work brought in by the missionaries also greatly influenced the development of Chinese culture and contributed to Chinese modernisation that he called "Chinese Renaissance" (Li 2001:117). In short, the Jesuit missionaries helped raise China's awareness of the outside world and redefine what it meant to be Chinese through their early intercultural encounters in China. These unprecedented mutual learning relationships and cultural exchanges produced a general sense in China that there were also sources of wisdom outside the country (Sen

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[3] Liang Qichao was a scholar and an advocate for modernisation of China through adopting western technology and skills during the Qing Dynasty in the early twentieth century.

2005:172). At the collective level, the encounter of otherness has helped forge a Chinese cultural sense of self.

After the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, the Manchus founded the Qing dynasty. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a series of internal conflicts among government officials as well as China's external conflicts with Russia over land and resources. The Qing period was a turning point in China's contacts with the outside world. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Opium War began as a result of trade conflicts between China and the United Kingdom. In 1900, triggered by the killings of foreigners by a Chinese group known as the Boxers, a war began between China and the 'Eight-Nation Alliance' made up of the United Kingdom, United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia. Following defeats, China was forced to sign an unequal treaty. This was one of the significant foreign humiliations that set the tone for China's 'unfriendly' relations with the world.

The relations of China with the world have been mutually beneficial but at times conflictual due to significant differences between China and the rest of the globe (especially western countries) in social, cultural and political values. According to Tajfel (1978:66), the group membership of individuals is "historical and cultural given" (Turner 1982:22) in that individuals are born and socialised within an already existing group membership. In group categorisations, individuals compare the positive and negative characteristics of different social groups, which create social psychological group membership that defines the psychological reality of the place of an individual and a group (Tajfel 1978). China's past foreign relations and conflicts with the outside world exacerbated the psychological distinctiveness and resulted in 'strong' intergroup differences between China and the world especially the western powers. Due to

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differences in political values and systems, China underwent the second period of isolation in the late 1940s to the late 1970s.

With the ideal self-image of 'middle kingdom' destroyed, Chinese people need to seek for "intergroup" or "intragroup" change, that is, changes in the relation *between* one's own social group and others, or changes *within* one's own group, as the previous image with which they identified can no longer contribute to the positive aspects of being Chinese (Tajfel 1978, 1981, Turner 1982). In the last sixty years since its establishment in 1949, the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to as PRC), in an attempt to seek these changes, has worked towards restoring the nation's internal social stability, economic prosperity and world status. According to a retired Chinese government official, Wu (2007), China's foreign relations policy has emphasised harmony since the early contacts with foreigners. "Harmony", as defined by Wu, means "that each different thing fell into its place in coordination with each other by getting rid of the differences, surplus, making up for what was lacking so that everything was something of its own but in a unified and harmonious body" (Wu 2007:13). In this case, "harmony with differences" is the key direction in China's international relations (Wu 2007:102). Through the presentation of the "Great Harmony" concept to the world in the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, China particularly stressed equality among people and countries and, more importantly, its wish to become a member of the global community. The Beijing Olympics are described as a "coming-out party" of China (Cull 2008:122) that celebrated China's reengagement with the world, and provided a chance to show the world not only a modernising China nearing its 60th birthday, but also its history and culture.

Modernisation has been a primary development direction of the Chinese government since the late 1970s. However, as Chinese officials repeatedly emphasise the construction of a modernised country with a specific Chinese pattern, that is, "socialism with Chinese characteristics", the differences between China and the world are evidently still "psychologically salient" (Tajfel 1978:66) and modernisation is seemingly still perceived by China as equivalent to instilling western knowledge and culture. Thus, what I term in this thesis as 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics' not only can be seen as harmonisation of Chinese and western differences, but again demonstrates China's needs for the West in reviving and defining its place and identity in the current period. It is one of the aims of this thesis to explore what it means to be Chinese in relation to the world today.

1.1.2 The last 30 years: modernisation and the Beijing Olympics

In achieving internal stability and economic prosperity, efforts have been made in the last sixty years in fields such as economy, language and culture in China. Zhou Enlai's[4] introduction and later on implementation by Deng Xiaoping[5] of the "Four Modernisations" of Agriculture, Industry, Defence and Science and Technology since the late 1970s have contributed significantly to the growth and development of China. As 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics' is currently China's primary goal, literature on modernisation helps to make sense of this process.

Most modernisation theories posit a basic distinction between two forms of society: the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. Traditional society operates on traditional forms of behaviour and thinking, and modernisation, for some modernisation theorists such as

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[4] Zhou Enlai was the first Premier of the People's Republic of China from October 1949 to January 1976.
[5] Deng Xiaoping was a reformist leader of China who led the country towards a market economy

Burawoy (1992), signifies a radical break with tradition and culture which are seen as obstacles to development. There are, however, at least two misconceptions about modernisation in most of the existing literature. First, the common beliefs held about modernisation preclude the relevance of traditions and the past in the making of a modern society. The general assumption of modernisation, as first initiated in Europe and America, is that differences at political, economic and social levels of societies will all be contained and the values of ancient civilisations must be relegated to the past. Modernity and traditions are seen as contradictory. Second, for a long time, modernisation seems synonymous with westernisation (Wittrock 1998). Modernisation discourse has been all along about enforcing the homogenisation of cultures along Euro-American lines (Dirlik 2002:20).

More recent modernisation theories seek to accommodate different cultures of modernity in which cultural traditions play a significant role. They do not see traditions as obstacles to development. Although modernity is a global condition, it only provides an idea to reach for and because of the cultural differences of societies, modernisation may assume different cultural forms (Wittrock 1998) resulting in the existence of "multiple modernities" in the world (Eisenstadt 2000:1). According to Eisenstadt (2000:1-2) who writes of the idea of "multiple modernities":

The actual developments in modernizing societies have refuted the homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions of this Western program of modernity (...) the ways in which these arenas were defined and organized varied greatly (...) giving rise to multiple institutional and ideological patterns (...) Such patterns were distinctively modern, though greatly influenced by specific cultural premises, traditions and historical experiences.

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In modernisation or modernity, the past is in fact relevant. This idea of "multiple modernities" (Eisenstadt 2000:1) indicates that each civilisation represents one long-standing set of cultural traditions (Wittrock 1998) which not only is relics of the past but also products of modernity that are empowered by its appropriation into modernity (Dirlik 2002). Past and traditions can therefore be invaluable resources for modernisation of a society, country and people's minds, and provide a basis on which a 'localised' form of modernity develops. The modernising process itself is constantly shaped by a variety of cultural forms in distinct traditions, leading to the emergence of new ways of thinking. Following these modernisation theories, there is no such transition as tradition to modernity. Traditions continue in modernity as traditional cultures are constantly transformed and appropriated into the structure of modernisation (Li 1989). As modernisation is an ongoing process, it is even regarded as "a continuous historical process" (Li 1989:366).

In informing the development directions and 'modern practices' of China, history has indeed played an important role (Barmè 1999). Following Mao Zedong's[6] calls for abandoning and destroying old traditions and cultures, China literally became a cultural desert in the 1960s. In some cities, 95 to 100% of historic and cultural relics were lost forever (Ryckmans 2008). Apart from the more obvious city names indicative of past dynasties and classical poems, China is said to be retaining the spiritual presence of the past which it constantly studies and utilises to construct and maintain its present (Ryckmans 2008). As Ryckmans (2008) states, "...the past which continues to animate Chinese life in so many striking, unexpected or subtle ways, seems to inhabit the people

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[6] Mao Zedong was the first Chairman of the People's Republic of China who led China to become a socialst nation in the early 1950s.

rather than the bricks and stones." In this regard, the past is still exerting its influence on the Chinese people. As Barmè (2010) also recalls,

Only days after the 1 October 2009 celebration of the sixtieth anniversary, the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, paid a state visit to North Korea (...) he visited the memorial to the fallen members of the Chinese 'volunteer army' that had fought alongside Soviet and Korean communist forces [in Pyongyang] during what is known in China as the 'War to Oppose American Aggression and Support Korea'. Among the war dead is Mao Anying 毛岸英, *the favoured son of Mao Zedong... After laying a wreath at Anying's tomb, Wen directly addressed a stone likeness of the dead soldier. He said: "Comrade Anying, I have come to see you on behalf of the people of the motherland. Our country is strong now and its people enjoy good fortune. You may rest in peace".* 岸英同志，我代表祖国人民来看望你。祖国现在强大了，人民幸福了。你安息吧。

Wen's visit and consolation to the son of Mao was interpreted by Barmè (2010) as a declaration of the success of 'Chinese revolution'. The part of Chinese history that involves foreign invasions and humiliations in the eighteenth to the twentieth century still has its impacts on Chinese politics and society. According to Barmè (1999:269), 1980s' and 1990s' China were influenced by the "wounded national pride" caused by these invasions and humiliations. What Wen's visit entails is the influence of history on China in the last sixty years as well as a release of the burden that history has created. The present China is seemingly constituted through the knowledge of the past which still has its 'psychological salience'.

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At the personal level, traditions and history also play a role in the construction of Chinese identity. Rofel's (2007) study of young Chinese women's sense of self and cosmopolitanism fits in well with the idea of reinvention of the past in making sense of Chinese identity. According to Rofel (2007:111-112), cosmopolitanism is a site for China's re-imagination of its place in the world where Chinese knowledge about the country is reconstructed and negotiated. For the young Chinese women who are more self-centred and re-imagined the past as filled with constraint, sacrifice and deprivation (Rofel 2007:124), their knowledge about China embodies "cosmopolitanism with Chinese characteristics" (Rofel 2007:112) (a term reminiscent of 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics'), and their Chinese identity, as Rofel (2007) illustrates, is influenced by the global culture of consumption by which they imagine themselves to have become a part of the world.

This "cosmopolitan Chinese identity" (Rofel 2007:118), as Rofel (2007:3) states, is characterised by various "desires" which she defines as "a wide range of aspirations, needs and longings". For the young women, their desires and their 'cosmopolitan self' are defined by their desires of food, sex, fashion and language (Rofel 2007:120). They prefer western restaurants, and fashionable clothing with English-language labels which are the symbols of global consumerism, and are also more open about discussing sex. The women's 'self' defined by these desires, which were deemed inappropriate in Chinese culture, emerges from their reinvention of China's socialist past and distances the 'Chinese self' from them (Rofel 2007:123). From Rofel's (2007:112) study, it can be seen that people in China "domesticate cosmopolitanism" through reinventing the past. They re-imagined themselves as transcending their country and became a truly globalised subject (Rofel 2007:128). The cultural encounters with the West have led the young women, and by extension, young generation, to re-imagine their place in the

world and their being as global citizens. Their desires have led to the development of their cosmopolitan identity constructed partly on the basis of history. Modern development such as identity formation does not mean a total transformation of traditions and culture into something 'new'. It, on the contrary, involves manifestations of the past.

While Barmè interprets the changes in China by focusing on the 'revolution' aspect, other China studies scholars have emphasised the rhetoric of 'reform' (such as those in Daedalus 1993). 'Revolution' entails a reclamation and revival of the past, while 'reform' focuses on changing the present for a better future. Regardless of the perspectives taken in approaching China's modern development, it is conceivable that China is simultaneously reconstructing the past, creating the present and projecting into the future. The idea of "multiple modernities" (Eisenstadt 2000:1) has forced a rethinking of the relationship between Chinese culture and modernity which increasingly provides the grounds for thinking about the past, the present and the future. Chinese modernity is like other modernities, but it is inconceivable without reference to its local manifestations. The Beijing Olympics present a very contemporary example of what constitutes 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics' or "Chinese Cosmopolitanism" (Rofel 2007).

Olympic diplomacy has played a key role in Chinese foreign policy since 1952, the first participation in the Olympics as 'The People's Republic of China' (Brownell 2008). Before China won the bid to host the 2008 Olympics in 2002, China lost the bid to Sydney who hosted the 2000 Olympics. The Beijing Olympics were tied to an important national historical narrative in China. As for other previous Olympics host countries, the Olympic Games served as a channel to show the globe the country's strength and

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confidence. They provided an occasion when China could "tell the world a story about itself" (Barmè 2009:64) and obtain the "seal of approval" and global acceptance just as Japan and Korea had obtained at the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 and Seoul Olympics in 1988 (Haugen 2008:46).

By bringing forth China's gradual development, and showcasing cultural quality (Collins 2008), the Beijing Olympics presented to the world the blending of ancient culture with images of modern China. Like the other two previous Asian host nations, China made use of "the East-West dichotomy" (Collins 2008:185) in the bid. It presented its modern hybridity - the co-existence of modern development with ancient cultural traditions - as a means to demonstrate that modernisation does not equal westernisation. As stated in the manual for Beijing Olympics volunteers, the Beijing Olympic Games were a perfect occasion to fully display China's '5000 year history' and its 'resplendent' culture. In the special edition of *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) released after the opening ceremony, there were articles with headings such as: "Let China be proud, Let the World be shocked" ("让中国骄傲 让世界震撼") (Chen and Li 2008), and "Let the World see the dream of Chinese people" ("让全世界看到中国人的梦想") (Li and Chen 2008). The Olympics was said to belong to the Olympics, to the Chinese, and to people of the world. As Price (2008:5) states, "...the Games were a historical mandate, part of the country's (China's) birthright and part of what it was owed for its decades of decay and loss of face in the world".

The Olympics were framed within Chinese culture in order to demonstrate how Chinese culture and Olympic ideals shared some commonalities, thereby legitimising China as a host of the world's event. For instance, the volunteering spirit of the Olympics was related to the concept of 'charity' in Taoism and Buddhism, and to Confucian ideas of

"benevolence loves Others" and social obligations "to love people" (BOCOG[7] 2007:19-20). Volunteerism was also further related to the practice of volunteering in communist China as advocated by the 'four generations' of leaders: Mao Zedong's calls in 1963 of learning from comrade Lei Feng to serve the people; Deng Xiaoping in 1981 who started a volunteer campaign to plant trees; Jiang Zemin in 1997 who encouraged young volunteers program; and Hu Jintao in 2005 approved the program of "College Graduates Voluntarily Serve the West[8]" which was aimed to facilitate the economic and social development of the west of China (BOCOG 2007:21-23).

In many ways, China 'localised' the Games to make them a Chinese and yet globalised event. This was reflected in the Beijing Olympics emblem[9], medal[10], mascot[11] and venue (near Tiananmen Square), and the sinicisation of trivial matters. For instance, the choice of 2008/8/8 8.08pm as the starting date and time of Beijing Olympics was influenced by the idea that the number eight is a lucky number which denotes richness (Brownell 2008). Named as "Chinese Seal, Dancing Beijing", the Beijing Olympics emblem is said to be "engraved with commitment made to the Olympic Movement by a country that has 56 ethnic groups and a population of 1.3 billion" (BOCOG 2007). In line with the "harmony" (Wu 2007:102) doctrine of foreign policy, the Games were hoped to fully express the common aspiration of the Chinese people to jointly seek peace, common development and common progress together with the peoples of the

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[7] BOCOG is the abbreviation of The *Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games*.

[8] In this case, 'the West' refers to the western part of China.

[9] The emblem brought forth Beijing's gradual development and was a symbol of trust and an expression of self confidence of Beijing. Through the emblem, China wished to show that it was opening its arms to welcome the rest of the world.

[10] The medals of the Beijing Olympics were made of gold and jade that symbolised nobility and traditional Chinese virtues of ethics and honour. They were said to be a harmonious combination of the Chinese culture with Olympism, serving as a vehicle to spread the Olympic Spirit and the concepts of the Beijing Games, as well as to showcase Chinese culture and arts (BOCOG 2007).

[11] The mascots of the Beijing Olympics were five 'Fuwa' ('Kids of Blessings'), designed to express the playful qualities of five little children. They embodied the natural characteristics of four of China's most popular animals – the fish, the panda, the Tibetan antelope, the swallow – and the Olympic Flame. Their colours were inspired by the Five Olympic Rings, grand territory, mountain and waters of China. They were said to bring good wishes from China to the world (BOCOG 2007:86).

world (BOCOG 2007:80). The "One World, One Dream" theme[12] was intended to project a benign and harmony-seeking China emerging as a powerful yet positive global force (Haugen 2008:135). When globalisation brings "families" of the "global village" closer, China wishes to be a part of the Chinese people as well as of the world (Wu 2007:5).

As the Beijing Olympics show, in seeking to be identified as a group member on the world stage sharing the same modern attributes (Tajfel 1978), China still intends to showcase Chinese identity and culture and maintain its group differentiation. In this increasingly globalised world, it makes effort in establishing, consolidating and promoting the 'Chinese characteristics' identifiable to the outside world. As recent evidence suggests, Confucian ideals and the Chinese language known as Putonghua ('普通話') are two of these 'Chinese characteristics' promoted both inside and outside China. This research focuses on English and Putonghua within and outside China as the two languages are central to the making of Chinese identity.

1.2. Image of Chinese national identity

China is a linguistically heterogeneous country. Official statistics show that the 56 ethnic groups speaking 130 languages (Zhou 2009) are scattered in five autonomous regions and other provinces that cover more than half of the total area of the country. Among the Han Chinese, eight groups of Han dialects or Chinese varieties are also spoken. Although only about 5.6% of China's population speaks minority languages, this population still numbers about 60 million (Feng 2005). Despite this diversity, the

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[12] The two parallel "Ones" and "World" and "Dream" are meaningfully connected. The slogan in Chinese translates "one" into "tong yi" (same, one)", highlighting the theme of "All the people belong to the same world; All the people seek the same dream." (BOCOG 2007:83).

country is always presented to the world as a homogenous nation and, as Wasserstrom (2010) states, focus is always drawn to Chinese national matters in foreign relations which has concealed the diversity within China.

China's linguistic and ethnic diversity has been considered a hindrance to the promotion of national cohesion which is perceived as essential for modernisation. For this reason, the Chinese government has worked towards national unity through (revival and) promotion of Confucian ideals and decades of language standardisation. As Ager (2005:31) illustrates, language policies are about cultural preferences and informed by the self-image planners have of themselves and of how they want others to see them. In this regard, Confucian ideals and standard Putonghua are promoted to construct and maintain the positive internal and external image of 'being Chinese' as one and not being multifaceted. The next section aims to discuss this image planning within and outside China which suggests how Chinese identity is expected to be received and perceived.

1.2.1 National unity (within China)

The internal and external cultural and identity tensions in the last few decades have hindered the peaceful development of self-image among Chinese. China's territories were divided up and controlled by warlords in the early twentieth century, and the 1930s and 1940s also saw threats and attacks from the outside such as from Japan. During the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, Mao called for the abolition of old traditions, cultures, ideas and habits ('Destroy the "Four Olds"') (Orton 2009b:271), denounced Confucian ideals, and advocated the adoption of a new culture. In a society that emphasised the supremacy of family, traditional ideas including filial piety were much denounced and children were encouraged to rebel against their parents and elders

(Yue and Wakeman 1985, Zhang and Schwartz 1997), for they were considered as the cause of the failure of modernity. As a result of these internal and external instabilities, what it means to be Chinese is still an unsettled matter.

In order to participate in the global community with a clearly identifiable Chinese character, there have been emphases on a return to Confucianism to fill the modern "moral vacuum" [13] of China (Bell 2008:9) as well as to counteract the influx of western values brought about by modernisation. For instance, courses on Confucianism are included in secondary and experimental schools and universities (Bell 2008). Government support is manifested by the founding of the "Confucius Foundation" in 1984 whose research on Confucianism is officially approved and funded by the government (China Confucius Foundation 2010), and Communist Party officials in some provinces are assessed on the basis of Confucian values such as filial piety and family responsibility (Bell 2008:9). In the birthplace of Confucius, a plan to establish the "Confucius Culture University" has also been set in place. Above all, on 11th January 2011, a new Confucius bronze statue was built near the centre of Tiananmen Square right outside the National Historical Museum. The erection of this Confucius statue in a place of high political significance where scholarly ideals were once attacked during the Cultural Revolution symbolises official recognition and attempts to revive Confucianism as a Chinese cultural icon[14] (Nanfang Daily 22 April 2011).

As Bell (2008) demonstrates, attachment to Confucian values has increased during the period that China has modernised. At this time of socio-cultural and political changes,

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[13] Mao ruled a China that was effectively closed off from the West, and instilled in the nation a sense of pride, something people felt they had lost as the result of Deng's open door policy (Barmè 1999:258). To "rediscover Mao" in a period of rapid change and social dislocation was for many an act of self-affirmation (Barmè 1999:320). Mao was representative of an age of certainty and confidence, of cultural and political unity, and of economic equality and national pride (Barmè 1999:321). In modern China, as the initiator of the Cultural Revolution and class struggle against capitalism, Mao is a symbol of a glorious and consolidated past, and no longer (or at least to a lesser extent) associated with the idea of communism. Mao's death in 1976 left an ideological vacuum in China.
[14] After exactly 100 days, the statue was moved inside the Museum on the 20th April 2011.

the intersection of the identity vacuum and capitalist ideas has essentially changed Chinese society and restructured China's national character with some western influences (Tu 1993). Nevertheless, Confucianism is aimed to introduce a 'Chinese' dimension to the intersection.

From the mid-nineteenth century, tremendous efforts were exerted, on the part of both the government and the general public, to revitalise and modernise the country, and language reform was taken as a necessary precondition for the unity of the country and modernisation. These efforts include the simplification of writing system (Chen 1999:148) and large-scale lexical expansion to meet the needs for new terms in the growing fields of modern science and technology (Chen 1999:85). In exploring 'nation-ness', Anderson (1991) demonstrates that a nation is an "imagined community", because the members "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991:6). Putonghua, which is still under standardisation, is promoted as the imaginary symbol of the Chinese whole in the current period. In promoting Putonghua as a representation of the image of the Chinese people, China has to conduct what Ager (2005) calls "image planning" through language planning.

According to Ager (2005), to change the image of a language and to conduct image planning successfully, the status of the language needs to be changed. Given the linguistic and ethnic diversity within China, the Chinese people must be made to believe and accept the image of their national identity before promoting it to the world. The promotion of Putonghua within China is achieved through two significant language ideologies: standard language ideology and mother tongue ideology. As illustrated below, these ideologies aim to guide Chinese people's perceptions and affiliations with

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Putonghua. They are thus indicative of 'the' identity Chinese people are expected to have developed and identified. The discussion below focuses on the development of Putonghua in the PRC period.

Standard language ideology

Typical of other standard languages, Putonghua is more a socio-political ideology and discursive construction (Milroy 2001). Since the mid-nineteenth century, the key language reforms in China have included the standardisation of modern Chinese and promotion of Putonghua which were aimed to deal with a large number of mutually unintelligible dialects spoken in different regions of the country (Chen 1999). In the 1950s, more efforts were made to standardise the phonology, lexicon and grammar of modern Chinese which has been called Putonghua ('common speech') since 1955[15] (Chen 1999). Government institutions, service sectors, transportation, army, mass media and schools at all levels gradually shifted to Putonghua as the medium of communication and training. In 1982, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China was revised to state that Putonghua was to be promoted across the country as the lingua franca. The language was to be used in media, government and all schools (Chen 1999).

Coming to the twenty-first century, national cohesion is still promoted through the promotion of standard Chinese as the official spoken language. In 2000, the legitimacy of Han Chinese and Putonghua was further consolidated through the introduction of the "Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language of the People's Republic of China "(<<中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法>>), the first specific law on

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[15] This standard variety was first named *Guoyu* ('national language').

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language in China (Ministry of Education 2000, National Language Working Committee 2009a). It reinstates that a common language will protect the country's and ethnic integrity and in turn enhance identification with the country and nationality (Ministry of Education 2009). Education policy prescribes that schools have to use standard Chinese in classrooms and meetings, and Putonghua should be the primary or sole medium of instruction in all primary or secondary schools. Media presenters, teachers and government officials should reach the proficiency standard required by the government. In addition, Working Committees on Language ("语言文字工作委员会") have been established in different cities across the country. They work to ensure the implementation of national language policies and promote language standardisation. The Beijing Committee, for example, has recruited volunteers to be what is called 'language use administrators' to patrol in public domains and promote standard language use to the public (Beijingshi yuyan wenji wang 2008). According to the Ministry of Education, it was China's aims to have successfully popularised Putonghua at its first stage across the country by 2010 (Hao 2009, Ministry of Education 2009, Yuan 2009).

In today's China, social programs and activities are held to promote and educate the public about 'correct' use of Putonghua such as Putonghua competitions among civil servants, and debates and speaking contests (National Language Working Committee 2009b). Inter-provincial competitions such as poetry composing competitions (using 'standard' language), and standardised characters writing competitions (Zhejiang yuyan wenji committee 2010) are also organised. Each year, there is a national 'Putonghua week' across the country. Through singing performances and speaking contests, Putonghua is promoted in primary and secondary schools and universities (Ministry of Education 2009). Similar programs also take place in villages and minority regions, and

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volunteer teachers are recruited in major cities to teach Putonghua in those regions. Minority languages, on the contrary, are not encouraged to be taught.

The development of standard Chinese, both written and spoken forms, was said to start in 1949, the year of the founding of the PRC. In December 2009, an exhibition entitled "60 years of Chinese language development for New China" (my own translation) was held in Beijing. Along with a series of performances and writing and speaking contests, it exhibited the evolutionary processes of the language, government decisions and law codifications at different periods, and also introduced the different ethnic languages. The standardisation of Chinese language is regarded as a form of modernisation of language which benefits the development of socialist culture and Chinese "renaissance" (National Language Working Committee 2010). After 60 years of standardisation and promotion, *China Daily* (26 December 2004) reports that 53% of China's population can speak Putonghua, 68% know the pinyin system of romanisation and 95% of literates use standard Han characters.

The institutional and social acceptance of Putonghua has resulted in an ideology about standard language which overlays the ethnic and societal diversity within China. According to Dong and Blommaert (2009), monoglot ideologies such as standard language ideology are often dominant in the public debate on language and identity, policies as well as media and expert discourses. Standard language ideology appears to have produced forms of habitus and those who cannot live by the language habitus stand out from the rest (Dong and Blommaert 2009). According to Bourdieu (1991:14), a society comprises different "markets" or "fields" which determine the interrelations between people by the distribution of resources or capital". Bourdieu (1991) distinguishes between economic capital (for example, material wealth), symbolic capital

(for example, accumulated prestige or honour), and cultural capital (for example, knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions). These capitals have their values in different markets and can be converted into one another. In Bourdieu's (1991:70) terms, because of the symbolic power ascribed to a language through language law and its provision to the access of economic and symbolic capitals as constructed by the sanctions of linguistic markets, the language can become a kind of "linguistic capital" and "habitus" which influences people's behaviours and generates practices, perceptions and attitudes. In China, the discourses on homogeneity often revolve around the unquestioned status of Putonghua (Dong and Blommaert 2009). The standard language ideology in China can be seen as "habitus" that guides language choice and perceptions of legitimacy.

A 'standard' language is considered to be the norm, a variety of great prestige, and a yardstick against which other varieties are measured (Milroy 2001). The definition of 'standard' assumes that objects concerned (language) are not uniform in nature but speakers living in standard language cultures believe that their languages exist in standardised forms (Milroy 2001). In modern societies Milroy refers to these beliefs as 'standard language ideology', a particular set of beliefs about language. When standardisation of language is not a universal concept, standard language ideology affects speakers' perceptions of their languages and about language in general. China clearly has what Milroy (2001:530) calls a "standard language culture". Nativeness in Putonghua seems to correlate with the 'mainstream' Chinese identity or "official culture" (Barmè 1999:20). As Train (2002) illustrates, the wider political and educational context of standardisation has been characterised by an overt politicisation in official discourse, and the politicisation of standards in tandem with a "covert depoliticization" (Train 2002:5). 'Standard' implies the "measure of achievement", and

therefore refers to a value judgement of a product (Milroy 2001:532). Through government legislation and setting up of tests and language performance standards, education standards as well as standard languages are symbolically acknowledged. Within China, the use of 'standard' Putonghua in different formal fields including government, media and education is legitimising/politicising the variety as the 'standard' (McArthur 1999). The standard language ideology is an institutional ideology unifying people who speak different dialects for the good of the country. Decades of language reforms and implementations in schools have "depoliticised" and promoted standard Putonghua as a necessary and natural component of 'the' Chinese identity. By the general public gradually orienting their performance towards the standard, the standard language is "depoliticised" and sits comfortably as the norm expected to be used by all, and furthermore, it becomes the identity marker of Chinese people.

In the discussion of standard language ideology, a closely related language ideology in China which stands out is the ideology about 'mother tongue'. Despite the highly linguistically and culturally diverse population within China itself, Putonghua is promoted as the 'mother tongue' of the Chinese people.

Mother tongue ideology

The 'mother tongue' ideology, as is demonstrated below, also works to enhance national unity. In today's China, there does not seem to be any consensus on what mother tongue is. Many Chinese scholars (for example, those who study the impacts of English learning on cultural identification and the Chinese language) present very blurry definitions of mother tongue. Some use the term to refer broadly to all varieties of Chinese spoken by the Han people, be it Putonghua or a dialect of the language.

Although 'mother tongue' is vaguely defined, it appears to be more of an ideology in China and associated with the concept of the country as 'mother'. It is thus essential to illustrate the 'mother' ideology first before 'mother tongue' ideology.

Sun (1995) wrote about the 'mother image' of China and how Chinese people have lived in a society built upon a 'mother-children' relationship where the Communist Party, and by implication, the country, has been commonly referred to as the 'mother' since the May Fourth Movement period in the early twentieth century. During the Chinese Civil War in the late 1930s to the early 1940s, the love for the 'country mother' was aroused among intellectuals during their times of imprisonment by the Chinese Nationalist Party known as 'Guomindang'[16]. When these intellectuals and Party members were in prison, they wrote nostalgic poems and articles to their own biological mothers and the country. One of the well-known articles, "可爱的中国" ("lovely China"), was composed in 1935 by a Communist leader, 方志敏 (Fang Zhimin) (Sun 1995:197-200). Fang refers directly to China as the 'mother' who gave birth to him and raised him; and praises the 'mother' for 'her' provision of an ideal geographical location and climate (referred to as the body and body temperature), and rich resources (referred to as the milk)[17].

As Sun (1995) states, the association of the country with mother was also influenced by the Chinese concept of the nature of biological mother and the tradition of 'filial piety'. 'Mother' is imagined as someone who cares and makes sacrifices for her children and

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[16] Guomindang retreated to Taiwan after being defeated by the Communist Party in the Civil War. It is now one of the major political parties in the Republic of China, which is known as Taiwan.

[17] Apart from these writings, many of which are still propagated to the Chinese public today, some historical incidents are also informative of the mother image of the country. The people's hero, Lei Feng (a role model worker), was said to have composed lyrics: "Sing a song to the Party, the Party is my mother". Lei Feng is recognised and honoured as a people's hero for his devotion of his life to Mao, the Communist Party, and the country as a soldier of the People's Liberation Army. He is a symbol of selflessness and dedication. During the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, students who starved as a form of protest held the slogan: "Mama I am hungry, but I am unable to eat!" (Sun 1995:12-13).

family without asking for repayment (Sun 1995). This is distinctively the Chinese version of a universal image. Motherly virtues and love, which are perceived as solutions to problems, are emphasised in Chinese society and are associated with the mother figure of China. According to Sun (1995:160), the calls for the abolition of Confucianism during the May Fourth Movement were in fact a call for the overthrow of 'fatherly authority' which controlled the mothers and children. This explains the preference for 'mother' over 'father' in the choice of 'family figures' associated with the country. The connection between filial piety and nationalism is illustrated by Fong (2004) who explores what she calls "filial nationalism" among Chinese teenagers born under the one child policy.

Fong (2004) interestingly shows that fulfilling one's duty for the nation is thought of as fulfilling one's filial duty for his/her parents. Although in Fong's (2004) study, teenagers did not consider China particularly admirable and complained about China's ''backwardness'', they excused it as a result of China's poverty and said that they owed it to their ''motherland'' to bring modernisation that would alleviate poverty, just as they had a duty to bring their parents out of poverty by getting high-income work, preferably abroad (Fong 2004:644). Teenagers still professed a deep love for their country that was reminiscent of the love they felt for their parents. They shared with their elders a powerful sense of nationalism based on the belief that they could no more cease to be ''people of China'' than they could cease to be their parents' children. As promoted by teachers in schools, they also often cited the popular slogan ''Study hard to repay the motherland'' (Haohao xuexi, baoxiao zuguo).

Fong's study is illustrative of the connection between family and country in Chinese culture. If China is perceived as a family, this also very likely took root in the

significance of family in Confucian ideals where family (jia) is perceived as the basis of the state (guo), as reflected in the doctrine: "put the family in order and rule the state in peace" (Lin 2008:255). The well-being of family therefore has a direct positive impact on the state, and 'filial piety' is regarded as the most important of all virtues (Lin 2008:263). Chinese people have to be filial to their parents and family in order to do good for the country.

Up until today, China has still presented to its citizens as a lovable mother. To celebrate the 60th anniversary of the PRC, a Chinese website *Youku* (2009) held an activity named "向祖国妈妈献礼—宝宝呼唤"妈妈"表挚爱视频征集活动" (literal translation: *Present to motherland mother – collection of videos of baby saying "mama"*) from 8/9/2009 to 28/9/2009. It aimed to gather videos of babies up to two saying 'mama' for the production of a memorable gift for the "motherland mother"[18].

As the above discussion has shown, the ideology of 'motherland' is associated with the ideology of 'mother tongue' which has made Putonghua a language of inheritance. In China, a lot of people in fact do not speak Putonghua as their first language or the only language.

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[18] This is the description of the activity:

宝宝的天籁之音是最宝贵的财产，宝宝最初的哭声，第一次的笑声，第一次呼唤妈妈...
2009年10月1日，是祖国妈妈60岁生日，是所有中华儿女期盼的日子，对于热爱祖国妈妈，疼爱宝宝的您来说，拿起你手中的DV、数码相机、手机... 录制下牙牙学语的宝宝呼唤妈妈的天籁之音，分享宝宝的成长印记，让亿万网友一同关注宝宝的成长，带给祖国妈妈好运并把欢笑和欢乐分享给大家！

Baby sounds of nature are the most precious property. Its initial weeping sound, its first laughter, first time saying mama...

October 1 2009 is motherland mother's 60th birthday. It is a day so longed for by all China's sons and daughters. For you who loves motherland mother and loves your baby, you need to take out your DV, the digital camera, the handset... to record the babbles of the baby calling mama, the sounds of nature; to share the baby's growth diary with trillion of net friends; and to give motherland mother good luck, and laughs and happiness to everybody!

Standard language ideology and mother tongue ideology are the ideologies/habitus on which Chinese people live. The identity Chinese people are expected to have developed is somewhat implied in these two language ideologies. It is also 'the' identity they are expected to bear in the encounter of anything foreign including English. On Chinese people, the impacts of the ideologies are examined in the case study of this research.

1.2.2 Promotion of Chinese identity (Outside China)

The promotion of Putonghua and Confucianism both inside and outside mainland China is a means by which the Chinese whole and the centralised idea of 'being Chinese' is constructed. The idealised nativeness of speaker of Putonghua assumes a direct "one-nation-one-language-one-culture-one-self view" (Train 2002:3). Compared to Communism, by large a threat to the West which contributed to the distance between the West and China[19], Confucianism is deemed as a more acceptable symbol that people identify with and respect. The nationalist political stances have aimed to use Confucianism as a way of (re-)introducing the assumed 'essences' of Chinese identity, and make Confucianism an inspiring philosophical tradition for China and the rest of the world.

Just as Germany and Italy have established respectively the Goethe Institute and Dante Alighieri Society to give their prominent cultural figures status and to create and project a favourable image to the world (Ager 2001, 2005), Confucius Institutes are founded for a similar purpose. In 1987, *The Office of Chinese Language Council International*, known as 'Hanban', was established. It serves to coordinate and implement Chinese language-related activities and projects such as the Chinese Proficiency Test for

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[19] Communism had dominated Chinese society at different times of Chinese history such as during the Cold War in the 1940s and 1950s, and Cultural Revolution in the 1960s resulting in the second period of isolation and confrontation with the West mentioned before.

Foreigners (HSK), cultural exchanges and tours, and the establishment of Confucius Institutes which symbolically lines up Chinese culture with Confucianism[20]. The institutes are considered a very high priority of the PRC government who provides financial support to the Institutes in the form of joint venture[21]. Confucius Institutes provide Chinese language teaching and teaching resources, train Chinese language teachers, and organise language and cultural exchange programs. Some institutes also work to reach out and introduce Chinese language and culture to the general public (The University of Adelaide 2010). As a form of image planning (Ager 2005), the institutes are intended to foster a sense of familiarity with Chinese language and culture.

On the Ministry of Education of China's website, it is explicitly stated that the spread of Chinese is a means to enhance the country's soft power (Ministry of Education 2009) on the world stage. In 2007, the Chinese Premier Hu Jintao said at the 17th Communist Party Congress: "Culture has become a more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength" (Dawson 2010). Since the first Confucius Institute was established in Korea in 2004, up until October 2010, 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Classrooms have been built in over 96 countries and regions (Hanban 2013); 161 HSK are being implemented in 37 countries and regions with accumulated 400,000 candidates; 20,000 Chinese teachers for 40 countries have been trained; and 2740 teacher volunteers have been sent to 109 countries (Ministry of Education 2009). The Chinese government aims to increase the number of Confucius Institutes and

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[20] The aims of a Confucius Institute, as set out on the website of Hanban (2013), are to adapt to people's need to learn Chinese language around the world, enhance people's understanding of Chinese language and culture, strengthen cultural and educational exchanges between China and the world, develop friendly relations between China and foreign countries, promote world multi-cultural development and build a harmonious world.

[21] The Confucius Institutes project is a part of the "汉语桥" 计划 ("Chinese Bridge" project) approved by the Chinese government in 2004 as the first systematic plan ever on promoting Chinese language. The "Chinese Bridge" project includes other series of sub-projects such as volunteer teachers project, joint publications of Chinese teaching materials between Chinese and overseas publishers, training programs for overseas Chinese teachers and HSK implementation (Xinhuanet 2005).

classrooms to 1,000 by 2020 (Dawson 2010).

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the Chinese identity characterised by Confucian ideals and Putonghua is being constructed and promoted both within China and overseas.

1.3 Meanings of keywords associated with China and the world

This research focuses on language use and hence, it is approached from a sociolinguistic perspective. Referring to words that are valued by particular societies and cultures, Williams (1985) first coined the term 'keywords'. In Chinese, there are some keywords which are significant for understanding Chinese perceptions of English and Chinese identity. This section discusses the meanings of these keywords which can be found across the *People's Daily* data used in the case study of this thesis. The methodology used to derive these keywords is discussed in Chapter Three. Before the analysis presented in Chapter Four, it is necessary to define these keywords as they reveal (1) China's perceptions of itself in relation to the world and (2) Chinese in relation to the Chinese whole, contextualising further the current research.

1.3.1 China in relation to the World

The keywords revealing Chinese perceptions of its relations with the world include 'friends', 'Great Wall' and 'the world'.

1.3.1.1 Friends

In the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony, 3,000 actors dressed as Confucius disciples chanted recitations of the sayings of Confucius such as "to have friends coming from afar, is this not a delight?" (you peng zi yuanfang lai, bu yi le hu 有朋自远方来，不亦乐乎？) (Barmè 2009:76)[22]. In *People's Daily*, 'friend' or 'friendship' is a keyword that describes the relationships between Chinese and foreigners. According to Ye (2004:225), 'friend' ('pengyou') for Chinese is not a social category but only a "vague category which says little about the nature of the relationship". It simply refers to the relationship between people who are "the opposite of enemy" and who share little "common ground" (ibid.). On personal communication, Ye (2011, pers. comm., 30 June) mentions that in addition to being a vague category, 'friend' ('pengyou') is in fact polysemous having another meaning of 'a close friend'.

Ye (2004) illustrates the distinction between 'shengren' ('stranger') and 'shuren' ('old acquaintance') and 'zijiren' ('insider') and 'wairen' ('outsider') that Chinese makes. In contrast to 'pengyou', only these categories make explicit the nature of friendship and social relationships. In particular, the distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider' is made along a continuum of "far" ("distant") and "close" ("intimate"). Whether a person is "far" or "close" does not depend solely on familial relations. He or she can be a 'zijiren' ('insider') simply if he or she is 'shu' ('well known'). In terms of the Confucian ideal of friendship, Lu (2010:238) argues that for Confucius, friendship is a relationship based on mutual communication, understanding, recognition and mutual trust. Friends also learn from each other, share achievement and discuss and exchange information.

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[22] See Barmè (2009) for an insightful scene-by-scene analysis of the opening ceremony.

As will be shown in the case study, in "American tourist"[23], for example, what 'friends' or 'friendship' means is that Chinese and Americans now have understanding of each other's language and culture, and from the wider socio-cultural and political context, their relationship as friends are equal sharing common interests.

1.3.1.2 Great Wall and Shanhaiguan

'Great Wall' is one of the prominent references to Chinese culture in *People's Daily*, including "Li Yang"[24]:

""在北京万里长城上，他用英语引领中国人民解放军官兵高喊："铸就钢铁长城，维护世界和平！""

"On the Great Wall in Beijing, he led the officers of the People's Liberation Army to use English to shout: "cast steel wall, and safeguard world peace!""

To defend China against attacks from the outside, the construction of the Great Wall started in the fourteenth century and continued through different dynasties. The inclusion of the Great Wall in *People's Daily* signifies the eternal integrity and national unity of Chinese. While China is opening up, the Great Wall has then become a cultural heritage that emphasises the ethnic strength of Chinese.

The reference to Shanhaiguan, which is actually a part of the Great Wall built in the Ming dynasty, is used in the *People's Daily* data with a high frequency. The war between China and the 'Eight-Nation Alliance' in 1900 mentioned previously began in Shanhaiguan. In "American tourist", the American tourists are situated constantly in

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[23] "American tourist" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.
[24] "Li Yang" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.

"Shanhaiguan" which conveys significant symbolic ideologies about the relations between China and the outside world.

1.3.1.3 'The world'

One interesting way China makes sense of its place in the global community concerns the ways in which it is positioned in relation to "the world" ("世界"). As the words that recur with 'the world' show, 'the world' is divided into the world **inclusive** of China and the world **exclusive** of China. China can shift between positioning itself as a part or outside of the world depending on the discourse content. The following excerpts from the selected *People's Daily* articles are examples of the world that excludes China:

1. 其实，我们狂热的不是英语本身。中华民族百年期盼，奥运终于来到华夏古都。热情的人们渴望敞开心扉，释放激情，向世界诠释五千年的东方文明，用微笑迎接八方宾朋。这才是"热源"所在。

   In fact, we are not mad about English itself. As a dream of the Chinese People for over a hundred year, Olympic Games have finally arrived at the China's ancient capital. The passionate people long for opening their hearts and releasing their passion, show to the world Eastern civilisation of five millenniums, and welcome the guests and friends from all over the world with smiles. This is where the "fever" comes from. ("Power of communication"25)

2. …在世界著名城市和大学开设中文和中国文化培训中心，全面推介中国文化，让中国成为世界向往的旅游和居住的乐园……

   …to set up Chinese language and cultural training centres in world-famous cities and universities to promote Chinese culture, making China a paradise of travel and residence desired by the world … … ("Li Yang")

3. 在法国乃至在整个欧洲和世界，走出去的中国人已经愈来愈多，中国人关注世界，同时也引起了世界对中国的关 注。

   In France and throughout Europe and the world, more Chinese people have been 'going out', Chinese people are concerned about the world, but at the same time also attract world attention on China. ("River"26)

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25 "Power of Communication" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.
26 "River" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.

4. 世界需要更多地了解中国，中国需要以更加开放的姿态走向世界。

The world needs to understand more about China, China needs to open up more and 'walk towards' the world. ("Chinese fever"[27])

As shown in the above examples, 'the world' exclusive of China tends to be discussed around the issues of understanding China, promoting Chinese language and culture, and around the need of China opening up and learning from others. 'The world' is regarded as a place where China still needs to find its place.

The following are examples where 'the world' includes China:

1. 随着游船在河面上渐渐启动，船上开始为来自世界各地的游客进行讲解。

As the boat started slowly in the river, it began to explain to the tourists from around the world. ("River")

2. 这些外国志愿者淳朴的微笑、真诚的话语、认真的态度，再一次诠释了奥运会是全世界人民的盛大聚会，是全人类的共同节日。

The kind and happy smiles of these volunteers, sincere words, serious attitude, once again symbolise the belonging of this great party to people of the whole world, as well as a communal festival of all human beings. ("We are also ready!"[28])

'The world' that includes China is more neutral and general and is used with issues relating to international cooperation. In this case study of *People's Daily*, the 'world' is always associated with global-ness and internationalisation such as 'global economy' and 'international society'.

While the world is referred to with a more limited set of words, for example, 'foreigners', 'the West', 'western culture', differing ways to refer to China can be found:

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[27] "Chinese fever" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.
[28] "We are also ready!" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.

'the Chinese people', 'Hua-xia ethnicity', 'the East', 'the voice of the East', 'eastern civilisation' and 'Chinese culture'. Below is one example:

发音未必标准，表达未必流畅——但这是东方向世界发出的声音。

*The pronunciation may not be standard, and expression may not be smooth - - but this is the **voice of the East** to the world.* ("River")

As Wierzbicka (1997:160) notes, the world might be "abstract social and political entities which come to replace the emotional security (...)" In the case of China, the double meanings of 'the world' are revealing of the complexity of the issue of Chinese identity as defined in relation to China as a part of the 'world', and in relation to the outside 'world'. In line with Ye's (2004) ideas mentioned previously, the world therefore is 'not so far and not so close'.

1.3.2   Chinese in relation to the Chinese people

The keywords revealing of the perceptions of Chinese in relation to the Chinese whole include 'motherland', 'the Chinese people', 'children' and 'passion'.

1.3.2.1 Motherland, hometown and waidi ('outside' place)

As Wierzbicka (1997) demonstrates in her illustration of 'Homeland' and 'Fatherland' in German, Russian and Polish, the words denoting a native country provide valuable insights into the country's history and culture. The use of 'motherland', as discussed previously, evokes the love and spirit the detained party members and intellectuals created to mobilise the people to protect and serve the country as an obligation. What is unique about the term 'motherland' in the Chinese context is the underlying ideology of indebtedness and total submission to parents which adds to the term a moral and ethical

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dimension. One is said to owe everything to parents, and obeying parents means obeying the country.

In contrast to the motherland with which one identifies his/her national identity, hometown is more associated with childhood, the roots of life, family and ancestors, and a local place. There is a very strong bond between people from the same hometown where everyone is bonded like relatives. According to Lin (2008:198), there is an idea in Chinese society called 'provincialism' (t'unghsiang kuannien), that is, "the idea of being from the same village or same district, then everything comes within the district". Ye's (2004) illustration of 'wairen' ('insider') and 'waidi' ('outsider/other-place') as previously discussed emerged from this attachment for the land regarded as hometown. As Ye (2004) mentions, psychological affinity with people living in the same place whom one regards as 'zijiren' ('insider') is predetermined by some shared traits such as blood or place relations and is often stable, deeply-rooted, and resistant to change. In his recent work on Chinese English, Xu (2011) also illustrates the significance of 'ancestral hometown' discourse in the discourse patterns of Chinese English. Questions about a person's hometown are among the first questions asked in first encounters between Chinese people.

As will be shown in "Changing sound of the hometown" [29], the distinction between 'hometown' and 'away from home' is made. In 'waidi' ('outsider/other-place') (Chen 2003), non-local people usually feel they are 'wairen' ('outsider') even though they share the same 'motherland'. Unlike 'motherland', hometown does not refer to the nation, but the local place and relatives living in the same local place. 'Wairen' from 'waidi' comes from the same motherland, but not necessarily from the same 'home'.

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[29] "Changing sound of the hometown" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.

1.3.2.2 The Chinese people (Zhonghua minzu 中华民族)

'The Chinese people' is also a keyword. In the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, the presentation of sundial (rigui 日晷), the four great inventions, the ideal of 'harmony', the image of the Great Wall emblematic of China's ethnic unity today, and the achievements of the dynasties of 'Tang-Song-Yuan-Ming-Qing' were presented as "one neat and continuous age" (Barmè 2009:82) to create an image of 'a Chinese people'. As some scholars (for example, Donald 2005, Feng 2006) show, Chinese media tend to recuperate all minority groups into a wider national narrative through the term 'a/the Chinese people', which is a term inclusive of all the 56 ethnic groups, potentially covers up the internal linguistic and cultural diversity and portrays a unified and strong Chinese identity.

1.3.2.3 Children, students, and elderly

The young generation as well as elderly are found to be prominent characters in *People's Daily*. In China, traditional images of children are "brave, active, happy, just and hard-working" (Donald 2004:46). The figures of children evoke the ideas of the present and the future, represent successors of the nation's future and mobilise the emotion of adults, serving as affective engagement (Farquhar 1999). According to Donald (2005:21), young children and older people in China are connected through the warmth of feeling, which she calls 'ganqing', to construct the ties between different generations and between the past, present and the future. This was especially so in the 1980s and 1990s when the society was flooded with ideas of individual achievement and goals of money-making. Warmth of feeling is to maintain cultural memories in the

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face of globalisation, and to take the past into the present where the past and the present are made not so different.

Using elderly people in *People's Daily* is important because they signify the past history of China through which Chinese people make sense of their identity and relations with the world nowadays. As portrayed in "Power of Communication", the passion and hospitality of the elderly and children lead them to use English to greet foreigners. Passion and hospitality then constitute the threads of feeling that connect the older generation and children which in turn reflect national unity. As Donald (2005:44) states, "without ganqing, there can be no believable communication between the old and the young". The mention of ancient people in Chinese history in *People's Daily* articles presumably serves the same function of connecting the past and the present.

Under the increasing influence of consumerism and internationalisation, children are also utilised to resolve identity issues (Donald 2005:49). Chinese children and students now assume a Chinese national as well as an international/cosmopolitan identity (Donald 2004) as depicted in "American tourist". They preserve their Chinese identity with their efforts in introducing and promoting Chinese culture to the Americans, but are also capable of communicating with foreigners in English. In *People's Daily*, young Chinese such as high school and university students are always portrayed as model citizens of the new century. They are active agents of change who bring hopes for the future (as indicated in "New Generation" [30], "Li Yang", "Mike" and "Power of communication"). The five 'Fuwa' (five "Kids of Blessings") as the mascots of the Beijing Olympics discussed previously also utilised the symbolic meanings of young children in China.

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[30] "New Generation" refers to an article extract from *People's Daily* presented and analysed in Chapter Four.

1.3.2.4 Emotion and Passion

In *People's Daily*, emotive language is heavily used to engage people to learn English. Emotion in Chinese culture is generated in social interdependence formed by Chinese family and society which has profound influence on its members (Li 2002). According to Pye (1968), Chinese sought to associate strong emotionalism and effectiveness in action and believe that people need to be "stirred to passion" to succeed (Pye 1968:82). The function of emotion, in particular, passion, is to stir up nationalism (Pye 1968:70) and entice people to act. During his rule, Mao Zedong was very capable of connecting passion and politics and stirring emotional engagement of the masses which was necessary for the continuation of the revolution (Perry 2002). For example, "emotional raising" (tigao qingxu) was a key campaign at times of war between the Communist Party and Guomindang when handbooks were even issued to detail the steps in mobilising emotion for the revolution (Perry 2002:112).

In the context of this sociolinguistic (rather than political) study of keywords, passion can be seen as a means to promote national togetherness. In revolutionary campaigns and "mobilization meeting" (Chen 1986:186), shouting slogans which tended to be brief and easy was a means to stir emotional excitement (Chen 1986). In "Li Yang", as is demonstrated in Chapter Four, students have been led to 'shout out crazily' in English their love for the motherland and party, and their purpose of learning English to protect the country. This can be seen as a way to arouse their eagerness and passion.

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1.4 Concluding remarks

This first chapter of the thesis has established the rationale and the contextual background for the research question on Chinese identity. In order to do so, it has looked at the international relations and current developmental strategies of China, the Beijing Olympics as a window to current China, Chinese concepts of their country, identity and language, as well as discussed Confucianism and Putonghua as representation of Chinese identity today. This chapter has also illustrated the meanings of the keywords significant for the study of official Chinese discourses about English and the outside world. As a key milestone in China's pursuit of prosperity through international openness and engagement, the Beijing Olympics have helped define China's national identity in the global community as the unique embodiment of a timeless national culture replete with modern attributes. As the quote at the beginning of the chapter shows, the development direction of today's China is in short gaining and strengthening national strength on the world stage by (re-)claiming its past upon which a new glorious history of the new century can be built.

The emphasis on showcasing traditional Chinese culture has presented a starting point for the evaluation and indeed inquiry into Chinese identity. As evidenced by political and social unrest, calls for abandonment of traditions, and now reclamation of the glorious past and desire to introduce Chinese culture to the world, there seems to be an ambiguity about the past, and Chinese cultural identification is still an unresolved issue. As Haugen (2008:146) also states as a conclusion to the study of Chinese discourses about the Beijing Olympics, Chinese leaders have attempted to fill the "ideological vacuum" in the post-Mao era by reviving the Chinese nationalist spirit. One attempt, as discussed in this chapter, is the restoration of Confucianism and continuous promotion

of Putonghua. Various economic, political and psychological forces help to explain why these 'Chinese elements' are revived.

Facing the existence of moral and ideological vacuum and in the face of modernisation and its associated ideas, languages, and cultures, the direction of 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics' illustrates that the issue scholars need to be concerned about is not so much the history of China, but the Chinese ways of seeing the past in the construction of a modern identity. According to Fishman (1972), as the ethnocultural characteristics promoted are not always the reality of all the population or the elements of the past are not readily available in the everyday life of the people, language is often used as a symbol of national identity and as the instrument to promote the distinctiveness of the group. This chapter, however, has demonstrated that while Putonghua is promoted overseas as the identity and cultural marker of Chinese people, it is still being learnt and promoted by Chinese people themselves on the mainland. To both Chinese and non-Chinese, 'Chinese identity' can be seen as imaginary. For this reason, instead of relying on any existing conceptualisations of Chinese identity, this study investigates what is meant by 'being Chinese' nowadays including both the institutional and popular views of Chinese identity. Given the scope of this thesis, the language component of Chinese identity is the major focus of the present research.

The historical experiences of China, as this chapter has also shown, are necessary for the understanding of China's international relations and current development of which the popularisation and domestication of English as well as Putonghua is a part. In order to contextualise further the current research on English and Chinese identity, the next chapter discusses and illustrates the history of the status of English in China and the

ways in which English learning has been linked to the identity challenges of China as a nation.

Chapter Two

English in China: English education policies, changing roles and Chinese identity

To look into Chinese identity in the twenty-first century through English as a window, this chapter discusses the impacts of English on Chinese perceptions of identity, and how English learning has been linked to the identity challenges of China as a nation.

This chapter first discusses the history of English in China from the eighteenth century onwards. Along the lines of how the 'ti-yong' principle has manifested in different periods, the official discourses about Chinese identity are illustrated with reference to China's current policy directions. Following that, the challenges English presents to Chinese identity are examined with reference to some existing literature on the official and popular discourses about English. This chapter then discusses the theoretical framework adopted in the case study of this thesis to analyse the impacts of English on Chinese identity as well as the research focus and aims that guide the present research.

2.1   History of the status of English in China: from the eighteenth century onwards

Since the nineteenth century, the 'ti-yong' principle has been guiding the policy direction in China's English education. While there has been a concern that learning western knowledge weakens and contradicts Chinese culture, western knowledge has been, at the same time, perceived as essential for modernisation. Chinese politicians therefore introduced the idea of "Chinese learning for essence ('ti'), Western learning

for utility ('yong')" ("中体西用") (Lo Bianco 2009)[31]. According to this idea known as
the 'ti-yong' principle, there is a difference between learning English and learning its
associated culture(s). With the primary aim to learn the language, the 'yong' aspect of
the 'ti-yong' principle dissociated English from its perceived associations with
American and British cultures and prescribes the role of English "as instrumentally
useful, temporary, connected to unaltered Chinese essences that would draw knowledge
and skill from the learning but would endure, largely unchanged" (Lo Bianco 2009:42).
In China, as the attitudes towards English have been ambivalent, the 'ti-yong' principle
has been re-defined over time not only in the official discourse, but also in the public.
Since the 'reform and opening up' in the late 1970s, English language education has
evolved tremendously in China to accommodate the more internationalising socio-
economic landscape. The enhanced exposure of Chinese people to the outside world,
however, has presented challenges to the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle and thus
"alter" the "Chinese essences" (Lo Bianco 2009:42). A purpose of this thesis, therefore,
is to compare the official and popular discourses about English through a case study of a
Chinese national newspaper and the viewpoints of students, teachers and parents. Only
recently did scholars start to look into the influence of the 'ti-yong' principle on Chinese
identity.

From the eighteenth century onwards, the history of the status of English can be
classified into six periods based on China's changing perceptions of itself in relation to
the world: (1) self-isolated 'middle kingdom', (2) isolated kingdom, (3) internal cultural
and identity crisis, (4) 'reform and opening up' era, (5) bilingual Chinese and (6) global
Chinese. These six periods were derived from readings and understanding of the
existing literature on English in China (for example, Adamson 2002, 2004, Ji 2004,

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[31] It was first introduced by Zhang Zhidong (张之洞), a prominent politician during the Qing dynasty who advocated
for reforms.

Feng 2009). This section reviews the history of English in China. Due to the lack of information about the 'ti-yong' principle before the nineteenth century which serves as a recurring point of reference and a backbone concept in this present research, this thesis places more focus on the status of the principle in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

2.1.1 Self-isolated 'middle kingdom[32]' (18th century – 1940s): From English as a "barbarian's" tongue to English for utility

Before the nineteenth century, there was neither a desire nor even the concept to modernise and to align with the outside world, as China perceived itself as a self-sufficient 'middle kingdom' and saw foreigners as barbarians who spoke barbaric languages. Contacts with foreigners were very minimal and were confined only to trade interactions. To avoid contacts of foreigners with ordinary Chinese people, foreigners were forbidden by the government to learn Chinese, and as a result they could only communicate with Chinese in a form of pidgin English (Bolton 2003).

After the defeat in the First Opium War in 1842, China started to realise the technological advancement of the West as well as its own backwardness in technology and military. The intention to modernise through industrial and technological development thus started to emerge. Since all the foreign manuals and specialised booklets of machineries were published in English (Crystal 1997), English became an important language. In 1862, the first foreign language school called Tongwenguan was built with English being one of the languages taught. Courses such as Chinese, Mathematics and Geography were later introduced in Tongwenguan with the aim of

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[32] In the seventeenth century, China considered itself as the centre of the world, given its limited knowledge about the 'world' beyond its border. 'Middle kingdom' literally means 'centre country' in Chinese.

training interpreters and professionals in science and military. As a result of the signing of unequal treaties after the Opium War with the Great Britain, China was forced to open up and the demands to deal with foreigners in business and trade increased. In 1902, Tongwenguan became Peking University and many language schools were established in cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing. Translation courses in English, Russian, French, Japanese and other foreign languages were also offered. In the same year, the Qing government also introduced English into the high school curriculum.

During the Republican era in the early twentieth century, English in general enjoyed a high status as a language for military and diplomatic relations as well as for science and technology (Adamson 2002). China was inclined to align with western rather than eastern powers to strengthen its international position and to move towards a 'parallel' and 'equal' co-existence with the West, as demonstrated in Chapter One. In 1922, China decided to follow the model of the United States education system (Adamson 2002). English consequently assumed greater proportions in China's education system and opportunities to learn the language increased, although only a few people had access to schooling at that time. Political and social instability created by the Sino-Japanese War in 1937-1945 however disrupted and hence changed the education system. Schools did not follow the education policy but only taught at their discretion and whatever was available. English education before the 1940s happened in a piecemeal manner.

In earlier times, as the above discussion has shown, China's contact with the West was more diverse and as time progressed, the West represented more the United States and other English-speaking countries. This is reflected first by the desire to learn English

triggered by the defeat to Britain in the First Opium War, and second, by the adoption of the United States education system. The unified 'ti' in this early period, as also demonstrated in this discussion, was damaged by the defeat in war. However, the desire to learn English triggered by the defeat indicates the role English had played in defining China. English seemed to have taken on the role of helping China find its place and identity in the world alongside the West.

2.1.2 "Isolated" kingdom (1940s – 1960s): English provides access to science and technology, and protection against the West

Once a self-sufficient and self-isolated 'middle kingdom', the defeats in a series of wars and humiliations by western powers destroyed the self-image of Chinese. As the West was seen as having more advanced science and technology, the goal of learning western knowledge to protect China against the West became more explicit in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Up until 1949, the early PRC period when the Chinese civil war ended, China was isolated as a communist enemy by western powers which, for China, referred more to English-speaking countries including the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. This set the tone for the early decades of the relations between the West and the PRC who sought solidarity with the forces of socialism to combat imperialism (Spence 1980, Schaller 1990). Although the Communist Party won the civil war, in the face of the threat of Guomindang who fled to Taiwan, mass campaigns were carried out to unite the populace and to strengthen and give the nation a stronger role in international affairs (Adamson 2002).

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The United States support of Taiwan in the early PRC period rendered English unpopular when a tide of anti-U.S. sentiment swept the country and it "became somehow unpatriotic to study the language of (the) enemies" (Tang 1983:41). As Sino-Soviet relations grew closer, there was a need to learn Russian, which therefore became the main foreign language. However, English still had practical value as a means of access to science and technology. It was taught in tertiary institutes with the main purpose of training translators to translate imported technical and scientific manuals (Ministry of Education 1950).

English gradually resumed its high status as a tool for modernisation when Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated as a result of the overthrow of Stalin in the 1950s (Adamson 2002). With the aim of training foreign language talents in different occupations for building a modern 'New China' (Tang 1983), in the early 1960s, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai introduced some foreign language policies in major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. On the basis of ability, a very limited number of students was chosen to study in foreign language schools. In the earlier period discussed in the last section, English seemed to play a role in defining China but in this period, it is rather obvious that Chinese and western 'ti' were in opposition and English was perceived as a tool for science and technology only. Studying English was associated only with elites and as such, English became an identity marker of the elite to some extent. The Chinese 'ti', for this reason, was diverse and not unitary and, at the same time, ambivalent.

2.1.3 Internal cultural and identity crisis (1960s – late 1970s): English is a 'capitalist' language

During the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960s, the status of English collapsed when

Mao mobilised the masses to re-establish a proletarian-dominant nation. Foreign language teaching was almost completely wiped out and the masses were mobilised to carry out political campaigns in support of the Party. Education organisations were either closed down or turned into "revolutionary headquarters" (Ji 2004:85) and intellectuals were assigned to manual labour (Adamson 2002). Because of the associations of English with capitalism, English teachers were punished. Popular slogans such as "I am Chinese. Why do I need foreign languages?" and "Don't learn ABC. Make revolution!" (Qun and Li 1991) spread across the country. The prevailing perception was that learning English was useless and that to be a good Chinese meant to be a communist. Political identity was seemingly the most important during that time.

In 1966 at the time of the Great Leap Famine, Mao started to realise that extreme socialism was "wrong" (Barmè June 8 2010) and in 1968, English courses resumed for accessing science and technology again. This sudden change was not without political purposes. As Ji (2004:97) concludes from her study of the English textbooks published during the Cultural Revolution Period,

English language textbooks in China during the Cultural Revolution ensured that learning a foreign language was not going to open up a window onto another world or give students access to alternative ways of thinking. The goal was not to help the students communicate with foreigners but to keep them locked within Maoist discourse – a discourse which they were expected to reproduce, internalize and live by.

In the textbooks, Ji (2004) finds five very common themes: 'the bitter past of the labouring people', 'class struggle', 'reverence for workers, soldiers and especially poor

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and lower-middle peasants', 'the Maoist thought of serving and caring for the people', and 'the "universal appeal of Mao's Thought" to ordinary people from other countries' (Ji 2004:88). Most of the words used in the books were not part of the everyday vocabulary of native speakers of English but rather were the words required to translate the slogans of the Cultural Revolution. Before students were taught how to say 'hello' or 'goodbye', they were taught how to say things like "Chairman Mao leads us in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism" (Ji 2004:91). The teaching curriculum was strictly controlled and confined to the study of Mao's works and Maoist newspaper editorials, and to political talks by workers and peasants (Ji 2004).

Coupled with the domestic and overseas political and social turmoil in previous decades, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) further disrupted the modernisation of China by censuring all western knowledge considered capitalistic including English. As discussed in the previous chapter, Chinese traditions were also denounced and destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Under the period of non-recognition by the West, the domestic condemnation of western knowledge and destruction of traditional values, Chinese identity lost its "spirit" and "cultural vitality" (Cha 2003:484). There was no foundation on which Chinese culture and identity ('ti') could exist and be defined. It was primarily political.

2.1.4 Chinese identity revisited ('reform and opening up' era, late 1970s – 1990s): English is essential for modernisation

After the visit of US President Richard Nixon in 1972, the international relations of China with the West improved. English was again perceived as essential for international diplomacy and re-emerged as a subject of study in school.

In the late 1970s, especially after 1976, foreign language education was widespread, but it failed to deliver English education at a satisfactory level in most regions due to insufficient qualified teachers and resources (Adamson 2002, 2004). In 1978, Deng Xiaoping introduced new economic reforms including the well-known 'reform and opening up' policy which encouraged foreign companies to invest in the PRC in the form of joint ventures with Chinese companies. Deng's implementation of 'Four Modernisations'[33] stressed development in the areas of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defence. This placed importance on the need to learn English in order to acquire modern knowledge from the West and for foreign diplomacy. According to Ji (2004), the restoration and 'normalisation' of China's foreign language teaching began when foreign languages became as important as mathematics and Chinese in the school curriculum in the late 1970s. After the 'reform and opening up', foreign languages were no longer taught as a political tool for promoting the government's ideas but as a communication tool with foreigners. Political jargon and vocabulary of Chinese political debate was eliminated and lessons featuring direct warfare against class enemies were replaced by a wide variety of foreign stories and cultural heritage of the English-speaking world, by items explaining basic science and technology, and by lessons intended to expand general knowledge (Ji 2004).

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33 'Four Modernisations' were first introduced by Zhou Enlai as mentioned in Chapter One.

Intercultural communication was emphasised in the curriculum in the 1980s. As seen from this, while the 'ti' of English was brought into English language education, the language was intended to be a tool separate from Chinese 'ti'.

Numerous policies including language policies were introduced in the late 1970s to the early 1980s. These included the 'Proposals for Enhancing Foreign Language Education' in 1979, the 'Plan for University English Teacher Training' in 1980 and the 'College English Syllabus for Arts and Social Sciences Students' in 1985 and 1986 (Feng 2009). Japanese, French and Russian were also restored to all schools from 1979. Language undergraduates had the chance to study overseas and native speaker teachers were recruited to teach in tertiary institutions. The 'reform and opening up' increased people's contacts with English speakers and the development of international trade and tourist industry led to the creation of more English-speaking activities and materials. Despite the more recognised status of English, the Chinese government was still aware of the political and cultural problems the high status of English could bring. Deng Xiaoping once publicly emphasised the resistance to corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad and to the bourgeois way of life (Adamson 2002, 2004). It can be seen that the Chinese 'ti' was still intended to be separate from English 'yong'.

In the 1980s, a draft English ELT syllabus for primary and secondary schools was released stating that English could be learnt either from 3rd or 7th grade and it should only be taught when the required conditions such as having qualified teachers were met. As a result, English was restricted to some key urban primary schools which met the required conditions. In the late 1980s, as regions along the coast could provide better foreign language education in primary schools (Adamson 2002, 2004), great disparity between coastal, developed areas and less developed regions was created. The most

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prominent policies during the 1980s were the two College English syllabuses issued in 1985 and 1986. The CET4 (College English Test – Band 4) and at a higher level CET 6 (College English Test – Band 6) have been perceived as the key to personal and institutional success since their introductions (Feng 2009). In the 1990s, an English syllabus for the new secondary school curriculum was introduced which set out the official role of foreign languages as an "important tool for making contact with other countries and…promoting the development of the national and world economy, science and culture" (Adamson 2002:240). In the public sector, English books sold in bookstores were predominantly English translations of books written by Chinese authors such as the poetry and thoughts of Mao, books on travel in China and children's stories. Translations of the work of Marx and Lenin were also available in English and a few other languages.

The unequal access to English resources in the late twentieth century began to mark the identity of the key urban primary schools as well as the coastal and developed areas as opposed to less developed inland regions of China. 'Ti' in this sense was fabricated and diversified by the distinction. As Bourdieu (1991) states, the recognition of a language symbolically ascribes power and prestige to the language which then turns it into a linguistic capital of its speakers. The 'key urban schools' and coastal developed were thus differentiated and marked by English as a capital of prestige.

2.1.5 Bilingual Chinese (late 1990s – early 21st century): English for internationalisation

The late twentieth century saw the global spread of English as facilitated by the spread of American popular culture, the growth of communication systems and the Internet

(Crystal 2001). This meant that the need for English to access information and to modernise further increased.

In the late 1990s, the support given to English in China did not come from the top-down. In the public sector, there was a strong demand for teaching English in primary schools from the general public and parents (Wang 1999a) and an increasing number of primary schools initiated their own English programs. In 1999, approximately seven million out of 130 million primary school students were learning English at school (Hu 2007). Due to the lack of qualified teachers, appropriate teaching materials, and uniform policy and national English syllabus, a vast majority of countryside schools did not teach English. In 1998, in the fourth national symposium on primary school ELT[34], it was agreed that guidelines or curriculum standards to regulate the teaching of English in primary schools should be developed (Wang 1999b). The public voices demanding English education from lower grades were seen as one of the contributing factors to the rise of the language policy.

Together with political classes such as "Marxist principles" (Cargill 2006), English has also been incorporated as a part of China's basic quality ('suzhi') education reform in tertiary education since the start of the twenty-first century. Students are required to pass both subjects upon graduation. In 2001, a guideline named *Vigorously Promoting the Teaching of English in Primary Schools* (translation by Hu 2007) was released mandating that students in both urban and rural schools start to learn English as a compulsory subject in the third grade, prior to which English had been introduced to the majority of students in the seventh grade. The purpose was clearly stated by one of the officials of the Ministry of Education in China: "...the fact that English has become an

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[34] ELT stands for English Language Teaching.

important tool in international interactions as a result of globalization makes the knowledge of English a basic requirement that citizens of the 21st century should fulfil" (Hu 2007:361).

As internationalisation has further accelerated, efforts have been made to introduce 'composite' majors at tertiary level, that is, train people with English skills plus knowledge in specific fields (Gao 2009). The new tertiary curriculum encourages knowledge of other specialities to nurture all-round English majors. In 2001, the guidelines for English-as-the-medium in undergraduate teaching were issued. They stipulate that five to 10% of the tertiary courses for undergraduate students be conducted in English or another foreign language within three years (Feng 2009). The guidelines, as Chen (2002) points out, were contradictory to the national language law promulgated in 2001. As the first official endorsement of this strong form of bilingual education, it violates Article 10 of the Law of the PRC on the use of language and script which states that all educational institutions in China, excluding those of minority groups, must use Mandarin as the primary teaching language and adopt standard Chinese written characters as the written form (Feng 2009). This violation however did not receive any official responses (Feng 2009), and neither is there a law regulation to monitor English-as-medium-of-instruction. This signifies the importance attached to English by the Chinese government.

As Feng (2005, 2009) illustrates, there are two parallel strands of bilingualism in China: (1) 'traditional bilingualism' directed at minority language speakers who are expected to know their own languages as well as standard Chinese (Putonghua); and (2) 'modern-day bilingualism' – English and standard Chinese for the majority Han population. After the many years of ambivalence about English education, China ultimately cannot

avoid the growing importance of English. The 'reform and opening up' 'opened the door' to English education, then facilitated by accelerating globalisation, WTO membership and 2008 Beijing Olympics, 'mainstream bilingualism' for Han people has been promoted in China.

Teaching conducted in both Chinese and English is believed to be an effective way to produce bilinguals in response to globalisation and internationalisation even among the Chinese public (Feng 2005). Although no central government policy is essentially present to dictate bilingual education, support for English and Chinese bilingual schooling has been very strong among the public. There is a growing rate of bilingual nurseries, schools and universities, and a large number of "experimental bilingual schools" using English as the medium of instruction for most school subjects including science, mathematics, music and art (Feng 2005:537). Early immersion programs and classes for 0-3 years old are also becoming a trend. Under these circumstances, English studies have become a business. Crazy English and New Oriental are two of the famous English teaching enterprises currently operating in China (for example, Lai 2001, Lam 2005). Outside school, many parents and students also seek extra English classes and tuition. Today, parents are much better-off and thus able to invest in the best possible education for their children because of the country's economic growth. Many more parents also send their children to study abroad.

In China, English policies affect two million students. From primary school to doctorate classes, English is a compulsory subject. The national college English examinations, for example, CET4 and CET6, determine who can proceed to higher study and better job prospects. At present, English teaching in China is profoundly affecting the lives of Chinese people.

2.1.6   Global Chinese (early 21st century – present): English as a universal modern skill

As China is opening up, it recognises the need for English in order to attract technology import and capital, cultural exchange and tourism. While it was once deemed unpatriotic to learn the language of the enemy, English learning is now considered a patriotic act which facilitates modernisation and integration into the global community of the country. The entry into the WTO and hosting of the Beijing Olympics in the twenty-first century signified a great leap forward.

In the Beijing proposal in the Olympic bid, foreign language education was one of the five areas identified as in need for improvement, along with issues such as pollution and infrastructure. With the Olympic Games, the status of English reached a new peak. For example, from 2001, the Beijing Foreign Language Committee held annual English promotional activities such as 'Foreign Language Week' and 'Beijing Foreign Language Festival'. English learning materials, self-study courses, handbooks and manuals were also provided for free for the public, police, restaurant staff and taxi drivers. With the common goal of learning English to ensure the success of the Olympic Games in the short term and to strengthen and modernise the country in the long term, the English learning campaigns in China were initiated from both top-down and bottom-up.

The global spread of English has changed people's perceptions of the language. In my study of the views of English of the Chinese government and among Chinese overseas

students in Australia (Fong 2009), the view of English as a universal modern skill is very predominant. As the *People's Daily* remarks,

> 公务员的现代化，并不主要是"会电脑"、"会英语"、"会开车"等仅仅
> 局限于某些现代技能的掌握…公务员现代化的核心是思想意识、道德观念、
> 价值尺度、思维方式、行为方式、感情方式、社会责任感和创新精神等综合
> 素质的现代 *(Yang 2000)*.
>
> *Civil servants do not only need to acquire modern skills such as computer literacy,*
> *English and driving skills, but moral and value beliefs, sense of social*
> *responsibility and creativity should also be the core qualities of modernisation.*

> 一位英语很好的女士，却没有找到合适的工作，田光哲建议她去学厨师，因
> 为"英语加厨师"的能力结构，正是社会急需的 *(Jiang and Ding 2004)*.
>
> *A lady with very good English could not find a job. Mr Tian suggested she learn to*
> *be a chef because the ability structure (emphasis added) of "English plus Cooking"*
> *is exactly what the society is in need of.*

> 为适应日益增多的涉外案件审理工作，北京法院系统十日举办了第一期法官
> 英语培训班，以培养懂法律、通英语的实用型高素质审案人才 *(Lou and Wu*
> *2000)*.
>
> *To accommodate to the increasing number of cases involving westerners, the court*
> *in Beijing implemented the first season of English training for judges on the 10th to*
> *train practical and high-quality talents who are good at law and English.*

Articles and statements reporting on the efforts made to modernise the education system, the Chinese Communist Party and civil service through incorporating English into training such as the examples above constitute a large portion of the *People's Daily* data. From these examples, it can be seen that from the official perspectives, English has become a modern tool for interacting with the world in general rather than with 'native-English speakers'. The fact that English has become an international language is perceived as diluting the cultural threat and English is thus no longer a threat to 'ti'. As shown in the first remark above, English is always placed in juxtaposition with driving and computer literacy skills, and is also encouraged to be learnt along with other 'practical' skills such as cooking. From the official perspectives, English is still associated with the 'yong' aspect of 'ti-yong' principle. While driving, computer literacy and cooking are skills that are universal, English, in the institutional discourse, is also a universal modern skill with no particular culture attached (Fong 2009). This perception about English has implications for how English is perceived in relation to Chinese identity.

For over half a century, the relation between language and identity has been addressed from differing perspectives in the literature. Identity issues involved in second language learning were studied in the 1950s by Gardner and Lambert who proposed a motivation theory in Second Language Acquisition. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), there are mainly two types of learning motivation: *instrumental motivation* and *integrative motivation*. Instrumental motivation consists of well-internalised extrinsic motives including economic benefits, while integrative motivation is associated with components such as interest in the language and desire to assimilate into the target language community. One component of integrative motivation relevant to language learning and identity is the concept of 'integrativeness' which "reflects the individual's

willingness and interest in social interaction with members of other groups" (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993:159). It is conceptualised as the desire to integrate into the target language community.

Although their ideas have been applied widely in studies of English learning motivation, the world itself has changed greatly since Gardner and Lambert first introduced the notion of integrative motivation. Their ideas are predicated upon an essentialist view of identity and the existence of clearly identifiable social groups associated with particular languages. When Indonesian learners of English were asked about their reasons for learning English in Lamb's (2004) study, there were only four specific references to English-speaking nations. The vast majority of comments were made about the 'West' in general which is perceived as the source of globalisation. Indonesian learners of English are acutely aware that its social, economic and cultural effects will be felt inside Indonesia and that in the future, "(...) globalization is going to happen (...) Western people are going to come to Indonesia, and will get involved in every country (...)'' In the minds of learners, English may not be associated with particular geographical or cultural communities but with a spreading international culture incorporating (inter alia) business, technological innovation, consumer values, democracy, world travel, and the multifarious icons of fashion, sport and music.

In the current global era, it has also become easier to travel, work or study abroad, meet foreigners and be exposed to foreign culture. The desire to make friends with foreigners by learning English would concern foreigners in general rather than only English-speakers (Clément, Dörnyei and Noels 1994:431). This is particularly true of learning an international language, the aim of which is not so much to get into contact with the native-speaking community as to communicate with others who have also learned it as a

foreign language. In this global era, therefore, whether learners have a favourable attitude towards English-speaking cultures may no longer be a relevant question, as English is no longer associated just with Anglophone countries but with 'the world' in general. With English now a global lingua franca, the idea of 'target language community' has become debatable. As Warschauer (2000:512) points out, globalisation has brought about "a new society, in which English is shared among many groups of non-native speakers rather than dominated by the British or Americans."

In particular regard to China, Orton (2007, 2009a) recently compared a set of textbooks made in the 1980s and 2000s to investigate whether English was presented to school learners as "just a tool", what positions and voices learners were offered and what social groups the learners might join by learning English. The textbooks were written by educators employed by the Chinese government in the People's Education Press (PEP) and especially for this reason, they are seen as in line with the government's national policy and promoting and shaping learners' perceptions of what is 'acceptable' and 'normal' in relation to learning English.

As shown in Orton's analysis (2009a), the perceptions and roles of English in Chinese people's lives, and how English relates to being Chinese have changed within the 25 years. The images of native speakers of English in the textbooks of the 1980s were constructed negatively, characterised by issues such as racism of whites and petty crimes. In the textbooks of the early 1980s first published during the 'reform and opening up' period, universal objects and activities of the home, school, street and political terms of the Chinese Community Party featured primarily. Instead of being a language for interaction with foreigners, English was merely an alternative mode for Chinese to communicate with other Chinese and express and access Chinese viewpoints

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and facts as though it were an Asian language. English was also only a tool to acquire global knowledge about facts, history, famous people and science of the West. Foreigners were portrayed as coming to China to learn and speak Chinese to Chinese.

In one of the 2006 texts, Orton (2009a) noticed the new relationships between Chinese and native English speakers as depicted in a few dialogues that involve "direct and sustained Chinese-native English speaker contact" (Orton 2009a:150). As portrayed, Chinese people consider themselves a participant and stakeholder of the international community and discuss world issues from a more global perspective. Modern life outside China such as lifestyles of English-speaking people is also included. For the Chinese people, English is a universal (and hence neutral) means of communication. The 'target group' they desire to 'integrate' with is the outside world. The dialogues not only are between people in formal positions such as teacher-student and co-workers, but also between friends in informal situations. There are no observable differences between Chinese and native-English speakers in their interactions. This is as if they come from "one background who mix with people from their own or other backgrounds, taking part by choice in an activity together, and using English as a common language" (Orton 2009a:151). The characters are no longer 'Chinese' and 'non-Chinese', but "modern hybrids" (Orton 2009a:152).

In Orton's (2007, 2009a) analysis, the text projects a new group to which the Chinese learners belong, a group in which their voices will not be that of the non-native speaker among those of the native speakers, but just one among several voices speaking the international language they have in common. For this reason, there is no need for knowledge of native speaker belief systems and values, and English nowadays is mainly a tool to know rather than to interact with the world. In the 2006 texts, Chinese people

no longer use English among themselves. Thus the identity of the language projected in the 2006 textbooks can be seen to have shifted from Chinese English to International English without a particular culture attached.

Apart from being a universal modern skill, English is also a tool to let the world know about China in institutional discourses (Fong 2009). One article from the *People's Daily* remarks that:

其实，我们狂热的不是英语本身。中华民族百年期盼，奥运终于来到华夏古都。热情的人们渴望敞开心扉，释放激情，向世界诠释五千年的东方文明，用微笑迎接八方宾朋。这才是"热源"所在 *(Jiang 2008)*.

In fact, we are not enthusiastic about the English language itself. Chinese have been longing to host the Olympics for a hundred years and this time the dream has finally come true. People (Chinese) wish to open up their hearts to welcome and show the world the 5000 years of Chinese civilisation. This is what we are really enthusiastic about.

From this remark, English is also a tool for China to show its past and intention for harmonious international relations to the international community.

The global spread of English has led Graddol (2006:72) to predict that English will become a "basic skill". English in China has changed from a language associated with English 'native speakers' to an international modernisation and communication skill greatly promoted in the society. Under this circumstance, the twenty-first century has also seen an unprecedented 'English fever' in the country which can be reflected in the education and job markets, and its impacts on Chinese language and culture, and social

structure. This demonstrates how English can potentially affect the Chinese 'ti'.

Education and job markets

With the global economic integration, growing market economy and WTO accession, the role of foreign languages (mainly English) as a communication medium and tool has become more prominent. Graduates with professional skills and university English standard are very welcome in society. English is seen as a prerequisite for studying abroad, job, promotion and graduation. Parents want their children to be successful so they are very keen for their children to start learning English at an early age, even from kindergarten.

In China's job market, many employers in both private and foreign-owned companies as well as government departments regard English examination certificates as an important recruitment criterion. Students' academic reputation is associated with CET-4 and teachers' promotion is also determined by whether s/he has a pass certificate. Therefore, many Chinese feel the social pressure and are driven by short-term goals and benefits to learn English. English learning deviates from the initial purpose of acquiring knowledge and improving quality.

Recent literature suggests that the impact of bilingual teaching is currently felt most by students at the tertiary level. English takes up 10% of the total credits required for undergraduates (Feng 2009). As many universities are enthusiastically promoting bilingual teaching, students often have no choice but to cope with certain academic subjects offered in English. During the nine years of primary and secondary compulsory education, standards of English proficiency are clearly defined by the current policy

documents (Feng 2009). Students have to meet the required level in order to proceed to the next stage[35]. English, therefore, plays a role in students' advancement and thus potentially interferes with self-development.

In the *People's Daily*, there are a lot of instances where English teaching is available to the rural areas as a form of aid from volunteer teachers recruited from urban areas. On 5th July 2003 on Page 2 of 'News', an article (Sun 2003) reported on an English class held in a rural area in Nanjing by a volunteer English teacher from Nanjing Normal University as part of a four-day program called "扶贫支教暑期社会实践活动" 'Poverty-alleviation volunteer summer program" (my translation). On 25th May 2008, page 2 of 'News' featured a report (Liu 2008) written on the aftermath of the devastating Sichuan earthquake in the same month. According to the report, Chinese military rescuers who knew English gave up their break to teach English to the students whose schools were destroyed in the earthquake. At a difficult time when teaching including English education was pushed to suspension, English was portrayed to children as a life-saving language. From an early age, children inherit beliefs about the values of English. The association of English with alleviation of poverty and improved living conditions also produces positive feelings about the language among Chinese. English, in this regard, is more than just a tool. It is associated with the '(re)construction' of life and self.

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[35] Feng (2009) analysed how the *College English Curriculum Requirements* issued in 2004 prescribed the 3 tiers tertiary students on entrance are to be allocated according to their competency levels. Those who achieve Level 7 are to be allocated to the 'Normal Requirement' tier, those at Level 8 are classed into the 'High Requirement' tier and those at Level 9 are streamed into 'Advanced Requirement'. There is a clear emphasis on the overall competence of English such as speaking, listening, reading, writing, instead of reading alone which had long been the major component. The bottom line for a student is that if s/he has to move upward to a good senior secondary school, then s/he has to reach Level 5. If s/he wishes to attend university, Level 7 is the minimum (Feng 2009).

Disruption of Chinese language and cultural ideas

The spread of English in China has also threatened traditional Chinese values and language. Learning English is perceived by many as more important than mother-tongue learning (Liu and Li 2004, Zhang 2007), western festivals are more valued, and western movies and ideas are also popular (Zhang 2007). The popular culture from the West (mainly American culture) has also made Confucianism less attractive among the younger generations. In early 2010, there was a wave of anti-Confucius sentiment in China. It was caused mainly by the forced removal of the movie *Avatar* as a result of the government's intervention to 'give way' to the Chinese-made movie *Confucius*. The removal resulted in calls for boycott of *Confucius* and even voices that pointed to the thoughts of Confucius as a negative force in Chinese history especially among young audiences (Zhou 29 January 2010). This incident shows that Chinese people, especially the younger generation, have developed an awareness of the outside world from which they do not wish to be cut off.

As a consequence of the popularity of English and its associated culture(s) in China, 'pollution' of the Chinese language, which, as Chapter One has illustrated, is a key element of 'ti', has increased. Chen (2008) looked into students' attitudes towards code-mixing of Chinese and English and found that code-mixing had a direct relation with ethnic identity. The more tolerant towards code-mixing students were, the more affiliated they were with foreign language identity and less with mother tongue identity. Higher year students are more tolerant than lower years. English majors are more tolerant than Chinese majors who are more tolerant than journalism majors. Students are

more tolerant than teachers. For educators, the overall high tolerance towards code-mixing is worth-noting.

The importance of English has also undermined students' motivation to learn Chinese. In 2010, four universities in Shanghai included an English test in their independent admission examinations but chose to leave out Chinese. This has received a lot of criticisms from the public who accuse the universities of "giving more importance to a foreign language", "discriminatory", "traitorous", and "blindly worshipping foreign languages" (Wu 2010). This exclusion of a Chinese test which was regarded as "hasty, irresponsible, short-sighted and inconsistent with laws" (Wu 2010) was however supported by some students and parents. One parent was quoted as saying "I quite agree with the idea…if [my daughter] had to prepare for a Chinese test as well, she would have no time to sleep" (Wu 2010). Having already spent a fortune on English tutoring programs, other parents felt the financial pressures to prepare their children for Chinese exams. Some students thought it was not essential to test Chinese because it was their mother tongue: "There isn't much of a point to test our Chinese skills at entrance exams for colleges that don't have much to do with Chinese as a language anyway" (Wu 2010). These students, on the other hand, thought testing English was essential for their future, such as visiting and going on exchanges overseas, and researching and reading overseas publications which are predominantly in English.

In minority regions, Han students used to learn minority languages in classes to facilitate language exchange and mutual understanding between different ethnic minority groups, but now, as Feng (2009) notes, parents prefer to send their children to English tutoring classes after school. This demonstrates that the dominant role English plays will have a direct impact on linguistic diversity within China as on the one hand,

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Putonghua-English education is considered the 'mainstream', and on the other hand, learning a national language, that is, Putonghua, is gradually put aside. It is in this respect that English can affect Chinese 'ti' regardless of whether the Chinese 'ti' is defined by the country's linguistic diversity or the national language.

Social status

For many Chinese people, the most direct goal of learning English is to gain personal benefits such as a sense of economic superiority and status (Yuen 2007). Learning English is fashionable and provides a sense of superiority and success (Zhang 2007). Donald and Zheng (2008) seem to associate the "new rich" or "new middle class" in China with better access to English learning resources. The "new rich" are shown to have better education and extra English tuition and to be able to equip themselves or their children with English. For example, high-income parents such as entrepreneurs and academics tend to choose expensive experimental English or international schools that put emphasis on English and technology for their children. This change in consumption pattern is in line with the changes in cultural values reflected in Chinese commercial discourse (Feng and Wu 2007).

Approaching summer and winter vacations each year, many parents start enrolling their children in extracurricular English activities. A lot of the English teaching enterprises hold winter English camps during breaks but the costs are very high. For instance, the fee for an 8-day winter camp of the New Oriental School in 2009 was RMB2,580[36]. If a native English-speaking teacher is preferred, students need to choose another camp

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[36] RMB2,580 is approximately equivalent to AUD394 (as of December 2009).

costing RMB3,280[37] (New Oriental Corporation 2009). The fee is the equivalent of the whole or half of the monthly salary of most parents[38], and it seems then that only the "new rich" can (just) afford these English camps. The phenomenon of the "new rich" demonstrates another dimension by which the identity of Chinese people can be defined: rich people are defined by being rich. Their concept of 'ti' is to be richer and English has become more a feature of 'ti' for them as it brings them wealth.

Chinese identity, as the discussion thus far has shown, is cultural, economic, political and linguistic. Different lights put emphases on different aspects of Chinese identity such as communist affiliation, English ability and wealth. English is also associated with self-advancement and sense of success. Even though English is promoted in the official discourse as a 'culturally neutral' universal modern skill, the support English receives in the public, the symbolic economic and social status English can provide and the negative impacts on the Chinese language and Chinese cultural values pose questions on the role of English for Chinese people as "instrumentally useful, temporary" and on Chinese identity that is said to "draw knowledge and skill from the learning" but "largely endure and unchanged" (Lo Bianco 2009:42). Under these circumstances, the 'ti' and 'yong' distinction has thus become unclear and English education today can potentially present challenges to the upholding of the principle. One example shown in this discussion thus far is that English seems to also contribute to defining 'ti' and the proposed key element of 'ti' such as the Chinese language being under threat. Through a discussion of the official and popular views about Chinese 'ti',

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[37] RMB3,280 is approximately equivalent to AUD500 (as of December 2009).
[38] In China, the monthly salary of some office administration staff is around RMB 3,000; a high school teacher earns around 4,000 per month (personal communication); general staff in foreign-invested office earn 2,500-6,000; supervisors 4,000-10,000; managers 5,500-15,000; and directors 8,000-25,000 (Xiao 2001). As shown on a recruitment notice outside a Korean BBQ restaurant in Beijing in 2009, service staff in restaurants only earn around 1,000 per month.

the following section further illustrates this problem of the 'ti-yong' distinction as it has been thought of thus far.

2.2 'ti' (Chinese identity) vs. 'yong' (English utility)

As shown in Chapter One and the first section of this chapter, the official and popular discourses of 'ti' and 'yong' have been re-defined in different periods which is concluded in the tables in Appendix 1. The focus is placed on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Even though there was a notion of an isolated 'ti' defined by the pure existence of a 'middle kingdom' from which English 'yong' was strongly separated, according to Gelber (2007), China did not have a concept of a 'Chinese nation' up until the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, as seen in the table, when the 'middle kingdom' image was damaged by China's defeats in wars, China started to find its place and identity through English. There was an awareness of the differences in terms of Chinese and English cultures, and a desire for acquisition of English as a tool accessible to some people. As shown in the table, the 'ti' in the early period was perceived as being fragmented and partly linked to the country's linguistic diversity (which included the dialects and minority languages). Only in the late nineteenth century was a national language imposed as a way to create a national identity.

During the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, Chinese culture built on the basis of Confucianism was destroyed. The meaning of 'being Chinese' became shaky as a consequence of both internal and external cultural and identity crisis. While Chinese culture and language/dialects ('ti') were being re-established, the reform period resumed

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the status of English in modernisation. Involving English again, China had then to reconstruct and consolidate Chinese identity in the context of hastened modernisation. At the present time, the idea of a Chinese nation and ethnicity ('ti') is evidenced by the development of Putonghua declared as the official language. While in the eighteenth century, foreigners were forbidden to learn Chinese to communicate with Chinese people, the twenty-first century has witnessed growing government attempts to promote Putonghua as the symbol of a unified 'ti' inside and outside China. While linguistic diversity is the reality, the imposition of a unified 'ti' linked to a national language is to impose an artificial unity. The access to English education was limited in earlier centuries, but English is now accessible and open to the public as a compulsory and important subject. Proficiency in both standard Chinese and English is currently a measure of success, mainly of economic and social success.

As the above discussion has indicated, the tensions between the viewpoints of the government and public lie in the dimensions and different emphases of Chinese identity. While English is only a form of economic and political capital for the government, the views on English among the public are not homogenous. For the public such as students and parents, English is a cultural and economic capital and there is room for the development of personal self associated with English. As the table also shows, while the status of English in the public in today's China is high, there is a large research gap the existing literature on the popular discourse about 'ti' in the twenty-first century has not yet filled. Even though Putonghua is promoted as a characteristic of the unified 'ti', as Chapter One has also demonstrated, there is in fact an identity vacuum created by the long history of internal and external unrests of China. The above discussion has shown two possible results English education can bring. First, as English can create social divide, there is a tension between the personal and collective self. Second, English can

potentially challenge and fill the identity vacuum rather than exist side-by-side with Chinese 'ti'. This is the context within which the present research on English and Chinese identity is situated.

To contextualise this research further, the following subsections discuss how the official discourses of 'ti' are in recent decade manifested in some of China's policies and, according to some recent studies, how Chinese position themselves in relation to English.

2.2.1 Official discourse of Chinese 'ti'

The aforementioned English learning campaigns and activities in preparation for the Olympics demonstrate the institutional effort to promote the language as a group tool to Chinese society. Gao (2007) points out that the 'English corners'[39] both in schools and public places offer an opportunity for autonomous learning efforts in the collectivist culture of learning and learner collaboration. In a more institutional setting, Cargill (2006) also concludes from his observations of English classrooms in China that learners tend to learn the language collectively as a group rather than as individuals.

Underlying the formation of a learning community of English with common group goals is the group identity built on the Chinese cultural conceptions of 'self'. In Chinese culture, each individual is socially situated, defined and shaped in social relationships. This is a Confucian conception of self which can be divided into two selves – the "big" self, that is, the communal identity shared with one's family and community, and the "small" self, which is the individual himself or herself (Wang and Ollendick 2001:256).

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[39] 'English corners' are spaces where people can communicate in English just for fun or practice. They can be found in places such as the corner of a school playground or a park.

As the Chinese self is highly enmeshed with its own social groups, it is conceivable that the evaluation of one's family and other significant in-groups is an indispensable part of self-evaluation (Wang and Ollendick 2001). The emphasis on social interpersonal relationships in China encourages the development of collectivism and individuality is greatly discouraged. From the discussion thus far, while English is for the "big" self as a symbol of a modern national Chinese identity, it is also affecting the "small" self of individual Chinese.

In the contemporary period, collectivism is still very much emphasised in Chinese institutional discourse especially in the form of national patriotism. In 2001, hastened by the admission of China into the WTO, 《the Implementation Guidelines to construct Civic virtues of citizens》(translation by Feng 2006:91) (《公民道德建设实施纲要》, *Gongmin Daode Jianshe Shishi Gangyao*) was introduced in tertiary education, stating patriotism is the lawful and moral obligation of every citizen, who needs to take pride in loving the country. The main purpose of patriotism education is to enhance ethnic pride and confidence, and to educate citizens about the importance of national interest and dignity. As Feng (2006) indicates, the official conceptions of "a collectivistic socialist citizenship" model (2006:92) suggest that no conflict should exist between the national interests and individual rights. From his translation of part of the guidelines, this idea is clear:

> *We should encourage people to gain material benefits through honest work and legal business. On the other hand, we must guide them to conscientiously fulfil their obligations specified in the constitution and other governances and actively perform their social duties. He/She must always put the national and people's interests first while enjoying personal legal rights (translation by Feng 2006:91-*

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92). Personal rights or interests are conditional only when citizens fulfil their
obligations and perform their social duties and only when there is no conflict
between the nation's and the collective interests and their own can they start
thinking about political, economic, cultural and social rights (Feng 2006:92).

The last few and present Chinese premiers have been emphasising education on
patriotism and national interest. For instance, Premier Hu outlined the "Eight Honours
and Eight Shames", the first honour of which is "Love the country; do it no harm" (Yan
2006). Premier Jiang once stated:

The patriotism we insist on and nationalism are essentially different. We must make
our people understand that to insist on opening up to the outside world, study
earnestly the best elements of various nationalities in the world, introduce
advanced science and technology, strengthen our ability and speed up the
motherland's development are the important actions that enhance patriotism (Li
and Deng 2004:342; my own translation).

As the quote suggests, nationalism and patriotism are perceived as different. While
nationalism is concerned with the attachment and feeling of Chinese people towards the
country and their identity (that is, 'ti'), patriotism is affiliated with learning English as
the best element of other nationalities (that is, 'yong'). This is as though the distinction
between 'ti' and 'yong' is made by emphasising nationalism and patriotism as different
notions. According to some Chinese scholars (for example, Li and Deng 2004, Li 2006),
the aim of patriotism education is to alleviate the contradictions between Chinese
nationalism and western influence through spreading the message that to live
meaningfully is to integrate personal goals and wants with the future of the country, and
to repay the country and spread Chinese culture. The Chinese self, apparently, is one

that connects individual self and the nation together. Chinese 'ti' can involve both collective and individual selves but the collective self is the more dominant in the official discourse.

As mentioned previously, English education has been incorporated into China's basic quality education ('suzhi education'). This 'suzhi education' is also a manifestation of Chinese 'collective self'. Introduced in the 1980s, 'suzhi' discourse, literally translated as "essentialised quality" discourse (Murphy 2004:2), is concerned with enhancing the quality of individual Chinese so as to improve the strength and quality of the whole nation. It therefore promotes the idea of linking individual efforts to national development.

As a word central to the governance of the PRC, suzhi is an all-embodied term that includes intelligence and strength (Kipnis 2006). It "(…) refers to the innate and nurtured physical, intellectual and ideological characteristics of a person" (Kipnis 2006:2). As early as in the late nineteenth century, China's encounters with colonial powers already led intellectuals to posit that national survival depended on improving the quality of the citizens. For instance, Liang Qichao, in the early twentieth century, proposed that the intention of profiting oneself and the intention of profiting others was a matter of integrated intention, not two separate intentions. In contemporary China, Mao Zedong's pronouncements about promoting the all-round development of individuals under the Marxist tradition (Kipnis 2006) were also one of the earliest stages of the formation of 'suzhi' discourse based upon the image of Chinese as a collective identity. Since the 1970s, 'suzhi' policy has been a sub-discourse of China's modernisation. Achieving the modernisation of China involves simultaneously modernising the nation and the individual (Li 2000). Many policy initiatives of the

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Chinese government today are also linked to enhancing 'suzhi', especially following China's entry into the WTO (Murphy 2004).

In the promotion of the 'suzhi' discourse, Chinese people are conceptualised as a collective self and as many "small" selves contributing to the "big" self ('ti') (Wang and Ollendick 2001:256). They are even under the pressure to behave as one collective unit by the discourse. As Kipnis (2006:310) states, "the anxiety generated by the possibility of falling behind increases competition to attain the trappings of suzhi". Those with 'high' 'suzhi' are seen as deserving more income, power and status than those with 'low' 'suzhi' (Kipnis 2006). Through 'suzhi education' across the country, individuals are expected to have internalised the idea that they are responsible for raising their 'suzhi' which can in turn empower their hometown and country (Kipnis 2006). In 2009, the work of standardising Putonghua and the use of Han characters in Beijing was also incorporated into 'suzhi education'. Speaking good Putonghua and learning good Chinese are said to enhance 'suzhi' as they encourage growth, success and development (Ministry of Education 2001, 2009). By incorporating English and Putonghua into 'suzhi education', studying both languages hard is portrayed as one's responsibility to oneself and the family as well as the country. Endorsing both languages in suzhi education, studying English and Putonghua for oneself naturally becomes an act of contributing to the country and, by extension, to the formation of a strong 'ti'. According to Wu (2007), a retired Chinese government official, the views of profiting oneself and the group provide proof of moral legality for the appearance of personal profits in modern Chinese society (Wu 2007:144).

In more recent studies on English learning motivation in China, however, the views of Chinese learners of English appear to contradict this 'proportional' relation between

national and personal benefits. Under the current socio-economic, cultural and political atmosphere of China, what Gao (2009:58) calls the "ti-yong dilemma", the challenge to the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle hastens. In the following subsection, this dilemma is discussed and illustrated with reference to some recent studies on the English learning motivation of Chinese people.

2.2.2 Popular discourse of 'ti': "ti-yong dilemma" (Gao 2009:58)

Despite the government's emphasis on English as a universal skill and group tool for modernisation, the opening up of China inevitably imports western beliefs and values, some of which may contradict native cultural values. As Gao (2009:63) remarks,

> ...what has not been fully realized or willingly acknowledged by the Chinese
> government at least is that ti is embodied in the dispositions that make up a
> linguistic habitus. Anyone learning a language for any reason is bound to respond
> to the dispositions contained within it. Thus the clash in ti between China and the
> West has been tacitly but painfully felt by the Chinese government, teachers and
> learners alike and has become a haunting issue in the field of foreign language
> education.

The 'ti', like Gao's illustration, is aimed to orient learners towards a certain set of dispositions concerned with the 'ascribed' roles of English and the positions learners are supposed to take in learning. As Chapter One has demonstrated, the dispositions in Gao's remarks above are made up of Chinese cultural values that represent the national identity including the Chinese language and Confucian heritage promoted to the outside

world as a marker of the Chinese whole. Furthermore, the Chinese people and self-identity, as shown previously, are conceptualised as a unified whole.

In this increasingly globalised world, a consolidated Chinese 'ti' has become even more a demand in the encounter of different world views and cultures. Although English is considered as a 'culturally neutral' tool, the ti-yong distinction and the Chinese cultural and 'official' concepts of 'self' still expect two main responses from English learners: first, that learning English is driven purely by instrumental motives without any desires to assimilate and become closer to the target language culture; second, that the instrumental motives be nation or community-oriented, and personal gains should ultimately link with national benefits. Although the 'ti-yong' principle remains a guiding principle and frames the identity of English learners in today's China, some recent studies on Chinese students' motivation of learning English have revealed the challenges presented to the upholding of the principle.

In the studies of Gao and her associates (2003, 2005, 2007), 2,278 English, social sciences and natural sciences undergraduates from 30 Chinese universities, foreign language schools, and tertiary institutions of different natures across 29 provinces and municipal cities were interviewed. The instrument was a Likert-scale questionnaire which included 30 items about learning motivation, based essentially on a summary of open responses. Seven motivation types resulted from a factor analysis: 1) intrinsic interest 2) immediate achievement 3) learning situation 4) going abroad 5) social responsibility 6) individual development and 7) information medium (Gao, Zhao, Cheng and Zhou 2007). These seven factors were further generalised as instrumental, cultural, and situational motivations. Instrumental motivations refer to the employment of the target language as an instrument to achieve certain goals, and immediate

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achievement, information medium and individual development belonged to this category. Within cultural motivation falls intrinsic interest and social responsibility while learning situation and going abroad belong to situational motivations.

The social responsibility and individual development motivations (Factor 5 and Factor 6) identified can be considered respectively as learning English for the nation and self. Under the category of cultural motivations, the social responsibility motivation found in Gao et al. (2003, 2007) clearly demonstrates a community-oriented motive of learning English as it is constitutive of two country-related (native culture) items: "contribute to strengthening China" and "let the world understand China", and a parent-related item: "do not disappoint parents". Its existence was related to the deeply-rooted Chinese cultural tradition of "harmonizing the family and putting the country in order," and the long-lasting promotion of the traditional ideal of "齐家治国" ("establish order in family and country") (Gao et al. 2003:36). It may also be related to China's growing national strength in recent years and the resultant rise of national-consciousness. Participants in the Gao et al. study also exhibited their desire of presenting their native culture to the world by using English as an instrument which, as the authors state, might be quite peculiar to the Chinese students, as no similar findings were found in the existing literature.

In contrast to social responsibility, intrinsic interest, as another component of cultural motivations, was target-culture oriented, demonstrating the possible salience of English 'ti' for the undergraduates. Intrinsic interest refers to interest in the target language and culture. Overall on intrinsic interest, students majoring in English scored much higher than non-English majors. Thus, for students of English, choosing English as their major might be related to some "pure" interest in the language, indicating the influence of

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English 'ti'.

Since the 1980s when social theories of postmodernism and poststructuralism on culture and identity began to influence conceptions of language and identity, identity is no longer treated as fixed and pre-determined but rather as multifaceted and adaptable. In the mid-1990s, scholars in second language acquisition also called for a reconceptualisation of language learners as 'social being' and of language learning as a process of identity/ties construction. According to Norton (1997), every time language learners speak, they are also constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. The notion of multiple identities as constructed in language use is significant for the analysis of Chinese identity in relation to the roles of English.

In her article, Peirce (1995) proposes the concept of investment to conceptualise the relationship of second language learners to the learning context and target language within the post-structuralist framework of identity as diversified and a site of struggle based on the case studies of two immigrant women in Canada. She argues that asserting different forms of social identity in different contexts is more instrumental in L2 learning than attempts to integrate with the target language group and culture. By setting up counter-discourses to resist a L2 learner subject position desiring to integrate with the dominant group, learners desire to keep their identity as a second language speaker. Wishing to be identified as a second language speaker, the immigrant women might desire to keep their ethnic identity and the Canadian identity resulting from migration. This is similar to the official Chinese views of the dual state of identity mentioned in Orton's study (2009a): 'pure Chinese and international'. Language learners do not need to integrate fully with the target language group in this

transcultural and transnational era, and it is common to hold multiple identities associated with different languages. It is clear that learners' cultural identification can still be acknowledged when they simultaneously are trying to assimilate and adopt another identity "side by side".

This "side by side" idea of identity is further advanced by the studies in critical multilingualism which assume the multiplicity of language learners' identity. Learners are seen as able to shift between their identities with a shift in language codes and in different contexts. While mobility is perceived as the norm in this modern era, the notion of the side-by-side and shift of identities of bi/multilinguals also provides a critical point of departure for the present research on the tensions of 'selves' of Chinese learners/users of English. The effects of globalisation on identities cannot be overlooked in language learning and identity studies. Multi-cultural[40] identities have become a reality studied in Second Language Acquisition. Arnett (2002:777) has argued that one of the most striking psychological effects of globalisation is that "most people now develop a bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture". Through the media, especially television and the internet, young people "develop a global identity that gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles and information that are part of the global culture" (ibid). At the same time, however, they retain a local identity in their families and local communities which enables them to observe local traditions when necessary without any sense of contradiction with their other 'global selves'. Such a duality has been noted in minority students in western countries, who face the challenge of reconciling the self to "membership in at least two worlds" (Syed

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[40] Multi-cultural identity is more a current global reality although studies tend to use the term 'bi-cultural' more often.

2001:130).

As Gao and her associates (2005, 2007) illustrate, students who express some intrinsic interest in English and its associated culture(s) have undergone productive and additive changes. Knowing more about English-speaking cultures has aroused the awareness of English majors of their own native cultural identity. They are better enabled to appreciate the characteristics and strengths of their native culture, and better motivated to work for the prosperity of their families and their country. In other words, learners' mother tongue identity is not weakened, but even enhanced by their interest in English. This is Gao's notion of "productive bilingualism" which suggests harmony in identity (Gao et al. 2007).

As the studies of Gao and her colleagues demonstrate, social responsibility and personal development can coexist among students. For the Chinese undergraduate students in the study (Gao et al. 2007), individual development includes job search, communication, the sense of symbolic social status and the related sense of achievement. Simultaneously, social responsibility motivation which is centred on native culture plays a part alongside personal development. In the study of Orton (2009b), many students also see the study of English as a social responsibility undertaken to develop the country and to obey parental wishes, while they also have personal goals for learning English. This is consistent with the 'suzhi' discourse about learning English examined before. The 'suzhi' discourse brings collective and personal selves closer and points to the agreement of official and popular discourses. In terms of 'ti' and 'yong', however, the distinction seems to be gradually blurred. The English 'yong' is evolving and coming to define the personal self of Chinese learners. From the official perspectives, the upholding of 'ti-yong' seems to be also changing. English can define the 'ti' of Chinese people only if it

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is ultimately and largely connected to the collective 'ti' even though it may give rise to the development of personal self.

Zhou and Gao (2009) report on their longitudinal study which investigates the development and changes in the motivation types of 1,300 college English and non-English majors in Beijing. Learners all participated in a two-year longitudinal study from 2005, the first year of enrolment, to 2007. The questionnaire and motivation types used duplicate those in Gao et al. (2003). The questionnaire was distributed to the students three times throughout the two years (at time of first enrolment, end of first year and end of second year). It was found that within the two years, while intrinsic motivation (for example, interest in target language culture) increased, social responsibility motivation decreased[41]. Students from different majors became more interested in English and its culture(s) over time and the change was most obvious after the first year. In many ways, English brings up the need of attention for personal identity and for the nurturing of personal self.

In a study of Gao and her associates (2007) that was built on from the 2003 study and a 2005 study on types of identity change, the development of personal self which contradicts the native self of English learners is obvious. They find that the most prominent self-identity change for the Chinese university English students occurred in

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[41] Some other studies also show that learning English is detrimental to the acknowledgement of mother tongue language and culture. For example, using questionnaire measuring against aspects of languages, values, religions, politics and cultural behaviours, Chen (2008) compares the results of first year and fourth year English majors in a university in Nanjing in order to investigate whether the length of study plays an impact on students' attitudes towards mother tongue language and culture. He found that year one students' acknowledgement of Chinese political views, values and cultural behaviours is significantly higher than that of fourth year whose acknowledgement of foreign values, religions, politics and cultures is significantly higher. Similar to Gao's study, the acknowledgement of the mother language increases with the length of studying English. Yum's study (2008) conducted with 65 non-English major first year undergraduates and 57 English-major 3rd and 4th year undergraduates in a university in Nanzhou reveals similar results. Chinese learners of English maintain their own mother-tongue cultural identity, while at the same time, have developed to different extents an identity associated with English. As compared to non-English majors, English majors tend to affiliate more with English culture. This can be possibly due to the longer exposure to the language.

self-confidence while the second highest score appeared in *zero change*. There is also some evidence which suggests that learners driven by a native-culture oriented social responsibility might have two extreme kinds of self-identity changes. The target and native cultures would either be positively integrated and mutually enhanced in their self-identities, or they would fight against each other and result in identity confusion and split. Even those students who studied English for immediate achievement such as those who learned English to go abroad or obtain good test scores might get lost and feel the conflict between the two languages and cultures.

The development of personal identity is found to be more predominant among university students. As Xie (2003) illustrates, while the less developed economy and technology of China and the admiration for the West have been determining the sense of Chinese identity of university students, university students are found to be less associated with the country's politics and less oriented towards national benefits. A more self-oriented identification has arisen. This new identification no longer premises upon strong familial relations and traditional values, but rather, upon materialism and self-benefits (Xie 2003).

Among teachers, situations seem different and comply more with the institutional discourse. Using a 10-question online survey about the role and impacts of English, Lo Bianco (2009) interviewed 154 English teachers from various tertiary institutions in ten locations across China in 2006-2007 with 119 of the respondents aged under 40, and 35 above 40. As Lo Bianco (2009) points out, the age profiles of the respondents correspond with some of the major foreign relations periods discussed previously in this chapter such as the Cultural Revolution and the start of 'reform and opening up'.

From the survey, Lo Bianco (2009) identified the 'problem' and 'positive' of learning English in China and grouped them into seven and six dominant themes respectively. In order of commonality shared by the respondents characterised by variables of age, urban/provincial origins, English/non-English majors, and gender, the seven 'problems' are namely "loss of national identity, culture and tradition", "less knowledge of Chinese language, classical Chinese and cultural heritage", "English as a certificate", "waste for students", "no danger", "difficult to implement" and "miscellaneous socio-political consequences" (Lo Bianco 2009:301-302). The six 'positive' themes are "cross-cultural exchange (communication and understanding)", "China's development", "broadening Chinese people's horizons", "better for English learning", "better employment prospects", and "the world knows China/Chinese language" (Lo Bianco 2009:302-303). The main difference among the variables and of interest to the present study is that the idea of "loss of national identity" was shared by participants of all age groups, and both non-English/English majors, indicative of the potential threats of English to Chinese 'ti'. "Better employment prospects" as an individual-oriented motive spread quite evenly across other variables. There was also a strong bias towards "cross-cultural exchange" among the youngest two age categories: the 20s and 30s, that is, those born around the time of 'reform and opening up'.

Although the results of all these studies discussed above point to learner interest in both the target and native cultures, and to "productive bilingualism", they seemingly violate the ti-yong distinction which rules out the co-existence of two 'ti'. The above review of the recent studies has also shown the less clear-cut boundary between learning English for self and nation. As the Chinese government seeks to produce a strong nation by "individually" and "collectively" raising the quality of its citizens (Kipnis 2006:296), personal and group aims can hardly be separated. While English learning involves

personal goals, it also complies with government campaign of learning English as a patriotic act under the current socio-economic and political atmosphere. The Chinese concepts of learning as well as the 'suzhi' discourse have already presented a vaguely-drawn line between self and social benefits[42]; and more importantly, in the official culture, individual interests are not completely denounced. In the official culture itself, social responsibility and personal wealth can actually co-exist. While Gao and her colleagues saw the struggle between learning English and its associated 'dispositions' and remaining 'Chinese' as a "ti-yong dilemma", the above discussion shows that the dilemma is one concerned more with the co-existence of two 'ti'.

2.3 Theoretical framework to the analysis of impacts of English on Chinese identity

The development of foreign language education and the political, economic and social development of China are closely related. Once the large-scale modernisation embarked during the 'reform and opening up' period in the late 1970s, China's demand for English, which transformed from being a political tool for promoting official views and a tool for modernisation to being a universal modern skill, also increased. English is portrayed as a collective group tool for modernisation and for becoming a part of the global community. Through incorporating English education into patriotism and 'suzhi' education, the responsibility to strengthen the country through acquiring English is directed to individual Chinese. In this thesis, the research focus is placed on global English and its relation to Chinese identity. These are discussed below.

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[42] The vague line between national and individual benefits actually started to emerge in the 1980s when the reform era brought power and money, while at the same time, a new sense of self-importance and self-worth for the children of Cultural Revolution was found (Barmè 1999). These children, then adults during the 1980s and 1990s desired for strength and revenge of the nation (Barmè 1999:277), while gradually accumulating wealth.

2.3.1 On 'global English': 'global' and 'English'

Globalisation has created the need for re-conceptualisation of 'English' and 'the world' as the 'target language community'. On conceptualising English, Kachru (1982) introduced his World Englishes (WE) paradigm to explain the indigenised varieties of English that emerge around the world as a result of the spread of English. Kachru's (1982) paradigm postulates three concentric circles: Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle. "Inner Circle" comprises locations where English is the language of a substantial, often monolingual majority (for example, the United States, United Kingdom and Australia). A major characteristic of varieties spoken in these locations is that they provide the norms of correctness and appropriateness which are often propagated through language education and language planning in the other circles.

The "Outer Circle" represents locations that typically were former British or American colonies where English continues to be used for interethnic communication and social and economic mobility. The status of the "New Englishes" used in these regions is still affected by the widespread perceptions among users that Anglo-American norms are somehow superior. The "Expanding Circle" represents societies where English is taught in schools to an increasing number of learners and is used by some people in activities involving members of other linguistic communities and in international trade or tourism. In these locations, speakers, educators, and policy-makers have traditionally looked to American or British models for linguistic norms. One outcome of Kachru's WE paradigm has been the increasing number of studies that look into the ways in which English has been appropriated to reflect local identities of speakers and incorporate local as well as global norms. According to the WE paradigm, China is an expanding circle country with English used as a foreign language. Chinese people, as my earlier

study (Fong 2009) has shown, regard American or British English as the standard and thus the norm. More recently, scholars in World Englishes have illustrated the rise of 'Chinese English' (for example, He and Li 2009, Xu 2010).

In response to the WE paradigm, critical approaches to the global spread of English introduced in the 1990s have aimed to develop understanding of global English better suited to this global era. These approaches have illustrated how English is localised and appropriated to local culture from a micro perspective such as language use in language classroom, postcolonial communities and popular subculture. According to Canagarajah (2006:208), appropriation occurs when "others accommodate the English language to adopt orality based, narratively structured, person-centred discourses that are more resembling of local traditions". In Malaysia, for instance, English as a coloniser's language, has shifted from being a tool of the colonisers to assert power, to being a tool used creatively in literary work which can be taken as a way of 'writing back' and 'talking back' by the colonised (Pennycook 1994:295). Through hybridisation, hybrid discourses have been developed as a strategy of negotiation to appropriate the English language according to the needs and values of the colonised who are able to reposition themselves in different subject positions in the dominant discourses of English.

A view significant for the reconceptualisation of English in the world is Pennycook's idea that English is "always/already local" (2007a:136). This means that English is used to reflect local themes that are already common in the local context and "what may look like an imported set of global concerns may in fact be either a local take on more global themes or a local reconstruction of both the global and local" (Pennycook 2007a:115). In the 'local', English may already be there and only take on more meanings brought about by the contacts with the 'global'. As Pennycook (2007b) states, only when

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analysts move away from looking within Englishes to the language in a particular context and to its associated local beliefs and ideologies, can they understand more how English is received, enacted and performed to refashion new identities. In this sense, not only does the 'global' affect English, but there is always the 'local' that plays a part (Pennycook 2010:72).

When the dichotomy of 'local' and 'global' is always made in existing literature on global English (for example, Pennycook 1994, Canagarajah 2006, Li 2007), Pennycook (2007a, 2010) looks more into the 'local' by directing the focus from 'time' (such as colonial period, postcolonial period, and modern and postmodern period) to 'space' and 'place' and further advances the idea of 'language (English) as local practice'. By looking at 'language' as practice rather than structure, language is no longer defined by geographical location, but as everyday social activity that constitutes the meanings of 'life'. In Pennycook's (2010) view, languages should not be seen as separate entities because they are always mixed and hybrid in consequence to the contacts between different local forces or between the local and global forces. This is particularly true when meeting with westerners, using computers, understanding pop songs, studying or travelling abroad and pursuing a desirable career. These are all associated with each other and with English as an integral part of the globalisation processes that are transforming the local (Pennycook 2010).

In the sense of Pennycook's (2010) work, 'practice' seems to be an all-inclusive term that embodies social activity as well as the beliefs that guide the activity. Practice is about 'doing' as well as about 'thinking' and 'knowledge' of the 'doing' (Pennycook 2010:24-25) that "prefigures activity" (Pennycook 2010:29). The idea of 'language as local practice' therefore premises on the inseparability of understanding language and

practice (that is, the knowing, thinking and doing in a society) and provides a "starting point, not the end point, of the analysis" (Pennycook 2010:31) of the ideologies that guide the 'doing with English' as a resource. Since language practice is integrated with a wide range of other social practices, practice involving English is a part of social practices which are "bundled" activities (Pennycook 2010:46) guided by local ideologies and beliefs and individual habits and ideas. From this point of view, English is always social, historical and local, and for any study of global English, it is necessary to understand how English is used locally across the social worlds (Pennycook 2010) as well as to understand the histories, cultures and ideologies guiding the use of English.

To look into the internal working of the complex socio-cultural, political and linguistic factors determining the spread of English in China, in other words, how the 'local' interacts with the 'global' force of English, micro-level theoretical approaches are needed to dig deep into the ways English is used in China, rather than approaches that focus on language forms of Englishes and the impacts of the global spread of English on indigenous languages and cultures. Under globalisation, although there is a less clear boundary between countries and the flows of people, heterogeneity still remains the case for China, which, as Chapter One has illustrated, strives for modernisation with 'Chinese characteristics'. To look into the interaction between English and 'Chinese characteristics', an approach that allows for discussion of the localisation of English is thus required.

As Pennycook (2010) shows with the examples of graffiti as a way to claim ownership of space and create place and locality (2010:62), locality, which is itself dynamic, constructs and is also constructed by local practice including language practices. The modernisation discourse in China, as illustrated in the previous chapters, has created a

place where English language practice is a part of this social practice of modernisation. Modernisation in China as exemplified by the Beijing Olympics events has led to the "relocalisation" (Pennycook 2010:74) of Chinese culture and identity using English. This is as if language practices involving English construct what is called 'China' and the Chinese society. English in today's China might draw Chinese and 'foreigners' into a new relationship. Pennycook's 'language as local practice' framework, in this regard, allows for looking at the local traditions, beliefs and ideologies in making sense of the use of English in China as well as at the changes brought about by the 'global'. It takes into account both the post-colonial and post-modern perspectives and what can be the 'twenty-first-century tools' of investigating English as local practice (as opposed to the "twentieth-century tools" such as the WE paradigm, linguistic imperialism and English as a Lingua Franca (Pennycook 2010:81)). The case study of the thesis relies on newspaper articles and interviews to look into the knowledge and thinking about using English as a local practice.

2.3.2 On learning English and 'being Chinese'

In the studies discussed previously, Gao and her colleagues (Gao et al. 2007, Zhou and Gao 2009) conclude with a tentative remark that the social psychology and motivation of learners have become much more complex, as they might be struggling between national development and the individual benefits English could bring. The work of Kramsch (2009) on multiple identities and of cross-cultural psychology on bicultural/bilingual identities offers a new perspective from which the tensions of the two 'selves' of Chinese learners/users of English associated with these two motivation types can be investigated.

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From a static and essentialist view of identity to seeing identity as multiple and constructed through language, Kramsch (2009) further moves identity research to treating identity as imagined and fantasised. She looks into "multilingual subjects" and their experience of learning, speaking and thinking in a foreign/second language through an analysis of the testimonies of language learners. From the findings, Kramsch (2009:101) concludes that "multilingual subjects" have memories of other languages, fantasies of other identities and projections which are shaped by culture and society. As "the foreign language is first and foremost experienced physically, linguistically, emotionally, artistically" (Kramsch 2009:60), learners' relation to a language often has a subjective value which transforms the language and their desires, memories, and projections associated with it. Given this nature of language, learning a new language is seen as able to broaden learners' imaginations, and for language learners, different languages means different realities and imagined subjectivities they can create and identify with.

As the boundaries between languages and the world from multilinguals' perspective are comparatively blurred, Kramsch (2010) finds that myth plays an important role in the construction of the multilingual subject identity, such as the imagined global community, a concept she introduced in her earlier work. According to Kramsch (2010), when considering adolescent and young adult language learners who learn a foreign language at academic institutions as part of their general education and at an age when they seek to define their linguistic identity and their position in the world, it is necessary to take into consideration the hidden layers of imagined meanings and ritualised verbal behaviours. This is because these young learners, unlike children, have already been socialised in their native language and culture and their imagination in the new language may therefore work in non-conventional ways based on the myths and stereotypes of the

target language and culture. Their imagination can be heavily at work, building imagined communities of native speakers and constructing different realities that are projected onto the language itself. In this way, the myth and stereotypes of the target language and culture, as Kramsch (2010) argues, fulfil an important emotional function for non-native speakers striving to learn and use the language.

Kramsch's work indeed provides a framework for investigating the identities of Chinese learners of English. She illustrates in her work that when we talk about desire in language learning, we talk about exploring various possibilities of the self in the real or imagined encounters with others (Kramsch 2010). In the age of globalisation, identification and stable identities attached to fixed places have become less important than ways of belonging. In this sense, language learning and identity research can no longer assume a canonical association of language and identity. Whereas for monolingual speakers, words and the world have a canonical one-to-one sign-and-signifier relationship, different words evoke different worlds for multilingual subjects (Kramsch 2010). What 'international Chinese' and the 'world' mean can only be revealed if such an assumption of one-language-one-identity-one-culture is overthrown.

While Kramsch's ideas offer an analytical approach to identifying the multiple identities of language learners, she touches little upon the relations between these multiple identities. The dimension of 'imagined' self is supported by social psychologists who also offer an approach to look into the relations and natures of multiple identities. Cross-cultural psychology has looked into how bi/multiculturals activate the accessibility to knowledge of different cultures in their interpretation of meanings, with Hong and her associates (Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martinez 2000, Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris and Menon 2001) recognised as the pioneering work. Hong et al. (2000)

examine cultural frame switching in response to contextual cues that make different ethnocultural identities salient. In their view, cultures internalised by bi/multiculturals are not necessarily blended but rather, they are internalised in the form of loose networks of domain-specific knowledge structures that can be activated by situational cues. From this viewpoint, absorbing a second culture does not always involve replacing the original culture with the new one, and for bicultural individuals, their internalised cultural meaning networks can take turns in guiding their thoughts and feelings.

Cross-cultural psychology also demonstrates that biculturals can shift between their 'side-by-side' cultural identities in different situations. Hong et al. (2000, 2001) compare the 'selves' of bicultural Chinese and Americans and find that when subjects think of themselves as Chinese, they mention more duties than rights. Individual rights are more important components when the American cultural self is made salient. The authors conclude from their findings that biculturals are able to shift between 'individual self' and 'collective self', and the sense of self is also activated by cultural theories. The host and native cultures could be differentially accessible in biculturals' minds under different contexts and the activation of a particular cultural identity brings to the fore the dominant self-concepts in that culture for biculturals (LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton 1993, Hong et al. 2001). As also examined by Markus and Kitayama (1991), individuals can effectively adjust to various social contexts and interpersonal contingencies including the "interdependent" and "independent" aspects of self that are prevalent in different cultures (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Socially-oriented achievements, moderate level of autonomy and low levels of individually-oriented achievement are some of the attributes of interdependent selves. In an interdependent culture, positive feelings about the self derive from fulfilling the tasks

for others. For those with independent selves, feeling good about oneself typically requires fulfilling the tasks associated with being an independent self, that is, being unique, expressing one's inner attributes, and asserting one's autonomy. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991:226), "interdependent" and "independent" selves can be more salient than one another in different contexts.

In their ranking of the traditional Chinese and modern western factors in identity in Zhang and Kulich's (2008) study, 70 20- to 30-year-old urban college students and white-collar adults in postgraduate classes in Shanghai rate highly the more collectivist, traditional and Confucian identities. Hybrid identities, however, unexpectedly intertwine between collectivist and individualistic identities. Individualistic or modern identities are more evident in younger participants such as personal uniqueness and individualism (for example, desires to be different and "cooler" than others). The authors conclude that these students' identities are made up of multi-faceted components arranged into a dynamic hierarchy of salience with specific identity items varying in importance and likely to shift over time and context, and that the urban culture in China today is characterised by the "co-existence of traditionality and modernity with enormous pluralism" (Zhang and Kulich 2008:204). In the study of Li, Zhang, Bhatt and Yum (2006), China is also said to have possibly emerged as a "middle land" characterised by mixed individualistic and collectivist nature.

Research in cross-cultural psychology has examined identity activation that has resulted from frame-switching, that is, shifts in the sense of self. Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2002) study frame-switching among bicultural Dutch and Greek children. These children were primed with the iconic cultural symbols and languages associated with each of their bicultural identities. The authors find that compared to Dutch identity salience,

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activating Greek identity led to stronger identification with friends, more positive evaluation of social identity and less positive evaluation of personal identity. Cross-cultural psychology research has added to Tajfel's (1978, 1981) Social Identity Theory discussed in Chapter One the dimension of dynamicity of "psychologically salient" (Tajfel 1978:66) identities. Through the activation of a group identity, people tend to view themselves as interchangeable exemplars of the particular group (Verkuyten and Pouliasi 2006). Contextual cues not only activate cultural knowledge networks and identity-specific norms but also group identification processes. Stronger identification with a group will lead to perceptions and behaviours that are consistent with the particular identity and the appropriate values and norms defining it (Verkuyten and Pouliasi 2006).

As demonstrated by psychologists, the priming of language can 'activate' bilinguals' accessibility to particular cultural knowledge, mental frames and their associated values, behaviours and identities, as the two languages are often associated with two different cultural systems. In Hong et al. (2001), the Chinese version of the questionnaire activated the Chinese language culture, and the English version activated the English language culture. Bicultural and bilingual individuals manage the process by controlling the accessibility of their internalised cultural constructs, and can shift from one cultural self-concept to another, depending on what is called for in a given situation. This less monolithic view of culture seems particularly appropriate at this time of increasing cultural interconnection. Active processes of priming oneself may help multicultural individuals in their ongoing effort to negotiate and express their cultural identities (Hong et al. 2000).

Using language as a cue to activate bicultural knowledge, Ross, Xun and Wilson (2002) find that the identities of East Asians and westerners may be stored in separate knowledge structures in bicultural individuals, with each structure activated by its associated language. When a given cultural frame is made salient, for example, by language as situational cues, culturally specific beliefs, theories, norms and standards of the culture associated with that language govern people's thinking and behaviour. The fear of westernisation, as discussed, has long existed in China's modernisation. While the existence of two 'ti', that is, Chinese and western culture and identity, has been undesirable from the official perspective, English learners' perceptions and desires in English learning are at odds with the official discourse. The work on biculturality and cross-cultural identification can assist the investigation of the significance of the two essences for Chinese learners of English in different contexts.

The idea of multiple and hybrid identities has led me to presume that the 'self' of Chinese is not statically individualistic or collectivist. Rather, the 'self' can switch between the "interdependent" (collectivist) self and "independent" (individual) self in different contexts. 'The' identity involved in English learning can be different among learners depending on which identity is more significant and invested in for each individual learner (Zhang and Kulich 2008). In the dilemma of 'self' presented by English learning, learners presumably may shift and choose to assert one 'self' over another in different contexts depending on the saliency of the multiple selves. The integrative motive in learning English may be associated with a particular 'self' but not at the expense of another 'self' which may assert itself more in instrumental motive. An approach that conjures up the shifting of multiple identities of language learners and users can therefore address the possible existence of "interdependent" and "independent" selves. The original identity of English learners and their identity

associated with learning English which exist on their own rights and 'retrievable' in different situations can be made transparent.

The identity of Chinese people is indeed multifaceted. In China, some recent studies indicate that students of English have developed a multilingual/multicultural identity in the process of English learning. Of particular interest in the study of Chen (2008) is student comparison of two cultures. When asked about agreement with the western political system, the 231 students in Chen's study tend to show agreement, but when asked which one was better, Chinese or western political system, students supported the Chinese one. They are eager to learn of other cultures which are not threatening to their own cultures. Chen's study shows that the influence of western culture has not impacted negatively on students' acknowledgement of their own culture. Mother tongue and foreign language and culture are not necessarily contradictory. For Chinese learners of English, the boundary between the 'we-code' and 'they-code' as defining the native and foreign language and culture is not as clear-cut and contradictory; although for the students in Chen (2008)'s study, the length of study of English can affect their self-identification as global citizen or Chinese; and the identity associated with the 'mother tongue' and English is salient in different contexts. However, Chen (2008) also demonstrates that foreign language majors' acknowledgement of mother tongue language and culture increases with the length of studying English.

In the Chinese case, to construct a positive identity in the global community, Chinese people have sought for changes in the relations with 'foreigners' by lessening the "psychologically salient" (Tajfel 1978:66) features associated with 'foreigners' including promoting English in China and Chinese overseas. As Tajfel (1978:76) illustrates, "perceived illegitimacy" is a "socially accepted and acceptable lever" for

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social change in intergroup relations. It results from the rise of similarity between social groups and breaks down the dimensions of comparability as well as the perceived legitimacy of the group relations (Tajfel 1978:58). As group beliefs and values change with the social environment, the breakdown of perceived legitimacy will therefore produce a new relation between groups who retrieve to look for alternative ways to maintain the social distance. Tajfel's Social Identity Theory allows for an analysis of the internal workings of group categorisation and the 'othering process' in China. In particular, this research reveals how identifying feature(s) are formed by Chinese in differentiating themselves from 'foreigners'.

From the discussions of Dong and Blommaert (2009) and Wang (2001), the multiple layers of migrant, Beijing, hometown, and minority group identity associated with different Chinese dialects and accents also become manifest. In relation to the outside world, it is 'the' ethnic Chinese identity that becomes most salient and within the Chinese society itself, one's identity is defined as 'collective vs. personal', 'local resident vs. migrant', and by social categories and occupations. National identity, local dialect identity, collective self and individual self are some of the layers of identity of Chinese. However, when English comes into the scene, it evidently affects the sense of self of Chinese learners. This research aims to investigate whether identity associated with English has become one layer of Chinese identity. The nature of 'ti' can therefore also be revealed.

The dimension of 'global' as in 'global citizen' or 'global Chinese' is another possible layer of 'being Chinese'. In reviewing the existing studies of global English, two interrelated issues stand out. The first concerns the culture or context-specific meanings of globalisation or 'being global'. In addition to the emphasis on historical structural

processes of globalisation, just as scholars of critical approaches to global English have emphasised, sociologists also advocate looking into the "symbolic discourse" of globalisation (Fiss and Hirsch 2005:32). In their investigation of framing and sense-making of globalisation in U.S. newspapers, Fiss and Hirsch (2005) found that in the U.S., globalisation is framed by the financial sector and increased integration of the American economy with the global economy, as the majority of articles on globalisation appear in the finance section of newspapers.

With reference to China, Mamman, Baydoun and Liu (2009) investigated what globalisation means to Chinese business people in Beijing. For the study 128 business people were asked to rate 13 statements on a Likert scale. The interviewees, generally, agreed that China is an active agent in economic globalisation that benefits and is benefited from world economy. A significant majority (89.8 per cent) believed that globalisation means that the Chinese economy is part of the global economy and the way of operating business in different parts of the world is becoming more similar. When it came to the convergence of cultural ideas, there was no consensus on globalisation as equivalent to 'westernisation'. The respondents did not see globalisation as full-scale adoption of western liberal values and behaviour, but rather, as a convergence of different cultures and thinking. From the studies of Fiss and Hirch (2005) and Mamman et al. (2009), the views about globalisation can be seen as cultural and context specific. The existing research on global English has tended to look at the impacts of globalisation and overlook the underlying meanings of globalisation in their countries or communities under investigation. For 'non-native' speakers of English, globalisation may not mean a total dominance of the USA or Europe and they themselves are active agents of globalisation rather than passive 'experiencers'. The world is viewed as a single place with common symbols, events and solidarities

(Edward and Rees 2006) but this also means interrelatedness of people, societies and environment in which the action of one has implications for others.

Another issue that stands out relates to the commonly-held belief of 'one-party' dominance in globalisation. Some authors (for example, Gupta and Govindarajan 2002, Begley and Boyd 2003) have shown that individuals have developed a global mindset over time which they use to interpret and make sense of events under globalisation. Global mindset, as Begley and Boyd (2003:25) define it, refers to: "the ability to develop and interpret criteria for business performance that **are not dependent on the assumptions of a single country, culture or context and to implement those criteria appropriately in different countries, cultures and contexts.**" (Emphasis added)

The global mindset, which is shaped by the various processes of globalisation, provides a new lens through which the surroundings can be observed and understood (Essary 2007). As Essary (2007:512) remarks:

> *a global frame establishes the world as the point of orientation by incorporating supranational discourse into the interpretation of an event or issue (...) locate[s] an event in terms of world instead of national history, to perceive a debate as having worldwide instead of local significance, to identify right from wrong using transnational instead of personal rationalizations, or to label someone a 'human being' instead of an 'other'. The appeal of global framing is that, regardless of the topic, evoking globality broadens the significance or relevance of an issue beyond its original societal context.*

Whether an individual has developed a global mindset can be signalled by his/her cultural cues used to discuss a topic, including the selection of words, symbols,

illustrations, or rationales, which convey a globally relevant interpretation (Essary 2007). This mindset, to put it differently, interprets any local events within the 'world' context, seeing them as having an impact or relation to the outside world.

Although it is emphasised in existing paradigms of global English that globalisation links together all countries and therefore events in one location will impact on others, the interdependence of world countries (and languages and cultures) and the true meaning of globalisation are not fully actualised in existing research. Researchers have also argued that it is essential to investigate globalisation at the level of meaning rather than at the level of practice (for example, Begley and Boyd 2003) as the meaning of globalisation held by individuals as well as government will lead to specific decisions and actions. English, as Chapter One and Two have suggested, can be seen as a 'conscious' choice of China in this global era. A study of the meaning of globalisation for the Chinese government and Chinese people can potentially inform us of the rationale for their decisions and actions relating to English.

Phillipson (2009) emphasises the need to analyse the role English plays in the "dialogic processes of understanding" (p.42) because "English is now *the* language for international communication (emphasis added)" (p.163) and understanding. Therefore, globalisation (of English) should not be taken as 'one-way dominance' but a "dialogic process". The current research presents an analysis of *People's Daily* to reveal how globalisation is interpreted from the Chinese official perspectives. Since the meaning of globalisation is determined by the interests and social positions of actors involved in the discourse of globalisation and influences people's reactions to it (Fiss and Hirsch 2005, Mamman et al. 2009), the analysis will shed light on the understanding of how Chinese government takes up globalisation through looking into its perspectives on English. The

official discourse of globalisation ascribes how Chinese people perceive themselves and act within the global frame.

From the various official policies, the message is obvious: nation comes before self. Research on English learning motivation of Chinese learners, in this regard, should investigate whether learners take up this message, rather than completely ruling out one or the other in learning English. The lack of official responses to the violation of the law on teaching medium mentioned previously indicates that there is something non-codified about English which markedly demonstrates the possible tensions between various ideological and social-cultural forces, hidden or overt, and between globalisation and patriotism or nationalism (Feng 2009). Schiffman (1996) demonstrates that every society has a body of attitudes and views towards language and that even when there is an absence of overt language planning, the underlying linguistic culture provides a kind of language planning by default. From this viewpoint, the attitudes and views about English in the Chinese society have to be explored in order to reveal the status and roles of the language in China. The current research therefore focuses on the nature of 'yong'.

As illustrated in Chapter One, the internal and external unrests of China have created an identity and cultural vacuum. This vacuum, as this chapter has shown, has to confront the spread of English and its associated culture(s). The national language, Putonghua, and Confucian heritage, as seen in the previous chapter, are promoted as Chinese ethnocultural symbols both inside China and overseas. This can be seen as an attempt to build up and promote the linguistic image of Chinese identity and a strong identification basis which Chinese people can hold onto so that modernisation as well as English can further develop and proceed in China without causing threats to native Chinese essence.

This complies with Orton's (2009b:271) remark that "[i]n the face of so much new and foreign, the central task for Chinese remained the construction and maintenance of a coherent narrative of Chinese self-identity."

With the issues of 'being Chinese' and identity vacuum unsettled, the 'ti-yong' principle still imposes on Chinese people a unified 'ti'. This study therefore also aims to investigate the characteristics of 'the' Chinese identity imposed upon English learners/users as well as what it means to be Chinese for them. In other words, it seeks to look into the nature of 'ti', how the notion of 'ti' has evolved as well as how the relationships between 'ti' and 'yong' have become less clear.

2.4 The present study

In formulating the research questions, the shortcomings of existing research on Chinese identity and English in China have been considered. First, research has tended to focus on language policy, learners' motivation and self-identity changes resulting from English learning. The official perspectives and popular attitudes towards English and Chinese identity as a whole have been largely unexplored. Foreign language education has a direct effect on a person's career, the reputation of schools and even happiness of a family (Feng 2005, 2006). It is the reason why English education affects all its stakeholders. Nonetheless, while existing studies have tended to focus on the views of English of university students, those of high school students, (non-English) teachers and parents are underrepresented.

Gao et al. (2005, 2007) and Lo Bianco (2009) respectively conclude from their findings that university students are motivated by personal development and influenced by

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English culture and that the 'ti-yong' principle still frames the perceptions of the roles of Chinese and English of teachers for whom national benefits of learning English (for example, national identity, Chinese language, China's development) seem to be more predominant. The present research adopts the possible determining factors of age and roles of different stakeholders in the education system by investigating junior high school and university students, teachers and parents. The purpose is to determine whether and how junior high school and university students, who are more influenced by the influx of English and its associated cultural values in China, are bound by the 'ti-yong' principle as compared to the other groups. This is particularly significant as the young generations are seen as "the main force for the construction of a modernized socialist nation in the 21st century" (Barmè 1999:257), and thus are the main targets of patriotism education (Li 2006).

As informed by the previous studies illustrated in this chapter, the current research on English and Chinese identity also seeks to explore the political, economic and cultural layouts of Chinese identity as well as the two different facets/layers of Chinese identity, namely, individual and collective through an investigation of the nature of the 'ti-yong' (Chinese identity-English utility) principle. Through English, the case study looks into what Chinese identity is.

In his study of English imperialism in the language classroom, Canagarajah (1999:76) raises some questions which are also applicable to the study of global English:

...while the demands of globalisation and internationalism would encourage the
learning of English, the equally strong pull of nationalism would motivate
resistance to English. How can these contradictory demands be reconciled? How

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do (people) learn to live with these tensions in their everyday life? How do they transform these constraints in their favour? How do they creatively manipulate these tensions to conduct their life with dignity and self-determination?

The case study of this research takes up these questions. The following research questions guide the case study presented in the following chapters:

1.   What is/are the ascribed role(s) of English in China?
2.   How do high school students, university students, teachers and parents perceive English? These four groups of informants are influenced by the English language education policy and the learning requirement resulting from the changing international relation landscapes of China.
3.   In what ways English has been integrated into Chinese society and Chinese people's identity?
4.   What are the challenges of promoting English to Chinese identity at both the national and individual levels?

Question 1 is aimed to facilitate conceptualisation of the institutional discourses about English, that is, the official perspectives on the language. Question 2 intends to reveal the various opinions on English of people in China which are termed the educational discourses. Questions 3 and 4 provide a point of departure for looking into the identity issue involved in English learning and Chinese identity.

While Q1 and Q2 seek to uncover the official and popular views about English, to answer Q3 and Q4, the questions to be addressed include: are the expected outcomes of learning English different or similar between the institutional and individual levels, and

how do the two levels link together? How much of the 'self' and 'other' is involved in learning English? These are explored through the learners' perceptions of the role of English in China and for themselves, along with how English is (supposed to be) learnt at the institutional and societal levels. While focusing on the research questions, this thesis uses the 'ti-yong' principle to illustrate the discrepancies between the official and popular discourses.

To analyse English and Chinese identity, the case study employs critical approaches to the global spread of English such as Pennycook's, and Kramsch's approaches to multilingual subjects which emphasise the importance of personal experience and imagination in the identity formation of multilinguals. Cross-cultural psychology theories on biculturals which provide a framework for the analysis of the salience of different identities in different contexts are also adopted. These theories, which have also been discussed in this chapter, construe more closely the relations between language, identity and local culture and contribute in particular to the understanding of the macro-level discourses closer to the context within which the micro-level discourses of English are situated.

The next chapter discusses the data, methodology for data collection and analysis and the broader theoretical and analytical framework. Following that, Chapter Four and Five present and illustrate the results of the case study.

Chapter Three

Case study of Chinese official and popular discourses about English and Chinese identity: data, methodology and approaches to analysis

This chapter introduces and discusses the data collected for the case study, the data collection methodology and approaches to data analysis. Three types of data have been collected: extracts from *People's Daily* newspaper, Q methodology questionnaires and interviews.

In the previous chapters, the macro-level discourses about English and Chinese identity were discussed and illustrated with reference to some existing literature on Chinese identity and English education in China. This chapter discusses the broader theoretical framework adopted to the analysis of micro-level discourses about English closer to the language levels. These approaches include the notions of text of Halliday, Bakhtin and Kristeva and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The case study combines CDA with grounded theory method as the first step into CDA. Grounded theory is adopted as a coding strategy of the newspaper articles and interviews, while CDA is used to link the findings to the wider socio-cultural and political contexts. In this chapter, the theoretical constructs of Q methodology as it was used in the collection of data on popular discourses are also discussed.

3.1 Data and approach to data collection

The case study investigates the Chinese government's views on the status and roles of English through analysing a government newspaper, and popular opinions on the same

topic through Q questionnaires and interviews. The following section introduces and explains these different types of data used for the case study. It also discusses the approach to data collection.

3.1.1 Data

In the case study, the newspaper and interviews constitute the primary data while the Q sorts questionnaires serve to provide an overview of the diverse discourses about English existing in China as secondary data. This section focuses on introducing the primary data, and in the next section, focus is placed on Q methodology as it was used to guide the collection and analysis of secondary questionnaire data as well as the set up of the face-to-face interviews.

***People's Daily* extracts**

The primary written data analysed were collected from a Chinese newspaper, *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) which is China's national newspaper and the mouthpiece of the party and people. The aim of looking into *People's Daily* is to identify the dominant official discourses about English and its sub-discourses. As stated on the *Renmin Ribao* website (www.people.com.cn), the newspaper represents the views of the Chinese government, communist party, and the people, with the whole country as the identified audience, and is a channel for the communication between the government and the public. The columns open for contributions from the public include 《人民论坛》 (People's discussion forum)、《人民时评》 (People's comments)、《声音》 (Voice)、《思想纵横》 (Thoughts) and《今日谈》 (Today's talk).

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During the fieldwork, it was brought to the researcher's attention that in Beijing *People's Daily* can only be bought in post offices or by subscription with limited availability in newsagencies or convenience stores. The articles are written by a small circle of writers mostly affiliated with the Party. As Gregory and Hutchins (2004:194) indicate, a prerequisite for the letters' page of a local newspaper is the "localism or proximity" of the copy and "a belief in the right of local people to speak in their forum". *People's Daily* in this case does not seem to be a local channel through which the public can voice their viewpoints. According to Gee (1999), newspapers, especially national newspapers, are treated as promotion of official views and ideologies that communicate what is to be considered 'acceptable' and 'normal'. As the newspaper is an official newspaper of the Chinese government, I regard it as a 'government document' that represents and expresses the institutional views on different issues and thus a producer of dominant discourse. One major function of dominant discourse is to manufacture consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance. Only a few elites and writers who are mostly party members have access to the *People's Daily* forum. Ordinary people may have less active or passive access to the communicative events occurring in the *People's Daily* forum. This complies with van Dijk's (1993) ideas that power and dominance are usually organised and institutionalised.

In the *People's Daily* data used in this thesis, many of the articles were taken from the letters to the editor and feature articles' pages. The letters and articles were written by readers or invited writers. Some might argue that the letters are not representative of public opinions because they are usually written by a group of people who tend to be better educated and politically conservative (Richardson 2007). However, as Richardson (2007) mentions, letters to the editor are designed to convince readers of the acceptability of a point of view. In selecting letters or articles written by readers, the

editorial staff gives an indication of the newspaper's news values. Any letters that are included reflect what is considered 'acceptable' by the newspaper (van Dijk 1988). Letters' pages remain important to both newspapers and their readers, representing a key site in which the identities of the readers – as both producers and consumers of news discourse – are constructed by the newspaper. In line with the ideas of Bakhtin and Kristeva, the letters provide the readers a channel to participate in the dialogue with the writers, other readers and related discourses about an issue (van Dijk 1988, Richardson 2007).

In line with the key themes of CDA, study of media discourse, in particular, newspaper discourse, seeks to examine how journalistic discourse is produced, how journalistic texts function, how arguments are made and supported, and how newspaper texts may be implied in the production and reproduction of social inequalities (Fairclough 1995, Richardson 2007). Variables such as headlines and page of the articles are also significant for analysis (Richardson 2007). Through an analysis of *People's Daily* using Critical Discourse Analysis, this thesis reveals the official 'ascribed' positions or identities of readers in relation to English. The keywords, main themes and sub-themes in the articles, that is, the discourses embedded within the articles and their features, will be analysed in Chapter Four.

Face-to-face interviews

In the case study of this research, the primary data on popular discourse were collected from face-to-face interviews. These interviews were conducted in a two-month fieldwork in Beijing in September-November 2009 with the use of Q methodology.

Participants involved in the interviews include university and high school students, teachers and parents. This is further introduced in the section below.

3.1.2 Approach to data collection

The theoretical constructs and procedures of Q methodology guided both the data collection process and analysis of the secondary Q questionnaires data, as well as the set up of the face-to-face interviews which provided the primary data for the case study of this research. In the following section, these constructs and procedures, as well as the demographics of the participant cohorts in the case study, are discussed.

Q-Methodology as a form of Discourse Analysis

Q methodology, or Q, was first introduced by a British psychologist, William Stephenson (1953). A method that conjoins philosophical, technical, and statistical components and a strategy linking qualitative and quantitative analyses (Stephenson 1953:36), Q is a tool for studying and representing a range of opinions on particular topics. Factor analysis is a fundamental part of Q. It is a means of identifying groups or "types" of persons who share similar attitudes and the characterising views of the attitudes[43]. In a wide variety of fields from psychology, political science to transport policy, Q has been used to determine perspectives which can be taken as discourses. In his study on Basque national identity, Davis (1997) concludes that without Q

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[43] Psychologists (for example, Oppenheim 1992) seem to treat 'attitudes', 'beliefs' and 'feelings' as different matters. 'Beliefs' and 'feelings' are seen as the characterising forces of forming a particular 'attitude'. Even Brown makes the distinctions between 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' (1980:68) in saying that *"attitudes are operantly defined and formally modelled as factors. Beliefs and values provide explanations of factors, and may reach into ego dynamics and other schemes for their theoretical substance."* Language attitudes research tends to ignore the beliefs behind the attitudes and lump together the two terms. Study that lumps together 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' would risk pinpointing only the superficial views of languages of respondents. In this regard, Q is an ideal approach as it relies on participants' ratings of statements to explain the rating of one another; in which sense, Q focuses more on the belief systems characterising the resulting attitude measures rather than the resulting measures themselves.

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methodology, it would not be possible to reveal the two different layers of Basque identity, but simply that all people identify themselves as Basque. Other examples include: Raje (2007) investigates the roles of transport in people's life in the United Kingdom by examining the impacts of transport on individuals on a scale of social inclusion/exclusion. Paradice (2001) looks into attitudes and beliefs about dyslexia of parents, educational psychologists and special educational needs coordinators. Dryzek (1994) researches Australian perceptions of democracy, and Nitcavic and Dowling (1990) study American perceptions of terrorism so as to predict the effects of terrorism coverage on American public policy. In linguistics, very limited studies have adopted Q methodology to look into language attitudes and identity issues (for example, Lo Bianco and Aliani 2008, Ives 2008). To summarise what Q methodology is, I quote Brown's (1980:5-6) concise explanation:

Q technique is a set of procedures whereby a sample of objects is placed in a significant order with respect to a single person. In its most typical form, the sample involves statements of opinion (Q sample) that an individual rank-orders in terms of some condition of instruction – e.g. "most agree" (+5) to "most disagree" (-5). The items so arrayed comprise what is called a Q-sort. Q sorts obtained from several positions are normally correlated and factor-analyzed by any of the available statistical methods. Factors indicate clusters of persons who have ranked the statements in essentially the same fashion. Explanation of factors is advanced in terms of commonly shared attitudes or perspectives. Q methodology is the body of theory and principles that guides the application of technique, method and explanation.

In Q study, participants are given a set of statements for ranking according to how representative they are of their viewpoints. An important key construct of Q is the idea of 'operant subjectivity'. Q is operant in that without having prescribed on a person any external frame of reference, which is said to be a shortcoming of existing conventional questionnaires such as Likert Scale[44], it allows a person to express "his subjectivity operantly, modeling it (through his ranking of the statements) in some manner" (Watts and Stenner 2012:26).

Another key principle of Q methodology is 'contextuality' which refers to "the meaning associated with a statement largely dependent upon the behavioural context, the whole context of which it is a part" (Brown 1980:46). While ranking the statements, participants are expected to constantly make comparisons between statements, permitting individual statements to interact with the whole set of statements.

As was emphasised by Stephenson (1953), Brown (1980) and other Q scholars (for example, McKeown and Thomas 1988), Q is not designed to determine what percentage of the population hold each particular view but to elicit the range and variety of accounts or discourses about or around a particular issue. Unlike survey research which looks at the correlation between variables observed across a large number of individuals, Q seeks to look into the correlation between participants who have the status of variables rather than sample elements. This is clearly explained by Brown (1980:68):

Q technique to study attitudes and opinions is not to study attributes nor to measure the intensity of isolated opinions as is conventionally practiced. Rather, the intent is to provide the subject with the materials and operational procedures necessary to

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[44] For a discussion of the shortcomings of conventional questionnaires, see, for example, McKeown and Thomas (1988) and Dryzek (1994).

provide the subject with the opportunity to engage in the formation of his own
opinion, subjectively rendered.

Q researchers cannot say how many people in the larger population are likely to hold particular perspectives but they can say with confidence that the perspectives do exist in the larger population and a degree of comprehensiveness in the perspectives identified can also be claimed if the participants are diverse. In this regard, Q is primarily an exploratory technique and cannot prove hypotheses (Watts and Stenner 2005). The theoretical constructs of Q are further explained in Appendix 2.

The Q methodology procedures

Q methodology follows a rather standardised set of research procedures. To provide a brief overview, the procedures used are outlined below. For the purpose of this thesis, this section focuses on how the primary interviews data were collected and on the participants' demographic information. More details of each procedure can be found in Appendix 2, Section A2.1.

Q methodology essentially consists of six steps:

Step 1: 326 statements about English were collected from *People's Daily* between 2000 and 2008.

Step 2: 54 statements were selected from Step 1 and each statement was written and numbered on a separate card.

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Step 3: Respondents were recruited. Before the researcher's departure to Beijing, initial contacts with staff in two universities were made through the researcher's personal networks. Emails were also sent randomly to six high schools. Although three responses were received expressing interest in the research, only one teacher agreed to help arrange recruitment and interviews with students and parents in the end.

Step 4: Interviews. The interviews had two phases. In Phase One, respondents were asked to rate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the statements chosen in Step 2. Their ratings constitute what is called the Q sorts as secondary data that provided an overview of the discourses about English existing in China. In Phase Two, face-to-face interviews were conducted where respondents were asked a list of 11 questions centred around the roles and impacts of English. These questions were tailored according to the contents of the statements used in Phase One Q sorts. With the respondents' consent, interviews were audio-recorded. Handwritten notes were taken when the respondents did not agree to be audio-recorded. The 11 questions are listed in Chapter Four.

Step 5: Data analysis and processing using statistical analysis software. The researcher completed a score table after each participant's ranking for analysis. The score each statement received was then entered into a software program called PQ Method. The statistical analysis is a Q version of factor analysis. Participants sharing the same views were grouped into one factor.

Step 6: Results interpretation. The defining Q sorts of each factor, that is, participants loaded most significantly on each factor, were identified and results could then be reported in a form of narratives for each factor.

For the present case study, the focus is placed on Phase Two of the interviews. The participants' responses to the 11 questions provided the primary data on popular discourses for the case study. Serving as the secondary data for this research, the Q sort questionnaire results presented in the form of narratives for each factor are attached in Appendix 3.

In the fieldwork in Beijing, 87 participants in the education sector were interviewed including (1) university students, (2) high school students, (3) parents and (4) teachers. Demographic information about the participants was obtained prior to the interviews including place/city of origin, mother tongue spoken, knowledge of dialect(s), length of stay in Beijing (if born elsewhere), English proficiency certificates obtained, study majors (for university students) and occupation types (for parents). Below is a brief introduction of the four groups of participants:

(1)   University students

25 university students from three different universities were interviewed. Aged between 18 and 25, their year levels ranged between undergraduate year three and postgraduate year three. While 14 were English majors, 11 were non-English majors. Among the non-English majors, two were Commerce majors; six Journalism majors; one a Computing major; one an Engineering major and one a Science major. The families of these university students lived in other Chinese cities or towns, and they only moved to Beijing to study. Some of them had siblings. All students reported that they had passed either College English Test - Band 4 or Band 6.

(2)   High school students

20 students from the same high school were interviewed. They came from three

different Grade Eight classes in a famous high school and were all considered as top students by their teachers. The students were aged between 12 and 13 and the majority were born in Beijing (only three students were born elsewhere and moved to Beijing when they entered Grade One), living with their parents and were all the only children of their parents. As they themselves reported, they were all enrolled in extra English tuition classes outside of school.

(3)   Teachers

The group consists of 10 university teachers, nine high school teachers and four primary school teachers, totalling 23 teachers. They were aged between 25 and 50. Nine university teachers were English lecturers and one was a Chinese Classics lecturer. Six high school teachers were English teachers, one taught Politics, one taught Mathematics, and one taught Chinese. The primary school teachers taught more than one subject in their schools, with only one teacher teaching English.

(4)   Parents

19 parents of university and high school students (two parents of university students, and 17 parents of high school students) were interviewed. The parents' occupations included university dormitory receptionist, business owner, researcher, university faculty dean and government official, with the majority not consenting to reveal their occupations.

In selecting a representative set of person samples, readings of literature and research informed the variables that required consideration. These variables included: (1) dialects spoken and (2) city of residence other than Beijing. In each group, the researcher tended to interview participants speaking Mandarin as the first language and originally from

Beijing, and participants speaking dialects and from cities other than Beijing. This is because whether a person first comes to the urban areas from the rural areas and whether they can speak Mandarin and their attitudes towards the language might also affect how they perceive English as an additional language. The research therefore endeavoured to control the participants' first language and place of origin as variables when possible, although the feasibility of this had been a concern of the researcher and supervisors before the fieldwork began.

After the researcher had arrived in China and discussed the actual demography of each of the groups with the local contacts and teachers, the decision to control the variables mentioned was deemed not feasible and discarded. The problem was associated with mass internal migration and urbanisation. Movement to major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai from rural or less developed areas for study and work opportunities has been an extremely common phenomenon in China. A lot of university students and hospitality staff therefore were migrant students and workers from other parts of China. When the researcher first raised the idea of separating Beijingers and non-Beijingers in the interviews, all local contacts and university teachers were thus doubtful about the possibility. The researcher insisted on trialling the original recruitment decision for one week, but had to discard the 'Beijingers and non-Beijingers variable' as the recruitment process went along.

Within the CDA framework, the *People's Daily* and interview data are analysed. Despite its common usage in discourse analysis, CDA has been criticised for its lack of vigorousness and systematicity (Stubbs 1997, van Dijk 1999) and critical discourse analysts are said to be laden with assumptions (Stubbe, Lane, Hilder, Vine, Vine, Marra,

Holmes and Weatherall 2003). In order to mould these criticisms, grounded theory and keywords approach are used in this research as the first step into CDA.

3.2 Grounded theory and keywords approach as the first step of CDA

While Critical Discourse Analysis does not offer a systematic micro-approach to data analysis and categorisations, grounded theory provides an "inductive [theory] discovery methodology that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of the topic" (Martin and Turner 1986:141). In general, no pre-set assumptions and ideas of what to look for in data analysis using grounded theory are encouraged. Nonetheless, supported by the existing literature discussed in Chapter Two, assumptions have been made before embarking on this research - the roles of English and people's attitudes towards the language have changed. The remaining question is *why* and *how* they have changed. For this, I should emphasise that this research is using Straussian (Strauss and Corbin 1990) grounded theory method to collect initial data and develop *some of* the emergent themes and (both general and unique) features of the topic, *English*, found in the *People's Daily* and interview data. As Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) state, without a priori constructs or research focus informed by prior knowledge, it is easy to become confused by the volume of data and hence conducting random sampling that disables the formulation of theoretical constructs.

In this study, the choice of what categories to focus on, the interpretation of codes and the accounts of themes are not solely guided by the data, but also the aims of the research, the existing literature and background knowledge about the topic. The corpus of data is drawn from the results of a keyword search of '英语' *yingyu* ('English') on the *People's Daily* database of the ANU library for the years between 2000 and 2008.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), grounded theory research involves three basic steps: open coding, axial/theoretical coding and selective coding. This research case study has adopted these three steps, the details of which are outlined as follows:

3.2.1 Open coding

The aim of using the grounded theory method is to uncover the structures of discourses found in *People's Daily* and interviews which are then analysed and interpreted within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework. With two pre-conceived and yet tentative codes in mind: '*English*' and '*the Other*' (foreigners), I first analysed the newspaper and interviews data to extract a set of categories. These categories as they are named and used in grounded theory can be seen as discourses. In the process of open coding, memos (Strauss and Corbin 1990) were produced to gather ideas and dimensions about the two pre-set codes, as well as develop emergent codes and categories through constant comparison.

When I read the newspaper articles and interview transcriptions, I focused on the concepts conveyed through words, semantic relations and sentence structures rather than line-by-line analysis that is commonly used in many studies. The focus on the words is important for this case study for two reasons. First, some words, named as keywords, are culturally-specific and revealing of cultural values. According to Wierzbicka (1997), the lexicon of a language mirrors the ways of thinking and life characteristic of its speakers. As she (Wierzbicka 1997:5) explains, "culture-specific words are conceptual tools that reflect a society's past experience of doing and thinking about things in certain ways; and they help to perpetuate these ways."

Second, Chinese is morphologically an analytic or isolating language (Li and Thompson 1978) in that Chinese words are composed of a single morpheme and thus the language makes use of word order to convey meanings.

Interrelated to the "key words" approach is "cultural elaboration" and words "frequency" (Wierzbicka 1997:15). "Key words" are words that are particularly important in a given culture and their prominence can be indicated through their usage and frequency. As illustrated in the final section of Chapter One, there are words and phrases with cultural meanings that recur across the *People's Daily* data. The case study of this thesis will demonstrate how they are used to convey ideas about English and Chinese identity.

During open coding, the notes made in the memos were pure descriptions about the keywords and sentence relations at first and when comparisons were conducted, they facilitated the generation of insights which in turn informed the next stage of data collection.

3.2.2 Axial/ Theoretical coding

The starting point for axial coding is the list of codes produced at the end of open coding. Examples of the codes induced in the process include: 'learning English causing waste of time', 'English as a sign of opening up', and 'mutual respect of different cultures'. With the notes taken in the memos, groupings of codes into sub-categories were carried out. This process named axial/theoretical coding is a process of relating different codes to each other that seem to relate to the issue. The two pre-set codes, *English* and *foreigners* and their relevant sub-codes could be identified in the process of

open coding in the data such as 'roles of English', 'images of English', foreigner eagerness to learn Putonghua'. New themes that emerged solely from the data have also been identified including 'globalisation as mutual learning and understanding', 'association of history', 'Reference to Chinese culture and cultural values' and 'bilingual in Putonghua and English'.

3.2.3 Selective coding

Selective coding is implemented when the core categories/themes have been identified after the grouping of sub-categories. It is a process where I selected and focused on particular sub-categories identified in theoretical coding and collected more data to confirm the core categories. Selective coding is thus deductive in nature as the data collection and labelling and categorising of codes were implemented to validate, elaborate or reject these categories induced in the processes of open and theoretical coding. For instance, the category *English* is confirmed as characterised by its 'linguistic image', 'who speaks it', and 'how it is used' which are the different dimensions of the categories. Constant comparison between the different sub-categories of a core category assisted in uncovering as many similarities and diversities around the core category.

The categories analysed in this thesis were chosen based on their theoretical significance, that is, to what extent they answered the initial research questions about English and China's perceptions of itself in relation to foreigners. For example, I selected the sub-category of 'two-way language and cultural exchange' of the theme 'globalisation' because I was interested in looking into Chinese agency in the discourses of the global spread of English, and in the process of validation of this sub-category, I

focused on the 'subject positions' Chinese take by looking at the verbs and pronouns used. In this analysis, some themes were not included because final hypotheses and clear patterns of viewpoints could not be concluded with the diverse, contradictory and opposing views present in the data. These themes included 'social and education impacts of English', 'impacts of English on the Chinese language', and 'comparison of English proficiency between Chinese and other non-native speakers'. The first two themes however shaped the set up of question 7, 8, 9 and 10 in the Phase Two interviews with the participants.

The data collection and coding process is complete when the richness of information allows the researcher to reach conceptual saturation and no new codes and categories can be found (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Strauss and Corbin 1990). The coding process of the case study was terminated when no new information could be found in the *People's Daily* data between 2000 and 2008. The categories and themes derived from grounded theory methodology are then analysed within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework.

3.3 Approaches to data analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which has inspired the data analysis of the case study, is drawn upon to analyse both written and spoken texts taken from *People's Daily* and face-to-face interviews. This section illustrates the approaches to discourse analysis used in the case study including the notion of text in the work of Halliday, Bakhtin and Kristeva which provided the theoretical underpinnings for CDA. In this section, the key concepts in CDA are also introduced, followed by a discussion on how the approach is adopted to the data analysis of the current study.

Q methodology, which offers systematic procedures of data collection and analysis of the discourses of English in the wider society, was adopted in collecting questionnaires and interviews data. This section also explains the theoretical foundations and principles of Q methodology.

3.3.1 'Texts' as units of analysis: 'dialogism' and 'intertextuality' (Halliday; Bakhtin; Kristeva)

For the purpose of this case study, an approach that well integrates texts and the contexts within which they are written is required for the analysis of *People's Daily*.

In the 1970s, as study of language use in social context gradually branched out of structural linguistics, the concept of 'text' as situated in social context was developed and elaborated by scholars including Halliday and Hasan (1976). They perceive text as encoded in sentences or clauses, functioning with respect to its context of situation or situation of use and language is actually an instrument that rationalizes social structure and practices. From Halliday's point of view, social structure is an important determining factor of meaning-making process. As language has a range of meanings in different contexts, social structure determines the meanings of language among "meaning potentials" (Halliday 1978:19) specific to particular features of the contexts. When individuals communicate, they have to draw on the linguistic resources available depending on the social activity, social relationships between participants and the communication channel, all of which, as Halliday (1978:110) illustrates, are "a conceptual framework for representing the social context as the semiotic environment in

which people exchange meanings". In linguistics, a text is any passage, be it spoken or written, that forms a unified whole.

Halliday's and Hasan's work revisits the work of the literary critics Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva. For Bakhtin, any words (texts) are part of a chain of speech communication and, in different ways, participate in dialogues. Speakers expect a response from the listeners who are active participants in speech communication from the very beginning. In this context, the expression of an utterance always responds to others' utterances (Bakhtin 1986:92). It is related not only to preceding but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communication. Since one would attempt to act in accordance with the response in anticipation, this anticipated response, in turn, exerts an active influence on one's utterance. In this way, all utterances act as a link to one another in communication, and any utterance reveals many "half-concealed or completely concealed" (Bakhtin 1986:92) words of others that need to be interpreted with the context of the whole utterances in order to understand it fully. In other words, any communication can be viewed as a dialogue among several writings: that of the writer, the addressee and the contemporary and earlier cultural context (Kristeva 1986: 36). As Bakhtin (1986) also explains, texts are the embodiment of an existing socio-ideological dialogue between the present and the past, between different groups in society. He situates text within history and society, which are then seen as texts read by the writer, and into which he inserts his/her own voices by rewriting them (Bakhtin 1986:36). In this sense, any two utterances, if juxtaposed on a semantic plane, end up in a dialogic relationship, or they may mutually supplement one another or contradict.

In Bakhtin's (1981) views, when a writer inserts his/her own voice into a text, a new meaning is given while the original meaning is also retained through appropriation. By

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entering into interaction or "struggle" with other texts, a text awakens new and independent words in text contexts that "dialogize" it and thus it is able to reveal ever newer ways to mean (Bakhtin 1981:346). Bakhtin (1981:324-327) calls dialogic texts "double-voiced", as they simultaneously serve speaker/writer and listener/reader and express two different intentions. In such texts, there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions which are dialogically interrelated (Bakhtin 1981:324). Unlike authoritative texts, dialogic texts are heterogeneous, for they are "half-ours and half-someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981:345). They become one's own only when the speaker populates it with his/her own intention when s/he appropriates the word, adapting to his/her own semantic and expressive intention.

Building on Bakhtin's idea of dialogism, Kristeva (1986) posits the idea of intertextuality which refers to the interaction of texts with the cultural and historical contexts in which they are written and to the transformation of texts as a result of the interaction. In Kristeva's words, each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read (Kristeva 1986:37). As she argues, "in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralise one another" (Kristeva 1980:36). Like Bakhtin, Kristeva argues that intertextual texts stand in opposition to any unity of meaning and to the authoritativeness of any official definition. Texts act through and on subjects (writers, readers and listeners) and on social and political environments (Crozet 2010). As a result, multiple voices of the different subjects that respond to one another within particular historical and social contexts can be found. Because of this 'linkage' character, intertextuality is able to uncover the hidden political and ideological conflicts present at any historical moment in society. It gives expression to all those alternative and different voices that embody a struggle against the official dominant discourses.

As indicated by Bakhtin's and Kristeva's work, research on any aspects of concrete language needs to look at concrete utterances in different spheres such as texts of law or government documents which are "rejoinders" in everyday dialogue (Bakhtin 1986:62). This has provided a framework to the current case study which looks into how the past voices about English and the Other in China have been reworked and renewed, and how new Chinese voices about them have been formed in different historical and social contexts. Bakhtin's and Kristeva's work has been adopted by scholars in various fields as theoretical basis including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is used in this research to analyse newspapers and face-to-face interviews data.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In the 1980s, as influenced by the early critical studies of language of scholars including Michel Foucault, and literary critics, Bakhtin and Kristeva, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was introduced to the field of discourse analysis. In particular, CDA embodies influences of Foucault's ideas of discourse and subjectivity and Bakhtin's and Kristeva's work on intertextuality and dialogism. Two of the key concepts of CDA, namely, discourse as social structure and voice and agency, are examples of the influences of these scholars.

3.3.2.1 Key concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

A defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as manifested in discourse in the society as influenced by Foucault's concepts of discourse, knowledge and power.

Discourse as social structure and a site of power struggle

From Foucault's (1972) point of view, a discourse is not simply an utterance or a text, but an institutional structure that guides the meanings of utterances and texts and prescribes the rules of what constitutes a meaningful interaction. In Foucault's theory, knowledge and power is produced within a discourse. When knowledge is passed on in discourse and accepted by others, it then assumes its power, regulates social practices and influences people's behaviours in a particular structure. Foucault (1972) also focuses on the ever-changing nature of discourse about a particular subject in different socio-cultural and political contexts when new discourse arises to represent new conceptions and when meanings change with discourse from time to time.

Influenced by Foucault's ideas of discourse as social structure, CDA sees text as a social product of a society and a discourse (in the sense of social structure) which reflects the social norms, conventions and ideologies. In this sense, discourse can be specified as the whole process of social interaction that conditions the norms of production and interpretation of texts. It reflects the wider social conventions and structure which determine how language is used. In the views of Fairclough, a discourse itself actually consists of "orders of discourse", a term adopted from Foucault (1984), which Fairclough (1993:138) uses to refer to the "totality of discursive practices of an institution and relationship between them". "Orders of discourse" are interdependent networks that govern discourse and social practice. When one experiences the society as structured into different spheres of action, the types of discourse and practice associated with particular spheres prescribe the rules of what constitutes a conventional social activity. Whenever people produce or interpret discourse, they draw upon social conventions and practices which constitute the background knowledge of discourses

and the texts that occur within them. According to Fairclough (2001), there are three stages of CDA: description, interpretation and explanation. These three stages require texts' producers' and readers' background knowledge of the texts. Writer utilises this background knowledge to construct 'ideal readers' (Fairclough 2001:128) and entice them into his/her way of thinking.

Fairclough's early work was also influenced by Bourdieu's (1991) work on language as symbolic resources and power in education. When one has economic and political power, s/he also has ideological power, the power to act in ways regarded as universal (Wodak 2001). The dominant language/discourse grants its speaker/holder in a linguistic exchange symbolic power. In this regard, CDA is also interested in the relationships between discourse (language use) and power of an order of discourse, as well as in modifications to the order of discourse (Fairclough 1995). The ways in which "orders of discourse" are structured and the ideologies which they embody are seen in CDA as determined by relationships of power in particular social institutions and in the society as a whole.

CDA was also greatly influenced by literary critics, Bakhtin and Kristeva, and took their ideas out of the literary world by incorporating discourse, society and ideology in its framework. Applying Bakhtin's and Kristeva's idea of intertextuality, texts are seen in CDA as lacking fixed authorships and meanings, and prior texts and existing conventions can be transformed and restructured to generate new ones (Fairclough 1992:270). CDA therefore sets out to reveal the multiple discourses and meanings, and the ideological assumptions hidden in the discourses in the wider socio-cultural and political context.

Voice and agency

The subject positions in discourse are also a concern of CDA. Subject positions are social roles in general constructed by discourse. In his work on sexuality, Foucault (1978) illustrates how discourses (in the sense of language use) produce subject positions, and the multiplicity of discourse about a subject in a society. In different domains, different speakers use different discourses to speak about an idea. The rise of these different discourses is attributed to the "strategic necessities" (Foucault 1980:206) of having to identify one's position in relation to the subject under a particular economic and political atmosphere. To determine one's subject position within a discourse, one has to locate oneself in the position which is governed by discourse within the social context (Foucault 1980:132). Because of this identification of subject positions, a person is able to achieve his/her sense of identity within the discourse.

For Fairclough, thus, each subject position a person occupies is attached with a set of "discoursal rights and obligations" (Fairclough 1989:31) prescribed by the discourse type. These rights and obligations refer to what is and what is not allowed and required to say in a society. In this regard, CDA is concerned with the conditions which produce discourse that shapes the society and its people who have to identify one's position under a particular economic and political context (Foucault 1980). Construction of subject positions and the restricted sets of legitimate subject positions are important for CDA analysis. Foucault (1972) was one of the pioneers in the study of multifaceted identity as constructed by language which has influenced the studies in identity and language learning illustrated in section 3.1.2. In his view, the multiple roles and identities of a person are constructed by multiple discourses which place the person into different subject positions.

The aforementioned work of Bakhtin on dialogue also serves as a useful standpoint for understanding discourses and the multiple speaking positions (Mackinlay 2002). Although texts ascribe positions and therefore identity to readers and writers, as discussed previously, the ideas of dialogism and intertextuality introduce the dynamic and multiple nature of identities of both text producers and readers (as they insert their own voices into a text), and foster a pluralism of voices. Even the author of a text is 'no core, fixed, unified self', but is a differentiated, complex, heterogeneous force. S/he is a 'subject-in-process', conveying the notion of subjectivity as always "on trial", constantly questioning his/her identity and undergoing change (McAfee 2000:69). This is in line with discourse or text as a site of identity construction and negotiation in language use discussed earlier. In Bakhtin's (1981) views, one's 'voice' creates one's subject and the formation of new 'voices' introduces new identities. In 'voicing out', one is projecting his/her identity.

In the context of the global spread of English, the dominant English discourses of the West are often argued to silence the dominated whose voices cannot be heard and who are forced to accept the discourses. Hooks (1989:12) maintains that "speaking becomes both a way to engage in active self-transformation and a rite of passage where one moves from being object to being subject. Only as subjects can we speak. As objects, we remain voiceless – our beings defined and interpreted by others". Studies on global English previously mentioned have shown that through appropriation, the boundaries between the Self and Other change and the self no longer is an object on which English is imposed, but becomes the subjects that assume agency in the reception of English. Through appropriation, non-English speaking communities add a new voice to the already polyvocal version of the discourse, resulting in the different discourses about

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English. It is the purpose of this research to investigate the appropriation of western discourses about English by Chinese people into which they insert their own voices and affirm their self-identity. CDA is adopted in this thesis for the analysis of *People's Daily* and interviews with a focus on the interactions between the wider socio-cultural contexts and micro-level language use. By looking at the multiple discourses about English, the subject positions of China and Chinese people can be revealed.

3.3.2.2 The CDA paradigms in the current study

Operating on the same underlying principles of CDA, different scholars of CDA have developed different focuses in their own approaches[45]. Along with the fundamental assumptions, principles and procedures of CDA that underlie the data analysis of the present study, Wodak's discourse-historical approach (Wodak 2001) is particularly appropriate to the study of English in China. Wodak (2001:76) maintains that:

> ...*because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one*
> *should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation comparable with the*
> *historical example referred to.*

In investigating historical, organisational and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical information and background of the social and political contexts within which the texts are produced and interpreted: It analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are

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[45] Wodak (1989) introduces a historical dimension to CDA that gives rise to the discourse-historical approach. van Dijk (1993) emphasizes the role of social cognition in framing people's minds by means of language processing mechanisms, which is the social-cognitive model of CDA. The work on sociology of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) underpins CDA, the aims and analytical methods of his approach. Depending on the nature of a study, these paradigms of CDA have been applied in critical studies of language.

subject to diachronic change (Wodak 1989, 2001). Wodak's approach is dependent centrally on the interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between discourses. It aims to provide a framework to study inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures (Wodak 2001:65). The interconnectedness of texts and discursive practices, which provides a variety of empirical data as well as background information, in Wodak's views, can minimise bias (Wodak 2001).

One way to apply Wodak's discourse-historical approach is to assume a dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and situations in particular historical contexts (Wodak 2001:66). As Wodak (2001) states, discourses and discourse topics spread to different fields of action and discourses. They cross between fields, overlap, refer to each other or are in some other way socio-functionally linked with each other. In this regard, each macro-topic allows for many sub-topics which can be created anew. As informed by the historical background information presented in Chapter One and Two, topics about English cover sub-topics such as China's international relations, the history of the status of English in China and modernisation, each representing different realities that contribute to the frame of the Chinese discourses of English and Chinese identity. The notion of intertextuality permits an analysis of the relations between discourses and sub-discourses. In the process of analysis, new discourses about English can also be derived from the existing discourses.

The following devices and tools offered by Critical Discourse Analysis are adopted in the analysis of written resources and interviews in this thesis, some of which are outlined in Wodak (2001).

Device	Function
Pronouns	• Indication of agent and patient; highlight or background agency or absence of agency • Pronouns might serve to stress the unity of a people
Overwording, sentence structures	• Overwording —overwording signals preoccupation with some aspect of reality • How sentences are linked together e.g. cohesion and connectors – connectors mark various temporal, spatial and logical relationships between sentences • What connectors are used e.g. and, because, even though, mere juxtaposition of sentences - texts commonsensically divide information into relatively prominent and relatively background (tending to mean relatively important and relatively unimportant (Wodak 2001:109)
Semantic relations between words (Wodak 2001:96)	• Signal social relationships

According to Wodak (2001), the use of the above devices is ideologically motivated and can be constrained by power and their associated structural effects on knowledge and beliefs, social relationships and social identities. These devices can therefore contribute to the data analysis of the case study that explores Chinese identity in relation to the other, and the Chinese discourses about English in the twenty-first century. In the following section, the written and spoken data collected and analysed for the case study of this research are introduced.

3.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented and discussed the data and methodology of the case study and examined the selection of the broader theoretical approaches used for the case study including the notions of text of Halliday, Bakhtin and Kristeva which contribute to the analysis of discourse. The focus of Critical Discourse Analysis on text and its interactions with the wider socio-cultural and political contexts offers a backdrop to analyse *People's Daily* articles and interviews as the primary data. The theoretical

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constructs and procedures of Q methodology as used to reveal the discourses about English existing in the wider context have also been discussed. The methodological decisions supporting the research have centred on revealing the underlying beliefs and ideologies about English and 'being Chinese' in the official and popular discourses.

In the chapters that follow, the findings of the analysis of *People's Daily* and interviews conducted in the major fieldwork are discussed and illustrated using Critical Discourse Analysis.

Chapter Four

Official discourses about English and Chinese identity

As a national newspaper and government's mouthpiece, *People's Daily* plays a role in propagating the official discourses about a particular subject/topic. This chapter examines the *People's Daily* data to uncover the official Chinese perceptions of English and 'being Chinese' in relation to the outside world. This chapter also illustrates China's concepts of globalisation which contributes to understanding the roles of English in the country.

Reports and articles on English can be found across different sections in the newspaper[46], the contents of which do not vary largely. Articles in the 'News' section included reports on the ability of elderly people to speak English, role model English learners, and a combination of English and other modern skills training for different sectors. In the 'Education, Technology, Hygiene and Environment' and 'Science Education' sections, articles on English education policy and activities carried out in schools were also found. The 'International News' and other pages related to World news not only contain information about English but also the history and culture of foreign countries, and Chinese language education overseas. From the time when China won the bid to host the Beijing Olympics to the end of the Games, there were also some sections particularly written on the issues and news related to the Games such as 'Olympics Special Edition' and 'Olympics Overview'. The articles in these sections primarily reported on how ordinary people prepared for the Olympics such as by learning English and studying for volunteer certification.

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[46] See in Chapter Three for the overall structure of *People's Daily*.

In this chapter, some of the categories and sub-categories derived from using grounded theory methodology are analysed and discussed. The eleven articles or article extracts analysed in detail in this chapter were chosen based on the richness of information, categories and in Critical Discourse Analysis's term, discourses they embody in relation to the research questions. They cover the recurring themes identified, in addition to the unique features they each have in exemplifying the themes. The categories derived include: 'Chinese Agency', 'Globalisation as two-way China-the World language and cultural exchange', 'Reference to history', 'Role model discourse', 'Chinese emotions', 'Collectivism and national development discourse', and 'Putonghua and Chinese identity'. Where appropriate, excerpts from other *People's Daily* articles are also presented for clarifying key points. The keywords and phrases that convey the ideas pertaining to particular categories in each article are presented in a table before discussion, and the keywords with the highest frequency across the 11 People's Daily examples are also attached as Appendix 5.

In the order in which they are discussed, the table below lists the titles of the 11 articles and extracts, the dates and sections in which they were published and the respective labels used in the discussion in this chapter. Both Chinese and English translations are included. All articles and extracts are attached in Appendix 4: People's Daily examples.

Title	Section	Label given to the extract in this study
永远不让祖国失望（与文明同行） "Never let the motherland down"	2004. 07. 10 第 8 版 ［版名：副刊］ 2004. 07. 10 Page 8 "Supplement"	"Li Yang"
祖国，我能为你做什么？（人民论坛） Motherland, what can I do for you? (People's discussion)	2002. 09. 30 第 4 版 要闻 2002. 09. 30 Page 4 'News'	"Motherland"
语言交流的力量（心有所动） The power of language communication	2008. 08. 07 第 7 版 奥运特刊	"Power of communication"

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	2008. 08. 07 Page 7 'Olympics'	
"雏凤清于老凤声"（人民论坛） The new generation is more excellent than the old (People's forum)	2001. 08. 10 第 4 版 要闻 2001. 08. 10 Page 4 'News'	"New Generation"
阿妈用心学外语（从身边看变化·今日谈） Grandma dedicates to learning foreign language (seeing surrounding changes)	2002. 10. 21 第 1 版 要闻 2002. 10. 21 Page 1 'News'	"Grandma"
情牵古长城 梦圆四合院 ——美国游客迈克再访山海关 Emotional attachment to Great Wall, Dreams come true at Siheyuan --American tourist, Mike visiting 'Shanhaiguan'	2002. 04. 26 第 9 版 假日生活周刊 2002. 04. 26 Page 9 'Holiday leisure weekly'	"American tourist"
塞纳河上听解说 Listening to the interpretation over Seine	2004. 05. 08 第 8 版 副刊 Page 8 'Supplement'	"River"
喜看今日 "汉语热"（人民论坛） Glad to see today's "Chinese Fever" (People's Discussion Forum)	第 4 版要闻 Page 4 'News'	"Chinese fever"
"我们也准备好了！" ——记活跃在北京的外国志愿者 "We are also ready!" - Experiences of foreign volunteers in Beijing	第 8 版奥运特刊 Page 8 'Olympics'	"We are also ready!"
的哥老孟怀揣的宝贝 The taxi driver, Lao Meng's cherishable treasure	第 15 版社会观察 Page 15 Social observation	"Taxi drivers"
乡音已改（走进新农村） Changing sound of the hometown (Entering the new farmers' village)	第 16 版副刊 Page 16 "Supplement"	"Changing sound of the hometown"

The categories identified are taken as discourses. When the *People's Daily* articles are linked to the wider socio-cultural and political contexts within which they are produced, they then represent the facts and knowledge about these contexts. This chapter examines each of the categories in the previous order presented in each of the sections below. Some of the categories are combined as they are interrelated and the keywords cannot be understood by themselves in isolation. Where appropriate, a schematic relation figure is produced to illustrate the relations between the keywords. The words with high frequency inform the entities and the schematic relations between them depicted in the

figures. Focus is placed on aspects and features of the articles that address the research aims.

4.1 The Chinese people in relation to the world: making sense of Chinese identity in relation to 'the Other'

One way of looking into Chinese identity in relation to foreigners that CDA has offered is through the use of the notion of agency. Chinese agency has two meanings in this research. First, it means the rights to act and to initiate to act. Second, in terms of the 'acceptance' of English, Chinese agency can be understood as English being appropriated into Chinese life (Canagarajah 2006) rather than Chinese people fitting into English.

Categories derived from the data that reflect Chinese agency include 'Chinese characteristics in English learning', 'motherland and English learning', 'reference to history' and 'power relations instantiated in English'. The following subsections illustrate and discuss these categories which are interrelated. The analysis will thereby demonstrate how Chinese identity is understood and realised in the relation with 'the Other'. Articles are presented and discussed to illustrate the ways English is portrayed, then conclusions are drawn at the end of the section to bring together how English is 'accepted' and how relations with foreigners are understood.

4.1.1 Chinese Agency in 'receiving' English as a symbol of 'newness' and 'modernity': preserving Chinese identity in English learning

As was discussed in Chapter Three, a text does not just reflect one voice, but the multiplicity of voices such as the voices of the past and the present, and different viewpoints are in a dialogue creating double-voiced discourse in which a potential dialogue is embedded (Bakhtin 1981:324). In the global era, English is a symbol of 'newness', and 'modernity' which are the dimensions the language adds to being Chinese.

In the *People's Daily* data, Chinese people offer their own voices about English, sometimes in English. Their voices reflect the agency they claim to speak English and in the interactions with foreigners. English is a symbol of a modern and strong collective Chinese identity. Despite the new 'images' English has acquired, the historical discourses about English in China, as this chapter will-show, are still relevant and utilised to make sense of the present role of English in the country. In speaking English, the attributes of 'being Chinese' are also preserved and manifest. These attributes of 'ti' include references to Chinese history and cultural values and historical relations with the world which can be found in the articles chosen for analysis. As inferred from the use of language especially emotive words which contribute to making it a personal story, the article entitled "Li Yang" is a very personal story about the main character, Li Yang. Below is a table of the keywords found in the article:

Keywords/phrases	Frequency
English	24
Li Yang	23
motherland	19
he (Li Yang)	13
I (Chinese)	12

love	11
shout/yell out	10
people (general)	8
world	8
forever (never not)	7
me (Chinese)	6
heart	5
let (motherland)	4
use (English) (by Chinese)	4
one's own (Chinese)	4
disappointed	4
"never let the motherland down"	4
Chinese language	4
Chinese culture	4
we (Chinese)	4
high school students	3
Crazy English	3
crazily	3
passion	3
learn/learning	3

Li Yang is the founder and a teacher of a very popular English tuition school "Crazy English". He tours around China, gives lectures and holds English camps every year. Possessing the ability to speak English with an American accent, he claims he has never gone overseas and learnt English purely by 'yelling' English on campus during his university life.

In the article, "Li Yang" is one of the highest frequency words along with "motherland", "English", "world", "people" and "shout/yell". The semantic relations between these words are represented in Figure 1 attached as Appendix 6.

In this interview with the *People's Daily* reporter, Li constantly recalled the past humiliations of China by mentioning the historic places where wars and conflicts between China and the Other had occurred. There is a symbolic value of mentioning his experience in front of the 'warrior memorial stand' and in relation to every historical war and revolution spot: the Great Wall, Shaoshen, Martyr Pavilion, Old Revolution

district and Marco Polo Bridge. The history of the relations between China and the world was drawn upon to perform the particular actions of shouting English at the Great Wall and other historic places. As discussed in Chapter One, 'Great Wall' is one of the prominent references to Chinese culture and history in *People's Daily*, as in line 41-43:

""在北京万里长城上，他用英语引领中国人民解放军官兵高喊："铸就钢铁长城，维护世界和平！"
"On the Great Wall in Beijing, he led the officers of the People's Liberation Army to use English to shout: "cast steel wall, and safeguard world peace!"" (Line 41-43)

The act of Li Yang leading army members to shout in English at the Great Wall, which used to be a defensive 'fence' against invasions, attaches a high symbolic value to English in reclaiming the country's past. The former humiliations that resulted from language and communication difficulty in a previous Olympics Game[47] (line 47-49) were also referred to in propagating English to the Chinese public who are involved by Li's use of the pronoun "our" in "our athletes" (line 49). Through mentioning these events in the past, the distinctive group memberships of 'Chinese' and 'foreigners' as "historical and cultural given" (Turner 1982:22) are utilised to make sense of the current English learning behaviours of Chinese people and, furthermore, to propagate learning English as a means to 'rework' the country's past. As depicted in the schematic figure (Figure 1) of the following sentence, the role of English as a *path* to benefit and defend the country as a beneficiary becomes clearer:

"我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达国家吸收先进的东西，捍卫祖国和人民的利益..."
"Our aim of learning English is to learn from the advancement of the developed Western countries and defend the interests of the motherland and the people!..." (Line 53-55)

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[47] That was at an Olympics Game outside China, location unknown.

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As indicated by the arrows named 'A', acting as an *agent*, the people use English as a *path* to reach out to the world as a *goal* which will ultimately benefit the country (as a *beneficiary*). As stated in Chapter One, the word 'motherland' is tied to love and duty for the country. Li's call to learn English to protect the 'motherland', in this case, associates the act of learning English with one's obligation for the country.

In the article, Li Yang is highly regarded. His contributions, career, honours, and people's attitudes towards him are positively portrayed. Li is described as the "sun" and "fire" and his burning passion heats up the hearts of the students who are described as "timid, embarrassed, arrogant, and with darkness and dust". The use of antonyms such as "sun" and "darkness and dust", and "fire", "burning passion" and "timid" emphasises the influence of Li Yang. Another pair of antonyms: "timid" and "self-confidence" is presented in line 11-12: *"Li Yang's speech lets me understand the importance of building the child's correct self-confidence! This is mainly self-confidence to become useful, love their motherland and the people ... ... "* (Line 11-12) *("李阳的演讲，让我 明白了树立孩子正确的自信心是何等重要！这个自信心主要是成材，爱自己的祖 国和人民……")*. The use of highly affective language in the first two excerpts of the article is notable. They focus intensively on a person's character and the emotions of people which, as Chapter One has shown, is a typical way to gain support for an 'official' agenda.

In "Li Yang", there are three instances of "passion" and two of "voice of passion" which is a highly significant tool to entice people to think and act (as Chapter One has discussed). They are listed in the order of their appearance in the article:

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*三千多名中学生云集于大剧院内，在"疯狂英语"创始人李阳的感召下，颗颗纯净的心灵荡漾着澎湃的**激情**，跟着李阳一起疯狂地用英语高喊："我爱祖国，振兴中华！""努力学习，报效祖国！""*

*....Over three thousand students gathered at the Grand Theatre and with much **passion**, followed Li Yang, the founder of "Crazy English" and use English to shout crazily: "I love the motherland, Rejuvenating the Chinese nation! "* (Line 1-3)

*李阳像阳光，像烈火，他用燃烧的**激情**拂去这些中学生们心灵中的胆怯、羞赧、骄逸、猥琐的阴霾与尘埃，从而鼓满他们心房中那些美好的理想与未来。整整两个小时，李阳全都以爱祖国、爱共产党、爱人民的主题用英语与他们对话，教他们把这种崇高的"爱"用**激情**之声释放出来！*

*Li Yang is like the sun and fire. He brushed with burning **passion** the hearts of these students who are timid, embarrassed, arrogant, and wretched, and filled in their hearts ideals of the good and the future. For two hours, Li Yang uses English to chat with the students around themes of love the motherland, love the Communist Party and love the people, teaching them to release lofty "love" by their voice of **passion**!* (Line 6-10)

*热血与**激情**永远来自对祖国历史的深沉了解和反思。这些年，李阳的**激情**之声响彻了祖国大地上的每一个角落。*

*Enthusiasm and **passion** always come from a deep understanding and reflection of the history of the motherland. Over the years, Li's voice of **passion** for the motherland resonates in every corner of the earth of the motherland.* (Line 36-38)

As illustrated in the schematic figure of the sentence marked as B: "*....over three thousand students gathered at the Grand Theatre and with much **passion**, followed Li Yang, the founder of "Crazy English" and use English to shout crazily: "I love the motherland, Rejuvenating the Chinese nation! "* (Line 1-3) (*"三千多名中学生云集于大剧院内，在"疯狂英语"创始人李阳的感召下，颗颗纯净的心灵荡漾着澎湃的**激情**，跟着李阳一起疯狂地用英语高喊："我爱祖国，振兴中华！""努力学习，报效祖国！""*"), while passion is an accompaniment, English is a *path* or *instrument* and the motherland is the *beneficiary*. Chinese people are not forced by the prestige of global English to learn English, but rather, their acceptance of English is induced by their own passion and enthusiasm. As a Chinese attribute mentioned in Chapter One, passion drives people to learn English indicating that their 'acceptance' of English stems from their inner Chinese self, and that 'ti' is the core driving force for the

need of English 'yong'. This is very clearly reflected in the last occurrence of 'passion' where Li's passion to learn English is said to originate from his passion for the motherland (line 36-38) and understanding of the motherland's history.

In the article, 'Crazy' (and its different forms such as 'crazily'), as also a keyword with fairly high frequency, are mentioned and inserted into the texts as the voice of the reporter. According to the reporter,

"那次李阳意外地发现"疯狂"高喊英语口语给学习带来了巨大的收获"
(line 22-23: "...when Li Yang accidentally discovered that "crazily" yell in English could bring great benefits... ");

李阳总是情不自禁地向观众"疯狂"疾呼："我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达国家吸收先进的东西，捍卫祖国和人民的利益！"．
(line 53-55: "In numerous speeches, Li always cannot help "crazily" yell to appeal to the audience: "Our aim of learning English is to learn from the advancement of the developed Western countries and defend the interests of the motherland and the people!...")

Li Yang himself thinks (in the author's own words as indirect speech) that: "疯狂"是一种精神，是人生态度，是世界观。"疯狂"的梦想源于对祖国深沉的爱。凡是成就伟大事业的人都是"疯狂"的人！

(line 72-74: "Li Yang believes that "crazy" is a spirit, is an attitude towards life, is a viewpoint of the world. The "Crazy" dreams originated from the love for the motherland. Everyone who works towards big dreams is "crazy"!")

In a society that emphasises harmony, 'being crazy' is not 'ordinary' and even considered a deviant behaviour from the 'norms'. From the uses of 'Crazy' and 'crazily' above, 'crazy' resembles 'passion' and 'being passionate'. But Li Yang is not quoted in the article as explaining that 'Crazy' refers to 'being passionate'. It is only the reporter's

own voice and interpretation. The passion of Li Yang is emphasised in the article by the reporter's choice of adverbs and verbs in building up the direct discourses (that is, direct speech) of Li: *shouted in English crazily, excitedly*. Through this insertion of voice and imposed emphasis on Li's passion, Chinese people, like Li Yang, are now portrayed as passionate about English. The reworking on the word 'Crazy' takes away the 'deviant' connotation and therefore legitimises the passion about learning English, which is portrayed as originating from the love for the motherland.

The way English benefits the motherland is conveyed through Li Yang and his leading of the people's shouting in English, as shown in the following sentences:

在"疯狂英语"创始人李阳的感召下，颗颗纯净的心灵荡漾着澎湃的激情，跟着李阳一起疯狂地用英语高喊："我爱祖国，振兴中华！""努力学习，报效祖国！"
"Over three thousand students gathered at the Grand Theatre and with much passion, followed Li Yang, the founder of "Crazy English" and crazily use English to shout: "I love the motherland, Rejuvenating the Chinese nation! "" study hard and serve the motherland! " (Line 1-3)

在北京万里长城上，他用英语引领中国人民解放军官兵高喊："铸就钢铁长城，维护世界和平！
On the Great Wall in Beijing, he led the officers of the People's Liberation Army to use English to shout: "cast steel wall, and safeguard world peace!" (Line 41-43)

整整两个小时，李阳全都以爱祖国、爱共产党、爱人民的主题用英语与他们对话…
For two hours, Li Yang uses English to chat with the students around the themes of love the motherland, love the Communist Party and love the people... (Line 8-9)

"我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达国家吸收先进的东西，捍卫祖国和人民的利益"
"Our aim of learning English is to learn from the advancement of the developed Western countries and defend the interests of the motherland and the people!..." (Line 53-55)

With the aim of strengthening the country through equipping Chinese people with English knowledge, Li Yang is said to 'use' English to shout or lead people to shout out affection for the country, and to chat with people about loving the country. This gives the motherland the role of beneficiary as well as being a theme and experiencer, as illustrated in the schematic relation figure of the above sentences (Figure 1). The motherland will benefit from 'her' people's English knowledge. Chinese sons and daughters take on the roles as dative or goals because the motherland sets its hopes on them. The students and Army are led to shout and yell in English as a way to learn the language in order to prevent further humiliations, and for this reason, they are also the agents of change.

The mention of Li's background as an ordinary university student who has passed through the stages of struggling with English, exams and career introduces the "lifeworld discourse" in the public sphere (Fairclough 1995:204). These discourses about the world of common experience therefore resonate to readers.

Building on the discourse of English as new and modern, Li believes that Chinese need to learn English to acquire western civilisation so as to modernise and protect the benefits of the country and people in this era of globalisation. The claim that not knowing English will bring new humiliations to the country relates learning English to national service and empowering the country. The idea/slogan, "never let the motherland down" as shown at the end of the article, is seen as uniting all Chinese from different regions and forming the 'voice' of a strong country:

这是心灵深处的呐喊，这是闪亮而永恒的诗句，这是亿万中华儿女从祖国大江南北集合起来的最壮丽的时代强音！

This is a cry from the bottom of the heart, this is a shining and eternal verse, this is the most magnificent tone of the times of hundreds of millions of Chinese sons and daughters from the north and south of the country! (Line 85-87)

The continuous emphasis on the act of 'shout' and 'yell' is co-referential with the final sentence of the article. This concluding line demonstrates that the 'cry' as well as the shouting and yelling described throughout the article is the collective voice of "hundreds of millions of Chinese sons and daughters" for the motherland.

According to the parent at the outset of the article, high school students who were timid are now confident because of 'Crazy English'. By introducing this "lifeworld discourse" (Fairclough 1995:204) about the 'ordinary people' in the society, 'Crazy English' not only ascribes a new image to English, one that is no longer historically and culturally constructed, but also gives ownership of English to Chinese people who now take an active role in learning English. In making use of the historic discourses about China's relations with the world, the voice of the past and the "lifeworld discourses", English is appropriated (Canagarajah 2006) and made accessible to the public who are placed in the position of active learners capable of 'overcoming' English (Pennycook 1994).

The example "Motherland" can also demonstrate the role of the history of international relations in today's meaning-making of learning English and relations with foreigners in China.

Keywords/phrases	Frequency
people (general)	15
for	13
ask	8
I	8

motherland	7
heart (different combinations)	7
oneself (different forms)	7
country	6
life, live, life and death	4
you	4
change (different forms)	3
my	3
should	2
English	2
we	2
our	2

From the table above, the keywords with high frequency include 'People', 'For', 'Ask', 'I', 'Motherland', 'Heart' and 'Oneself (different forms)'. As the schematic figure (Figure 2) illustrates, 'oneself' ("自己") and 'people' ("人") are co-references of the same referent – Chinese people. This is reflected in sentences such as:

作为一个中国人应当经常这样问自己。
As a Chinese, one should always ask oneself the question. (Line 92)

每当国庆节的时候，都禁不住问自己：祖国，我能为你做什么？只要时常这样提醒自己，我们的生活将因此而充实，我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。
On every nation's birthday, one cannot help asking oneself: "home country, what can I do for you?" If we keep asking and reminding ourselves, our life will be more enriched. Our hard work will then have extraordinary meanings. (Line 120-122)

The high frequency of 'people' is due to the mentions of different 'types' of people throughout the article including 'ancient people' (line 94), 'ordinary people' (line 94), 'construction worker' (line 104) (in Chinese, 'worker' is a compound consisting of 'working-people'), and scholar ('study-people') (line 111). As also seen in the above sentences and the schematic relations figure, 'people' and 'oneself (different forms)' are simultaneously the agent and patient of the verb 'ask'. The effect of asking the question: "Motherland, what can I do for you?" is emphasised by the three sets of parallel

sentences. These parallel sentences function to clearly and emotionally illustrate the 'power' of the 'ask' action which can then turn an ordinary reporter, an ordinary teacher, an ordinary worker, and an English teacher to 'people' who bring extraordinary results. This is referential with both the opening and concluding sentences of the article:

一句话埋在心里，只是一个想法。把它说出来，就会变成一种力量。
When a saying is hidden in mind, it is only an idea. If it is said, it then becomes *a source of power*. (Line 88)

只要时常这样提醒自己，我们的生活将因此而充实，我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。
If we keep asking and reminding ourselves, our life will be more enriched. Our hard work will then have 114. *extraordinary meanings*. (Line 121-122)

As also stressed by the use of the other parallel sentences in the passage, "*At 15 years old, ask (one)self the question; at 25, still ask (one)self the question;*" (十五岁，这样问自己；二十五岁，还这样问自己;), the high-frequency of 'ask' serves to engage and encourage readers to ask themselves the question. This also explains the high frequency of the first and second person pronouns 'I' and 'you' which form a "coherence chain" (van Dijk 1985:128) that makes the message more personal.

As one of the keywords of the article, 'for' ('为') is repeatedly used in the passage, and as schematic Figure 2 of the sentences marked as B and C in Appendix 6 shows, it is used in denoting the *beneficiary* status of the 'Motherland' which is 'benefited' by the 'people' 'asking' 'themselves' the question. The 'benefits' of the act of 'asking' are also emphasised through the use of parallelism in the second paragraph:

作为一个中国人应当经常这样问自己。有的人能为家庭出力，有的人能为城市增色，有的人能为国家争光。

As a Chinese, one should always ask oneself the question. Some people can work for the benefits of the family, some for development of the city, and some for glorifying the country. (Line 92-93)

Parallel sentences serve to emphasise that the contributions people make are elevated from within the family, to the city and country. This complies with the Chinese traditional idea that family is the foundation on which a society and country is built. Furthermore, the author's use of 'friends' is aimed to make connections with the readers as the author and readers are expected to share the commonality, that is, asking themselves the question. Although English is only mentioned twice in the article, at the discourse level, the article communicates the message that learning English and teaching English is a form of contribution to the country. This is achieved by placing the roles of English and the English teacher in apposition with other 'ordinary people'.

According to van Dijk (1985), the meaningfulness of discourse resides not only at the local level of immediate clause and linear sentence connections (local coherence), but also at the global level where the meaningfulness of paragraphs occurs in larger text segments. The meaning-making process of a text relies on mapping sequences of sentences of the text on sequences of other sentences at more abstract and global levels. This, as van Dijk (1985:115) named as "global coherence" is typical of *People's Daily* articles including those illustrated in this case study. Because of the global coherence found in the examples, the schematic representations of these various sentences that contain 'passion' are combined as one figure in order to show the intertextual relations between different keywords and issues.

The mention of the high school English teacher in line 104-109 follows the listing of 'ordinary Chinese people' of different age groups and occupation connecting 'being ordinary' and 'learning English'. The global coherence (van Dijk 1985) between the first and final paragraph about world relations and past humiliations also frames and foregrounds learning English as a form of contribution to the country. This is a category illustrated further in 4.2.

From over 20 years ago when the author (first person) first learnt to read a world map, she has been asking herself "What I can do for you, my home country?" The history of China's relation with the world is referred to here when the comment was made with reference to a world map, which was first introduced by Ricci as mentioned in Chapter One. Before the 'reform and opening up', other parts of the world used to be very 'far' away for Chinese. In the fourteenth century, only some oceanic states could have exchanges with China in the Ming dynasty when the emperor sent out envoys to Asian nations such as Japan and Korea to develop peaceful diplomatic relations. These envoys visited 36 countries beyond borders and learned about 31 different countries. So from the fourteenth century, the Chinese people had a quite clear awareness of the 'world', but the 'world' in their mind was not as 'wide' as it is now (Wu 2007:44-45). Ricci raised Chinese awareness of the 'world' which Chinese people currently utilise to benefit the country. The intertextual relations of this article with the historical discourse about world relation, and the Chinese discourse of learning to strength the country, in this sense, are used again to engage with the present English-learning behaviours. The 'ti' and 'yong' distinction again manifests.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the article also utilises the discourses about the present in 'legitimising' the language as relevant to the current period. The mention of

the *English 900* book brings in the public experience of English learning campaigns before and during the Olympics when numerous similar publications were published. The reference to the achievement of scientists also situates the readers in the modern period. In short, English education in this "Motherland" article is embedded in a Chinese-centred narrative that links the past and present, which mitigates the 'otherness' and emphasises the 'newness' of English at the present time with reference to scientific achievement and the Beijing Olympics.

The article entitled "Power of communication" also demonstrates that, as English is ascribed new roles and status, Chinese people now assume more agency in accepting and using the language. Operating within a national development discourse, "Power of communication" shows that the evolving linguistic landscape of China corresponds to the development of the country and that English has been involved in the development of the country all along. This is achieved by topicalising and thus emphasising the present and old days at the outset of each paragraph: the coming of the Olympics, the Chinese dream for over a hundred years, the ancient time represented by sundials and traditional food and residences, and '30 years ago'. The word 'Olympics' is first mentioned at the beginning, but without explicit connection with the opening and second paragraph on the popularity of English and the Chinese dream respectively. The third paragraph jumps to the differences between eastern and western culture, indicating that the Olympics are about the contacts between China and the West. The global coherence imposed upon the text is a sign of the prior assumptions about the association of English with western culture. Chinese people, especially in the second paragraph, are represented in four differing ways: "the Chinese people" ("中华民族"), "Chinese ancient capital" ("华夏古都"), "People" ("人们"), and "eastern civilisation" ("东方文明"). Although different words/phrases are used, the referents or the two main

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characters remain the same – China and the world, or Chinese people and foreigners from the West. This is illustrated in the schematic figure (Figure 3) in Appendix 6.

The opening paragraph reflects a mixture of the author's own voice about the popularity of English in China (with some statistics) and a foreigner (foreign director) voice about the 'English fever' in China. As the table below demonstrates, 'English' is one of the high-frequency words in the article, together with 'Communicate/Communication' and 'Olympics', showing that the key issue addressed is communication in English within the context of the Olympics.

Keywords	Frequency
English	13
communicate/communication	9
Olympics	8
mad/madness	6
Beijing	5
use (English)	4

The article is loaded with Chinese people's agency in the encounter with the Other. As an agent, the foreign director comments on the 'English fever' of Chinese people as the patient. This agent-patient relation between foreigners and Chinese people however is counteracted by the 'talking back' of the article's author: "In fact, we are not mad about English itself." ("其实，我们狂热的不是英语本身。") By talking *about* English and inserting their own voice, Chinese people appropriate the language as a means to engage in dialogues with foreigners (Canagarajah 2006), thereby claiming agency in the reception of the language and ownership of English (Pennycook 1994).

As seen in the schematic figure (Figure 3) of the following two sentences marked as sentence A and B in Appendix 6,

"通过严格的英语面试，他成了故宫博物院志愿者，在钟表馆用英语讲解。"
"Having passed very hard English exams, he has become a volunteer at the Forbidden City Museum, using English to give introductions at the Time Museum." (Line 147-149)

"今天胡同里的老人、小孩用英语和老外打招呼时，展示的是热情好客，更是源自内心的开放和自信…"
"Today, the elderly and children in Hutongs greet foreigners in English, showing their hospitality, and more importantly, their openness and self-confidence originating from their hearts…" (Line 153-155)

English is taken as a *path* by which Chinese people communicate with foreigners as a *goal* and the 'English learning fever' is attributed by the author of the article to the Chinese people's characteristics of openness and self-confidence. These 'ti' characteristics therefore can be seen as the *source* (reason) leading them to use English (path/instrument) to communicate with foreigners (goal).

Furthermore, when the Olympics are said to be a channel to showcase Chinese culture, the 'World', foreigners, and the West (referring to the same referent) are portrayed as the recipient of 'eastern civilisation' from 'the passionate (Chinese) people' as the agent. This is seen in the schematic analysis of sentence C in Figure 3: "The passionate people long for opening their hearts and releasing their passion, show to the world the eastern civilisation of five millenniums…" ("热情的人们渴望敞开心扉，释放激情，向世界诠释五千年的东方文明…", line 130-131). The "five millenniums of Chinese civilisation" can be taken as having the semantic role as a theme.

Contextualising the article within the context of the Beijing Olympic Games and the consequent popularity of English echoes the discourse of Olympics and English as a new phase of China's development. As discussed in Chapter One, the Games signified a new phase of China's international relations. The Chinese attribute of self-confidence is clearly both the *source* and *goal* of communication with the world.

The reference to the previous 30 years in the excerpt below is significant for the understanding of the role of English in the development of China as the role of English at a particular time can reflect the relations of China with foreign countries at that particular time. English was not ascribed a high value until the 'reform and opening up' in the 1980s. Before that time, people were very curious to encounter foreigners but at the present time, Chinese accept and speak English because of their own interests and desire to be part of the world. This signifies a move from curiosity to interest and hence shows the agency Chinese people claim in interactions with foreigners.

"不必讳言，30 年前人们在街上看到外国人会很好奇，甚至围观。今天胡同里的老人、小孩用英语和老外打招呼时，展示的是热情好客，更是源自内心的开放和自信——这是中国社会的一个缩影。"
Crazy is our dedication to learning English, open is our attitude. 30 years ago, we felt very curious when we saw foreigners in the streets. Today, the elderly and children in Hutongs greet foreigners in English, showing their hospitality, and more importantly, their openness and self-confidence – this is a microcosm of the Chinese society.

As China moves to a new stage of development, the English language also takes on new meanings and status. As is often the case in Chinese official discourse illustrated in Chapter One, the younger generation, especially those born in the 1980s and 1990s, represent the future hopes of the country, while elderly people are a representation of the past. The use of elderly and the young generation in the example connects all Chinese generations together. While they greet foreigners in English in their traditional

residences, hutongs ('胡同')[48], and their traditional Chinese attributes represented by the residence remain intact, there is a sense of English used as a group tool to show Chinese people's openness and confidence. The humiliating connotations of English have been appropriated by the elderly people using the language confidently (Pennycook 1994). With the evolving development of the country, English is no longer associated with past humiliations by foreigners, but rather, with modernisation and a modern China. It is now a burden-free language in China.

For Li Yang, 'craziness' is a spirit, an attitude, a perspective which stems from the love for the country. Similarly, in "Power of communication", the article responds to the foreign-made documentary, "Mad about English" (Lian 2008). The writer makes the comment that "疯狂的是英语，开放的是心态"。(line 152: "Crazy is [our] dedication to learning English, open is [our] attitude."). This topicalising of 'crazy' situates the foreigners' comment in Chinese narratives which in turn re-accentuates and introduces Chinese own voices about English.

The contacts between different cultures facilitated by globalisation lead Chinese people to accommodate cultural differences by accepting and learning the language. Exemplified and backgrounded by the third paragraph of "Power of communication" (line 134-141), the purpose of learning and speaking English portrayed in the article is to accommodate and solve problems caused by cultural differences between the East and West who mutually learn from each other through communication. In response to the comment that Chinese people are suffering from "English fever", the writer attributes the 'madness' to Chinese people's attitudes and their own long-lasting history and culture. By emphasising the hospitable, open and confident attributes shared by

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[48] Hutongs are a type of narrow streets most commonly found and symbolic of Beijing.

both the youngest and oldest generations of Chinese, the article also intends to show that Chinese people are motivated by their own attitudes, their long-existing 'Chinese characteristics' and their very nature of being Chinese ('ti') to learn English. "Power of communication" was published right before the Olympic Games. It was aimed to promote self-confidence among Chinese people in dealing with foreigners and show them that there is a new phase of Chinese development which dissociates the language with the past history.

Under the force of globalisation, the characteristics of 'being Chinese' still exert their influences. Agency is in this regard assumed in the spread of English in China, and hence the role of 'ti' is also assumed in English 'yong'. In fact, the volunteer, and the elderly and children in hutongs are portrayed as the 'users' of English rather than 'learners'. The distinction between 'learn' and 'use' English is made at the article outset: "In the main street and small alley, people who learn and use English increase." ("在大街小巷，学英语、用英语的人也多了。"). Verbs including 'learn', 'use' and 'teach' can be found across most of the articles in this case study.

In the *People's Daily* data, people who learn English are always portrayed as being able to 'preserve' their Chinese identity and assume agency. This is achieved through denoting English as simply a path and instrument to strengthen the country and to communicate with the world, as well as the subject positions constructed in the discourses about English for Chinese people. The following examples show that Chinese identity is still 'preserved' while learning or speaking English and how China constructs the restricted sets of legitimate subject positions in the discourses about English.

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As the example entitled "New Generation" demonstrates, the naming of the English speaking contest with '21st century' itself hints at the reconceptualisation of English present in today's Chinese society, showing an insertion of a Chinese voice into the discourse about English. The table below shows that 'English' and 'China', and Chinese people as represented by the use of different pronouns are the focus of the article.

Keywords	Frequency
English	6
China	6
learn (other subjects)	6
I (Chinese)	5
our (Chinese)	3
we (Chinese)	3
their (Chinese)	3

The new century (note that the article was published in 2001) ascribes a new status and role of English in China which is different to that of the past centuries. The two highest-frequency keywords are *English* and *China*.

In numerous articles in *People's Daily*, articulated around the word 'English' are a set of qualities associated with the word including 'reform and opening up' which legitimise the act of learning English and put the responsibility of learning English to contribute to the country onto 'ordinary people'. 'Reform and opening up', as the local Chinese manifestation of modernisation discussed in Chapter One, can be treated as a "preconstructed expression" (Fairclough 1992:283) that contributes and even prescribes the construction of subject positions Chinese people are expected to take.

In four of the articles selected for this case study, interdiscursive relation to 'reform and opening up' ('改革开放') is made. For instance, in "New generation", the abilities of

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the new generation including English ability are concluded in the last paragraph as the "inevitable result of reform and opening up": *"Liang Qichao in the "Young China" mentioned his wish upon the young generations who will be better than their old generations, this is now happening at our time. This is a sign of national prosperity, as well as the definite result of 'reform and opening up'." ("梁启超当年在《少年中国 说》一文中热切期望的 "乳虎啸谷" 、 "鹰隼试翼" 的局面，正在我们这个时代 出现。这是国家兴旺发达的标志，也是改革开放的必然结果。")*

By linking English learning to 'reform and opening up' through global coherence, the discourse about English is portrayed as a sub-discourse about China's national development. It is embedded within a Chinese-centred discourse which directs a certain degree of subjectivity to Chinese students and China. The prescribed positions Chinese people take in this discourse of national development are ones that strive to strengthen the country and contribute to modernisation.

Young people, as a symbol of the future and hope of the country, are also utilised in the official discourse to make sense of the act of learning English in today's China. In the final paragraph where the author is making sense of the changes to young people, two sets of parallelism can be found:

他们的见识，他们的才华，他们的技能，往往使我们这些老头子为之惊叹。
Their knowledge, their talent, their skills, tend to make us as old men marvel. (Line 186-187)

满心的喜悦，满腔的热情，满怀的希望，而不是满腹的忧虑。
full of joy, full of passion, full of hope, rather than full of anxiety. (Line 192-193)

These two sets of sentences highlight the author's emotion about the achievement of young Chinese people and the country, which is aimed to also emotionally strike the readers.

The headline is neither a direct discourse (quote) from the contestant nor the reporter herself. It is a quote from a poem written by Li Shangyin in the Song dynasty. The use of the quote by the reporter in the context of the English speaking competition is itself a response to and reworking of the voice of Li, constituting a "double-voiced" text (Bakhtin 1981:324) that applies to today's China. The quote used in this context adds to the discourse about English that English is representative of the new generation and China.

By way of reporting the experience of the Chinese university student in an English contest, the article urges a new way of thinking about the language. To the foreign judge, the student contestant explains: *"In the course of nearing towards globalisation, we will definitely learn a lot from foreign countries to catch up with the advanced standard in different aspects."* ("在走向'全球化'的过程中，我们肯定会向外国学习很多东西，在各方面赶上世界的先进水平"). English is one of the aspects China learns from foreign countries to meet the 'advanced standard', while preserving its own culture. In line with Wodak's (2001) illustration of the symbolic meanings of adverbs, a range of adjectives and adverbs such as 'fluent' ("语言流利", line 163), 'effortlessly' ("而且从容不迫，挥洒自如", line 165) and 'in a relaxing way' ("轻松活泼地", line 170-171) is used to describe the high English proficiency of Chinese university students, placing Chinese people in the object position.

In this "New Generation" article, the contestant shows agency in 'receiving' English by using English to talk about English. The reporter's choice of adverb, 'in a relaxing way' in building up the direct speech of the contestant initially indicates the 'English user' identity of Chinese people rather than 'learner'. Drawing upon the historic discourses about 'ti-yong' distinction, the contestant in her own voice creates the oppositional relations between Chinese culture and English. However, the contradictions are then eliminated by the contestant utilising Chinese traditions to appropriate and understand English as a symbol of modernity (Canagarajah 2006). Traditions and modernity which, as the contestant explains 'on behalf of the "smart Chinese people"', are symbolised by traditional costumes and speaking English which are not contradictory. Because of the 'smart' attributes of Chinese, English can be well integrated and the 'world' and China can get along harmoniously. This hints at the idea that when English is dominating the Chinese society, Chinese people can still keep their 'Chinese characteristics', not being affected by the past history associated with the language. In utilising the voice of Liang Qichao and Li Shangyin in the article, the relevance of traditional Chinese culture and history in realising today's development is highlighted. On behalf of the university students as well as the Chinese as a whole, the contestant speaks to the foreign judges 'satisfactorily' about globalisation as a combination of traditions and modernity, thereby symbolically claiming agency and ownership of globalisation and English from foreigners.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Critical Discourse analysts perceive pronominal use as an area of analysis that can reveal social relationships. The use of pronouns in both written and spoken text constructs the identities of people in the text as well as those of the audience. Particularly in political discourse, pronoun use helps define speaker identity as well as his/her relations with others (De Fina 1995). In other words, it can

indicate the "identity alignment" of people concerned in a text (Cramer 2010:624). In *People's Daily*, the use of pronouns by the writer reveals how Chinese and foreigners are positioned, how Chinese is aligned with particular identities, and how they distance or affiliate with foreigners and other Chinese. In systematically outlining and revealing the patterns of the use of pronouns in the *People's* Daily articles, Wortham's (1996) deictic mapping chart is adopted to map out the pronouns used and their referents. All the tables of pronominal analysis are attached in Appendix 7.

In "New Generation", there are three 'speakers': the writer, the foreign judge and the Chinese female university student. As seen in the deictic mapping chart (Table 2), the author as a Chinese seems to be indexing a group distinction between herself and the university student through the pronouns in line 165, 166 and 170 with the third person pronouns 'she' and 'her' to refer to the student. However, towards the end of the article, in line 186 and 187 where the distinction is marked by 'their' (young people in different areas) and 'us' and 'our', it is clear that the distinction is one based on age and generation, that is, between the young and old generations of Chinese who are then connected as one by the last pronoun 'our' in "…this is now happening at our time. This is a sign of country's prosperity…" (line 189). The old and young generations are representation of the continuation of the past into the present and future.

The position and identity of the foreign judge as distinct from the Chinese university student is also reflected in the article. The Chinese student creates an in-group as well as out-group identity with the foreign judge. In line 174, the student uses 'our' to refer to the communication between the judge and herself, diminishing her distance from the foreigner. In 174, 175, 180 and 181, the university student shifts her identity back to being a member of the Chinese people, as indicated by her use of 'our' ('our country')

and 'we' (referring to Chinese people including the student herself). The student's use of pronouns to shift between a 'modern' identity (associated with English) and Chinese identity demonstrates her hybrid identity.

The "Grandma" article also makes use of Chinese traditions, "lifeworld discourse" (Fairclough 1995:204) and the discourses about China's relations with the Other to make sense of the role of English today.

Keywords		Frequency
Grandma		7
Hometown		5
Tourists	(Chinese and foreigner; foreigner)	3
I		3

The table above shows that "grandma" and "hometown" are the major keywords of the passage. As the title suggests, grandma is clearly the main character and subject who is, interestingly, only mentioned in the headline and the last paragraph. The high frequency of "grandma" is attributable to the excessive use of the noun which could actually be replaced by the pronoun "she". For instance, "grandma" in line 205 could be replaced by "she" as an anaphoric reference. The reasons for the repetition are presumably twofold. First, it is aimed to emphasise the 'old' but 'hardworking' grandma utilising the 'elderly' image mentioned in Chapter One. Second, the order of the sentences makes apparent the more global action that happens in the hometown, followed by the reasons for why grandma needs to learn English at night time. It is to highlight the contribution grandma can make to the hometown as an individual.

The schematic representation of the keywords and the concepts conveyed is presented as Figure 4 in Appendix 6. Grandma, as the agent, is learning English as one of the "new languages" as shown in (line 206-208 *'Grandma, who has remained in the village in her entire lifetime, now is filled with new words, does "foreign trade" everyday, and even uses foreign language to "negotiate" with foreigners')*. English enables her to engage in foreign trade and negotiation with tourists, and as a result, the hometown has become a 'new place' characterised by 'prosperity' and 'foreigners'. English, in this case, is an *instrument* facilitative of development and modernisation.

As discussed in Chapter One, modernisation has been the top priority of China's policy direction. As can be seen in the article, modernisation of the country including language has extended to the rural and tribal areas. The author's description of the hometown in the past and the current "new world" brings in the discourse of modernisation and development. The hometown has become a "new world" as it preserves the traditional tribal craftwork and customs that turn it into a new local and foreign tourist attraction. It is obvious that the new plus old element this example shows is compatible with the direction of 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics'. As the second and third paragraphs indicate, what also makes the hometown modern and new is the English knowledge of grandma and souvenir businesses (in comparison with the local food trade). Promoted here is a mixture of traditions and modernity and the role English plays in achieving this mixture. Through simply its connection with the hometown's development, the 'chilling', and 'mountainous' landscape of the hometown has become a 'unique natural' tourist attraction, and the 'local food trade' of the villagers whose boredom is emphasised by the use of 'pass the day' has become 'rich customs and traditions'. The opening up and development changes the 'status' of the landscape and

customs. These changes are conveyed through the use of parallelism to emphasise the information as underlined:

记忆中家乡是*荒凉的山岭*，*低矮的吊脚楼*，*靠返销粮度日的父老乡亲*……
In memory, the hometown is chilling and mountainous, [has] very low buildings, [is characterised by] reliance on simple local food trade of villagers to pass the day……
(Line 195-196)

独特的天然景观，*浓郁的乡风民俗*，吸引着众多的中外游客。
The unique natural landscape, rich customs and traditions, attract plenty of Chinese and foreign tourists. (Line 199-200)

In these three sets of parallel sentences, the contrasts of the hometown in the old and present days are clearly portrayed. These contrasts are ascribed to English learning as a part of hometown development.

As represented by grandma, Chinese can now assume more agency in the relationships with foreigners in the trade "negotiation" of traditional Chinese products. The act of using English to "deal with" (line 204), "introduce" (line 205) and "negotiate" (line 208) as mentioned towards the end of the article reworks grandma's identity as a 'user' of English. This indicates the changing foreign and power relations English can bring. At both the personal and societal levels, English is portrayed as a means of empowerment of the economy and Chinese people in the encounter with foreigners. In accepting English, Chinese people are able to appropriate the language into their local lives (Canagarajah 2006). This is as if Chinese people are active agents in both the relationships with the Other and the reception of English.

Agency in using English is achieved and promoted not only through a reconstruction of the subject positions Chinese people take in the discourses about English, but also

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through a construction of the subject positions the Other takes in relation to Chinese people. This is exemplified in the example entitled "American tourist" below.

Keywords	Frequency
Shanhaiguan	8
China (Chinese students, children, calligrapher etc)	7
(American/Mike's) students	5
English	3
his (foreigner)	3

With 'China' (represented by Chinese students and children) and '(American/Mike's) students' as high-frequency words, the article excerpt is clearly concerned about the interactions and relations between the two groups. As the representation of the keywords and the concepts they convey attached as Figure 5 indicates, there is a power hierarchy between Chinese and foreigners. Although they sing together and 'speak' to each other, in the sentence marked as A in the schematic figure, the American teacher and students are said to 'hear' the Chinese children speaking English (as an experiencer) and they 'are let' speak and practice Chinese (as a patient): "听中国孩子讲一段英语，让美国学生说几句中文" (line 210-212 "***Hearing*** Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, ***letting*** American students speak a few sentences of Chinese"). The opening sentence of the second paragraph (line 215-216) is revealing of the experiencer role of the American tourists situated in the text. Mike's wish and hope foreground the rest of the excerpt which describes the activities aimed to fulfil the students' and his own wishes to understand more about Chinese culture and communicate with Chinese students.

Chinese students speaking English is understood not as changing themselves to accommodate the tourists, but rather as learning to provide help to friends using their language. 'Ti' again is intact in relation to 'yong'. The headline of the article in fact also hints at the 'experiencer' identity of the American tourists who are 'attached to the Great Wall' and whose "dreams come true by visiting siheyuan" ("四合院")[49]. At the beginning, the Americans' journey in China was mentioned as "wonderful experience" which is emphasised through the three sets of what is called 'balanced pairs', which is a sentence structure of Chinese:

登临天下第一关、远眺海上老龙头,
Climbing the *Shanhaiguan*, overlooking the *Laolongtou* (Line 210)

住住四合院、走走小胡同,
Living in Siheyuan, Walking along hutong (Line 210)

…听中国孩子讲一段英语,让美国学生说几句中文…
…Hearing Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, letting American students speak a few sentences of Chinese… (Line 210-212)

As these pairs also show, "hearing Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, letting American students speak a few sentences of Chinese" ("听中国孩子讲一段英语,让美国学生说几句中文") is described as a 'program' of the journey of the American tourists.

As discussed in Chapter One, Shanhaiguan is one of the keywords that substitutes for Great Wall. Reference to Shanhaiguan in "American tourists" is used with the highest frequency as seen in the keywords table. Mike and his students practice writing

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[49] A siheyuan is a historical type of residence that was commonly found in Beijing. It is a courtyard srrondeded by four buildings.

"Shanhaiguan" and finish their "Chinese assignment" under the guidance of students from "Shanhaiguan High School" and a local calligrapher from "Shanhaiguan". By 'backgrounding' the journey of the American tourists constantly with Shanhaiguan as a theme and situating their passive experiencer role in Shanhaiguan (see sentence B in Figure 5), the past defeats and invasion of foreigners in Shanhaiguan are counteracted, reworked and claimed. Now it is Chinese who assumes an agentive role of 'providing' and 'teaching' in Shanhaiguan.

The choice of words to describe language ability is also indicative of the agency of Chinese people. When Chinese speak 'a paragraph of' English, Americans speak 'a few sentences' of Mandarin Chinese. The contrast in the use of 'Chinese children' and 'American students' also exemplifies the respective 'user' and 'learner' identity of Chinese and Americans. Towards the end of the article, the differences between the two groups' proficiency of each other's language become clearer. The American students practice writing Chinese **words**, while Chinese students perform **a drama** in English (line 217-220). The singing of an English song by all the students then concludes the program. The higher proficiency of English of the Chinese students is first of all implied, and the final singing of an English song together can be seen as a form of language accommodation to the American students who are portrayed as being led through the entire 'Chinese journey'. This is also represented in the schematic figure where English serves as an instrument and Americans as again experiencer of the accommodation. In this sense, Chinese are portrayed as more active, empowered, and ahead of foreigners linguistically.

The drama performance shows that Chinese people do not lose their Chinese identity when using English. Learning English does not undermine being Chinese, but it only

helps project a strong Chinese identity in the encounters with foreigners. By way of using English to present Chinese identity, the ownership of English is somehow claimed. English represents the collective image of Chinese people which has to be shown to tourists like other cultural relics.

In relation to English, 'trying out' the Chinese language is also a part of the 'Chinese experience' of the tourists. While Americans only have English as their cultural capital, Chinese people have both the Chinese language and English at their disposal. Although English is becoming a representation of Chinese image, Chinese people have the agency to decide whether to use English at a particular time. The global power of English does not prescribe a passive position to them. Instead, they accept the language and use it in their own ways.

The current relations of Chinese and Americans portrayed are dialogical with the discourse of international relations that can be considered as part of the sub-discourses about English. Studies on international relations in China have reflected on the 30th anniversary of China-U.S. relations (Guo and Guo 2010). They contend that China's relations with the U.S. in recent years are characterised by mutual interdependence and equal cooperation. This can be seen in the comments Mike made at the conclusion of the article: "江泽民主席希望两国人民做朋友，中国人与美国人应该做朋友，我和我的学生都愿意为两国的友好作出努力。" (*line 222-224 "Premier Jiang hopes to see the friendship of people of the two nations, and my students and I are willing to take part in the making of the friendship between the two countries."*) Ordinary people, as represented by the American tourists, relate to politicians and other ordinary (Chinese) people. Chinese and Americans speak each other's language and they are also said to be developing a friendship relation. As Chapter One has illustrated, mutual understanding

is emphasised in the relationships between China and the global community and between Chinese and foreigners. The idea of 'China-the World friendship' underpins the *People's Daily* data. Mike's speech quoted as a direct speech at the end of the article plays a completive function of the text which symbolically legitimises and acknowledges the writer's descriptions of Mike's journey and feelings throughout the article.

In accordance with the interrelations between Chinese international politics and attitudes towards English discussed in Chapter Two, the current spread and popularity of English in China highlights the promising international relations and the unprecedentedly high international status of the country. The discourse about English is intertextual with the discourse about foreigners. English at present empowers China in globalisation and international relations by giving more agency and subjectivity to the country and the people. Chinese people used to block out international exchanges. However, the roles are reversed in this Chinese-American exchange in "American tourist". Chinese people even step out and have more impacts on foreigners. The distancing between Chinese and foreigners is very clear. In addressing Mike, the US tourist and teacher is described as an 'ordinary American tourist', as opposed to 'Premier' Jiang Zemin. It was the 'ordinary' American university Chinese teacher, Mike, who wrote to the Chinese Premier. In his own voice (direct quote), Mike used 'Premier' to call Jiang. As shown in the deictic mapping chart (Table 3), Mike refers to himself with 'I' and 'my', and the author also refers to Mike and his students with third person pronouns.

The changes in the discourse about English and discursive practices also contribute to changes in identity. Intertextuality and constant changes in intertextual relations in

discourse are therefore central to an understanding of processes of subject constitution, and the constitution and reconstitution of social groups and communities. The *People's Daily* examples illustrated in this section have demonstrated how Chinese people's agency and ownership is assumed over English through inserting their own voices into the dialogue with the historic discourses about English and the Other. In line with Peirce's (1995) idea discussed previously, by setting up a 'user' position in the new English discourses, Chinese people reject those L2 learner positions who are portrayed as desiring to integrate with 'native' English speakers. They instead possess a high level of agency to take on different positions as 'English users' and 'Chinese' and adjust their positions in relation to foreigners (Markus and Kitayama 1991), maintaining the 'ti-yong' principle.

The hybridisation of existing Chinese discourses and discourses about English gives rise to new discourses about English as a symbol of 'newness' and 'modernity' and about the Other as 'actively getting to know about China'. English is emotionally related to national respect when history is manipulated to bring the readers into the historically 'humiliated' positions. In the modern era, Chinese people such as the university student in "New Generation" are also portrayed as having easily grasped English as they are determined, serious and keen to learn English. They learn English also because of their burning passion and open-mindedness, and can combine traditions and modernity. They use English to introduce the culture, rejuvenate the home country and let the world understand more about China. The identity/subject positions of Chinese are portrayed in the official discourse as active agent of the globalisation of English.

As Bourdieu (1991) postulates, the authority of speakers of a dominant language reproduces the legitimacy of the language. In other words, the linguistic relation of

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power is determined by the relation between the groups who speak different languages. From the analysis of *People's Daily* presented in this section, the word choice, subject positions, connections of words and sentence structure have revealed the agency and subjectivity China claims in the globalisation of English. The 'newness' and 'modernity' of English and Chinese people's ability to speak English empower 'the Chinese people'.

In the next section, another category, relative status of Chinese and English, and its subcategories derived from the data analysis are illustrated, thereby demonstrating what globalisation means from the official Chinese perspectives.

4.2 Globalisation as two-way China-the World language and cultural exchange

This section illustrates another category derived from the *People's Daily* data which is the Chinese discourse on globalisation. It shows how globalisation as an 'othering' as well as 'de-othering' process is the means by which China's agency is achieved and built out of the existing discourses about English and Chinese history associated with the language. The ways in which the globalisation discourse is realised linguistically is also examined in this section.

As the analysis suggests, English is a symbol of 'newness' and 'modernity' central to the globalisation discourse. Globalisation is conceptualised as a mixture of 'Old' and 'New' where 'Old' is Chinese traditions and cultures, and 'New', as it appears in the data, is something modern and not authentically Chinese. This is all illustrated in this section with *People's Daily* examples, some of which have been discussed in the previous sections.

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4.2.1 Relative status of Chinese and English

Another discourse derived from the data using the grounded theory and keyword approach concerns the growing status of Chinese relative to English in the global era. The article entitled "River" provides very rich information on the growing status of Chinese through the verbs it uses which are prevalent across the *People's Daily* data.

"River" indicates that Chinese people 'going out' ("走出去") is a sign of China opening up to the outside world. That is why Chinese voices can be heard overseas, in France and even across the whole of Europe and whole world. It is also interesting to note the sequence of the sentences below which depict the voices of Chinese as a part of the world that has started to be of interest to other countries:

"在法国乃至在整个欧洲和世界，走出去的中国人已经愈来愈多，中国人关注世界，同时也引起了世界对中国的关 注。"
"In France and throughout Europe and the world, more Chinese people have been going out, Chinese people are concerned about the world, but at the same time also attract world attention on China." (Line 244-246)

After it is mentioned that more Chinese people are said to be 'going out' and caring about the world, the article continues to say that 'at the same time, (they) attract the world attention on China'. This is worded and ordered as a cause-and-effect relation in that it is because of China opening up to the outside, the world can know more about China. China still assumes agency in deciding whether or not to let the world know more about itself.

The article continues to give greater description of English and Chinese language in the world. Its emphasis on the language spread, as indicated by "这，这怎么可能呢！"

(Line 235 *"This, how could this be possible!"*) draws readers to think about the

meanings behind the apposition and co-appearance of Chinese with the other two 'strong languages', French and English. China is portrayed as exerting its influence overseas and in France which is renowned for her advocacy of language purity. By mentioning French affection for their own language and culture, the writer also imposes a voice on behalf of French to create a dialogue between Chinese and French voices. Chinese voices, 'the voices of Beijing', and 'voices of the East' heard overseas exemplify the growing status of China in the world which again is framed within the context of 'reform and opening up' in paragraph 4 and discussed through to the concluding paragraph by global coherence. In the encounter with English, the humiliating past associations of the language are cleared away by the country's 'reform and opening up' that makes the English and Chinese language equal. Because of the development and opening up of China, the country provides France, 'economic energy', which is shown by the use of '给' ('provide') in"中国游客的大量到来，*给*法国的经济注入了活力。" (*Line 266-267 "...the large number of Chinese tourists in France* **has provided** *injections of vitality into the economy"*), and "高旺的人气，巨大的客流量，给这座商城带来了无限商机。"(*Line 262-263 " The high fame, large amount of customers,* **provides** *this shopping mall with many commercial opportunities. "*) The spread of Chinese worldwide is symbolic of the agency of Chinese people. This is a phenomenon shown across the selection of articles in this case study.

In describing the impacts of Chinese tourists on the affluence of France, the author is actually speaking for France, by inserting a Chinese voice. The rush of Chinese tourists is said to be a 'happy' scene for France.

Keywords/phrases	Frequency
Seine	13
France	11

Paris	9
we (Chinese)	8
International	7
Chinese interpretation	6
the world	6
tourist (Chinese)	6
Chinese (language)	5
Voice	5
Language	4
Europe	4
(Chinese) provide	3
China	3
Chinese (people)	3
development	3
exchange	3

As seen in the table above, there is a high occurrence of "Seine", "Paris" and "France", some of which could have been referred to with an anaphoric pronoun. For instance, when both paragraph 4 and 5 began with the Chinese interpretation on the cruise over Seine, there are five mentions of "France", five of "Seine" and two of "Paris" in paragraph 5 again which began with a more redundant "the cruise on the Seine of Paris in France". The emphasis on France and Seine is obvious. In the *People's Daily* data, France is a country frequently mentioned in the articles between 2000 and 2008. This is, as current world affairs suggest, due to the welcoming attitudes of the French towards Chinese people. Taking Galeries Lafayette mentioned in "River" as an example (line 260-267), Galeries Lafayette provides a Chinese version of their website in addition to French. During the Chinese New Year in 2006, the building was decorated with banners of "恭喜发财" ("Happy New Year") and Chinese lanterns. The Chinese interpretation on the cruise over Seine is presumably taken by the author as a representation of the status of China not only in France, but also 'the world' as reflected by the frequency of the keyword 'international', and the 'world'. The mention of 'global economy' is also illustrative of this. The influence of China in France is elevated to the global level.

In "River", the writer (first person perspective) describes his experience on Seine 'on-behalf-of' the group of Chinese tourists using 'we' to present a 'group' voice as illustrated in the deictic mapping table (Table 4 in Appendix 7). This group identity is also indicated by his use of "the voice of the East" (line 257). There is also a distinction between "our" (also "we", "I", "my") and "they" (and "their") which refers to French people throughout the article. In this case, China is not ascribed a passive role in the encounter of the world, but an active agent role contributing to the world, as is further exemplified in the following extracts from "Chinese fever".

The focus of "Chinese fever" is placed on the Chinese language, but as shown in the table of keywords below, "China", "Chinese", ""Chinese culture", "foreign (foreigners, foreign countries), and learning Chinese overseas (Confucius Institute) are all related to the language fever.

Keywords/phrases	Frequency
China	31
Chinese	22
foreign	7
(Chinese) culture	7
Chinese fever	6
learn (Chinese)	6
establish	5
globe	5
language	5
world	4
cooperation	4
Confucius Institute	4

As indicated by *"...the world needs to understand more about China, China needs to open up more and 'go out to' the world"* (line 317-318 " …世界需要更多地了解中国，中国需要以更加开放的姿态走向世界。"), Chinese assume more agency as the world can understand more about China only when China opens up and goes out of the 'open door'. China's 'voices' are also mentioned as taking part in the larger dialogue about international affairs and diplomacy with other countries. To foreigners, China provides enormous commercial opportunities. There is very obvious differentiation of Chinese and foreigners' positions through the use of pronouns in three places. 'Our' (line 319) mother tongue, Chinese, is determining the development and career of foreign management personnel which is referred to as 'their' future in line 294. People overseas learn Chinese also because of their interest in Chinese culture such as the French President (line 310).

Since more foreigners get to know more about China and gain economic benefits through learning Chinese, in a sense, foreigners such as the French people also play a role in spreading 'Chinese voices'. The use of '一窥'('a glimpse of') in the description of the past visits of foreigners such as Marco Polo (line 306) is intended to make a contrast to the present 'active' opening up of China. When China was forced to open up by the West, foreigners could hardly see the beauty of Chinese culture; conversely, at the present time when China takes the agency in opening up, foreigners can see and admire more Chinese language and culture as represented by Peking opera, Wushu and Chinese food in the article (line 307-311). Synonyms of China including 'Hutongs', 'Eastern civilisation', 'ancient capital', and 'Chinese ethnicity' are used in the *People's Daily* data. These are representations of China in the encounters with foreigners. The world and the Other are portrayed as desiring to know more about China and Chinese

culture. This is reflected in the subject positions they are placed in texts as has been illustrated throughout.

Although the title itself suggests its focus on "Chinese fever", the discourses about the 'two-way' exchange between China and the world are also embedded in the article. First, it mentions that *like "learning English" in the past, many people overseas start "learning Chinese"* (line 290-291) ("…如同曾经"学英语"一样，许多海外人士开始"学中文"。). The inverted quotation marks on both "learning English" and "learning Chinese" (which is one of the highest-frequency phrases) not only are intended to highlight the status of Chinese in relation to English, but also the similarity between the two phenomena. The similarity lies in the fact that foreigners now need to learn Chinese to advance their career, resembling when Chinese need*ed* to learn English for study and career. In the article, "learning English" is framed as a past experience (as indicated by the adverb "曾经" ("at some time", "in the past"), while "learning Chinese" is framed as a current trend. The cancellation of the Chinese interpretation service mentioned in the article indicates that Chinese people's English proficiency is 'sufficient', and foreigners are now learning Chinese which is their "voluntary" choice ("自愿选择"in line 288).

Although not explicitly said, the statement: "Like "learning English", a lot of people overseas have started to "learn Chinese"" somewhat indicates the parallel development of Chinese and English in the official discourse. As also discussed in Chapter One, like English, an increasing number of people sit for the Chinese exams each year, and the Chinese language is offered as a university subject in universities overseas. Chinese has become a promotion requirement of multinational corporations. All these factors point to the seemingly parallel development of Chinese and English.

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In "Chinese fever", the growth of China is attributed to the 'reform and opening up':
"After 'reform and opening up', China opens up [its] heart to welcome friends from five lakes and four seas..." (line 307-308) ("改革开放后，中国敞开胸怀欢迎五湖四海的朋友…"). "Chinese fever" is said to radiate outward the potentials of Chinese economy (line 285-286). The use of "radiate" has a sense of things diverging from one focal point, and the focal point in this case is China. The gathering of elites from the globe as mentioned in the article is symbolic of having 'the world' in China, which in turn signifies the importance of China and Chinese language. The Chinese language is also portrayed as functioning to demonstrate the culture of 'the Chinese people' and enhance understanding between different countries in the world. Referring to other countries as 'friends', as Chapter One has shown, makes a connection between 'the world' and 'the Chinese people' who seem to share cultural interests and common goals of creating a modern world. Chinese speaking English and foreigners speaking Chinese are always positively described and reported in *People's Daily*. This 'harmonious' relationship between Chinese and foreigners is also captured in "We are also ready!"

In "We are also ready!", the foreigners described in the article are all portrayed as settling and living comfortably among Chinese people. Although the language in which they talk to the reporter is not stated, the frequency of the keywords "my", "I", and "me" (all used by/with foreigners) as shown below, and the excessive direct quotes indicate that the views reported are the foreigners' own perspectives.

Keywords	Frequency
Beijing	17
volunteer	12
Olympics	11
speak	9

I (foreigner)	9
my (foreigner)	7
come to	5
learn	5
China	5
feel	5
he (foreigner)	5
Chinese language	4
live	4
Beijing Olympics	4
my own (foreigner)	4
foreign	4
foreigner	4
me (foreigner)	4

Massiah, a volunteer for the Beijing Olympics from Canada, stayed with a local family while in Beijing. In the family, he was an English teacher for the son who became a Chinese teacher for Massiah. Realising the English ability of Chinese people after arriving in Beijing, Shelakas also thought that it was now his turn to learn Chinese.

Throughout the article, the opinions of foreign volunteers of the Beijing Olympics are reported from a first person perspective, accounting for the high frequency of the use of 'I', 'my' and 'me' (used by foreigners) which is also illustrated in the deictic mapping chart (Table 5). Despite the group distinction between Chinese and the overseas volunteers made by the use of third person pronouns throughout the article, the distinction seems necessary to stress the inputs made by the foreign volunteers to China as a different cultural group, thereby emphasising the 'attractiveness' of the Beijing Olympics. Only at the end of one article are the foreign volunteers and Chinese people brought together in the Beijing Olympics which is described as "a communal festival of all the human beings" (line 368). In line 342, while Shelakas describes the beauty of Beijing, he uses 'you' to address people in general:

"…我在来北京之前已经看过许多北京和中国其他城市的风光照片，但北京的美是照片无法完全表现出来的，只有亲身来到这里，看到那些园林、宫殿以及街上来来往往 的人群，你才能感受到这座城市的动人之处。"

*"…Before I came to Beijing, [I] have seen a lot of scenery photos of Beijing and other Chinese cities, but the beauty of Beijing can hardly be captured and shown in photos, only by coming to experience, seeing the gardens, palaces and people walking in the streets, **you** can feel the impressive things about this city."* (Line 340-343)

Taking a 'foreigner's' stance to describe the beauty of China, the attractiveness of Beijing and China from the foreigner's own perspective is thus stressed. Shelakas's use of 'you' can also be interpreted as a way to reduce his distance from the reporter as if he is introducing Chinese culture from an 'insider's' perspective.

By mentioning the relationship between Massiah and the 17-year-old son, and Shelakas's experience, the status between Chinese and foreigners are portrayed as equal, with both groups being the 'teacher' of each other, and a corresponding relationship between Chinese and English. Massiah even 'owns' the language when he says *"my Chinese to be of use"* ("我的中文派上了用场" in line 328-329). There is a lot of similar descriptions and articles about the exchange of languages between Chinese and English speakers. The positive attitudes towards 'language exchange' are always mentioned and quoted from the perspectives of 'foreigners'.

In the aspect of culture, the word choice and foreigners' comments in the article are in keeping with the Chinese discourse of agency and globalisation. The phrase used to describe the foreigners' "taking up the position" is 'very Chinese', and the way David is referred to as "old Beijing" is also 'very Chinese' (line 326-327). There are almost no equivalents in English. 'Old Beijing' is normally used with people closely connected to Beijing. By referring to David as such, foreigners are situated within a Chinese-centred narrative which gives agency to Chinese people. As Ye (2004) discusses, calling a

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foreigner "an old friend of China" during initial encounters can be striking for 'outsiders' but it conveys a message that the foreigner is regarded as having a close relationship with China. In a similar sense, when David is called 'old Beijing', it thus indicates that David has a close relationship with Beijing and is considered an 'insider'. The personal and equal connections between Chinese (Beijingers) and foreigners are made.

On the other hand, Chinese people and foreigners are placed in apposition at the global level. While it has been shown in previous articles that 'passion' is an attribute of Chinese that urges them to learn English, the foreign volunteers, as mentioned in the second paragraph of the article, also come to Beijing with 'passion'. The foreigner desire to experience the Beijing Olympics is as intense as the desire of Chinese to learn English and communicate with 'the world'. Chinese discourse of being a part of the global community is also instantiated in: Massiah's becoming good friends with Chinese; David's description of his life in Beijing as "comfortable" and "convenient"; and his detailed and somewhat repetitive mention of the "kindness", "thoughtfulness", "compassion", "hospitability" and "friendliness" of Chinese people in line 352-358. This is as if he does not experience any language and cultural barriers. The 'living' experience of foreigners in Beijing is given prominence by the recurring use of "live" and "serve". The 'globalness' of China is most exemplified in the concluding paragraph. The Beijing Olympics belong to all people in the world and yet, the Chinese provision of a good opportunity for the world to understand more about China is once again emphasised. This not only can be seen as a way to claim Chinese agency, but the 'global' attribute of 'being Chinese' is also implied.

'Chinese students speaking English, and American students speaking Chinese' in "American tourist" reflect some of the current linguistic trends and status of languages in the world. The status of the two languages ties up closely with the development of China. In "Li Yang", it is clear that Li Yang aims to popularise English on the Chinese mainland, while also simultaneously striving to promote Chinese language and culture overseas and make the country "a paradise of travel and residence desired by the world". When he works towards strengthening the motherland, he emphasises both the popularity of English and Chinese inside China and overseas, as indicated by his saying: "我要继续战斗在普及英语和中文的战场上！" (*Line 81-82: "I need to continue to fight for the popularity of English and Chinese on the battlefield"*). By battlefield, Li refers to the world inclusive of China where the world is the battlefield of promoting Chinese and China is the battlefield of spreading English.

4.2.2 Globalisation as 'othering' and 'deothering' process

The combination of 'Old' and 'New' is also reflected in some collocations found in *People's Daily*, as shown by the following 'role model locality' named "Dongsi" and the 'role model college' named "Yuanming":

"Dongsi"

东四很老，700 年的胡同群织出老北京的肌理；东四很新，现代化的高楼大厦俯瞰着二环路的车水马龙；东四很普通，不过是北京 100 多个街道办事处中的一分子；东四很特殊，因为—— 这个社区，名叫 "奥林匹克"

2008.04.18 第 14 版全景奥运 作者：薛原；郝飞

Dongsi is very old with the 700-year-old hutong residences; yet, Dongsi is very new with the modern high-rise buildings that overlook the busy traffic of the road; Dongsi is very ordinary, only one of the hundreds roads in Beijing. Dongsi is very special, because – this locality is called 'Olympics'.

2008.04.18 (Page 14 'Olympics') Author: Xue Yuan; Hao Fei

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　　"英语大课堂"是东四社区的奥运主题活动之一，参与者非常多。家住东四五条的赵伏生和赵淑婷老两口 2005 年开始上"英语大课堂"，坚持了两年多，硬是从一个字母不识到能简单对话。最让赵淑婷得意的是学以致用的经历，一次她在商场里碰见一个外国人买衣服，正和售货员比划着，她一听，走过去说："他要红色的。"售货员吃了一惊："阿姨，你怎么会英语。"

　　"胡同里常有老外来参观，现在也敢上去打个招呼了。"赵伏生乐呵呵地说道，"奥运会来了，咱们的一个微笑，一句简单的对话，会让人家感到很亲切。"
　　以人的发展为本，"关爱人、尊重人、塑造人"，这是东四街道实践奥林匹克理念的创新之道。

"更健康、更幸福、更和谐"
　　对奥林匹克运动的理解，东四居民还有自己的创新。
　　在东四奥林匹克文化体育中心门口，立着一块石碑，上面写着"古奥运会最光辉之处在于：美和尊严"。这是现代奥运会创始人顾拜旦说过的一句话，落实在东四居民的日常生活中，就是"更健康、更幸福、更和谐"。
...

The "communal English classroom" is one of the Olympic activities of Dongsi that attract a lot of participants. Mr and Mrs Jiao have attended the class for over 2 years since 2005, from not even knowing a single alphabet to being able to take part in simple conversations. The experiences of using English in real-life situations make Mrs Jiao very satisfied. Once, she saw a foreign customer who was shopping for clothes in a shopping mall. The shopkeeper did not speak any English, and when she found out, she went and told the shopkeeper, "He wants red". The shopkeeper was surprised and said "Auntie, how come you know English?"

Mr Jiao said happily, "There are always lots of visitors in hutongs. Now I dare to approach and greet them." "The Olympics is approaching. Our smile and simple conversation will make others feel warm".
Humanity is the focus of the locality. "Care, respect and equip people". This is the motto for Dongsi in preparation for the Olympics.

"Healthier", "happier", "more harmonious"
With the understanding of the Olympics, Dongsi residents **even** have their innovation. At the entrance of Dongsi Olympics Cultural and Sports Centre, there is a monument that reads "The glory of ancient Olympics rests on: "beauty and dignity". This is a line which has been said by the founder of modern Olympics, Le baron Pierre De Coubertin, when applying this to the life of Dongsi residents, it means "healthier", "happier", "more harmonious".

"Yuanming"

The focus on morality in education of Beijing Yuanming College
2001.09.24 (Page 6 'Education, Technology, Culture') Author: Yu Wen

*In addition to the computer literacy, international business, law, English and Chinese
classes, the college also holds "national classics" as the compulsory subjects. They
include classics such as "Analects" and "Mencius". The college employs renowned
scholars from both within the nation and overseas to teach. It allows students to acquire
skills, and at the same time, to learn about Chinese civilisation, which can train their
morality and develop humanity.*

The "Dongsi" article utilises the role model discourse examined in the next subsection.

The learning experience of elderly people like the Jiao couple is reported here and so as

their learning outcomes conveyed through a blending of the 'respect for elders' tradition,

and role model and English learning discourses. The shopkeeper 'was shocked' (the

writer's own choice of adjective) to find out about Mrs Jiao's English ability: "Auntie,

how come you know English?" This is a combination of Chinese culture (calling elderly

people a term showing respect) and English modernity, conveyed in the use of language

– polite address term - and social development – elderly knowing English. As shown

more clearly in the heading of the article, the Beijing locality is praised for its fine

incorporation and combination of new modern buildings and skills and old traditional

residences. People's knowledge of English is also portrayed favourably with the use of

"happily" and the example of solving communication problems with foreign visitors.

The combined courses of classical Chinese literature with 'modern skills' including

international trade, law and English offered in the Yuanming college are also reported

favourably. Yuanming, known as the Old Summer Palace, was the residence of the Empress Cixi in the Qing dynasty. During the Second Opium War in the mid-nineteenth century, it was burnt down by foreigners. The introduction of English and other modern skills taught in the Yuanming College is symbolic of the mixture of 'history' and 'newness'. It adds a 'Chinese voice' to the history associated with "military aggressors", thereby creating a new voice and discourse about English and foreign relations.

These two examples above demonstrate clearly the combination of 'New' and 'Old' which explains why globalisation is taken as both an 'othering' and 'de-othering' process by which China integrates into the global community. English plays a role in facilitating the integration but at the same time Chinese people are able to preserve their distinctive features. Not only is English appropriated into the local lives of the people (Canagarajah 2006), but as shown in the last excerpt of "Dongsi", the global event of the Olympics has also been adapted into Chinese life, thereby situating ordinary citizens in the 'world'. This is seen in the mention of the Olympics ideals of "beauty and dignity" being applied among the residents as "healthier", "happier", "more harmonious". This 'appropriation of the 'world'' is given prominence by the emphasis put on it with the word "even" in "With the understanding of the Olympics, Dongsi residents **even** have their innovation." ("对奥林匹克运动的理解，东四居民**还有自己的创新**。"). The residents' appropriation also gives 'newness' (innovation) to the ideals of the global event. In a sense, the contributory role Chinese people play in the 'world' is also expressed. The collocations appearing in the headline of "Dongsi" such as "old but new and modern", and "ordinary but special" are used to exemplify the 'traditional and modern' attribute of the community. In fact, similar collocations can be often found in *People's Daily*. 'Newness' is always juxtaposed with the traditional and old attributes

of Chinese such as "new hometown on the ancient land" (line 463) in the article entitled "Changing sound of the hometown" illustrated in 4.3.

The 'ideal' form of globalisation is also captured in "American tourist". The passage about the American tourist, Mike, describes the exchange program of a group of American students in China. It begins with a description of the journey of an American teacher and his students traveling to places of historical heritage such as the Great Wall, Siheyuan and Hutongs. Siheyuan have been the traditional Beijing dwelling compounds of numerous generations. They are generally rectangular like the Chinese character "Kou" ("口") ("mouth"), and thus they are called Siheyuan (the four sides squarely facing the cardinal points). As part of traditional Chinese culture, this kind of architecture gives a feeling of closeness and contains profound cultural elements. Accompanying Siheyuan are Hutongs, or alleys, which come in different sizes and are said to be engraved by the changes of time. Beijingers have special feelings for Hutongs and this has given rise to the development of a new tourism project – Hutong tour. As stated in the Beijing Olympics volunteer manual (BOCOG 2007:181-182), sitting in an ancient transportation vehicle – Pedi cab, tourists can see numerous Hutongs, walk into ordinary Siheyuan and enjoy a conversation with elderly Beijingers, which will enable them to feel another facet of the city's historical past.

The Chinese views of globalisation as opening up the country to the world and as a mixture of 'new+old' manifest at the beginning of the article and set up the context of interpretation for readers. What is new is the friendly relations with the West as represented by foreign tourists, the new role of English as representing the image of Chinese and the traditional buildings and elderly Beijingers are symbols of old Chinese elements. This is the 'new+old' nature (for example, English and cultural relics) of

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China that has always been promoted to foreigners as seen around the time of the Beijing Olympics. The article operates within some of the dominant Chinese discourses about globalisation at the present time.

In terms of 'language relations', Chinese people and the American tourists are said to speak each other's language. This seemingly is compatible with the Chinese view of globalisation as a two-way exchange. The use of "friends" ("朋友") to address the Americans is an important word in the institutional discourses of globalisation that prescribe the globe as 'one community' as seen in Chapter One. Despite the show of the agency of Chinese people and higher language proficiency of Chinese as illustrated in 4.1, Chinese speaking English and Americans speaking Mandarin Chinese is a preferable phenomenon. American and Chinese are learning each other's languages and cultures under globalisation. The fact that Mike as an American is a Chinese teacher in the U.S. already reflects the results of this language exchange phenomenon. Because of the 'friendship' developing between the U.S. and China, their languages are developing equally on each other's land. Under globalisation, Chinese people are not changing themselves to fit in the world, and there are no signs of what Phillipson calls "linguistic imperialism" (1992); but rather, Chinese people acquire as well as provide what is needed to be a part of the global community, to be friends with the world. In this case, they are acquiring English and providing Chinese. This again emphasises the two-way exchange where China also has a voice.

In the *People's Daily* examples discussed thus far including "Li Yang", "Home country" and "Power of communication", 'foreign' or 'expert' voices are introduced to build up the discourse represented in the articles. For instance, in "Li Yang", the Cuban national hero, Jose Marti (line 83), is quoted; in "home country", the novel *Last Lesson*

of the French writer, Alphonse Daudet (line 98), is mentioned; and in "Power of Communication", a general reference to sociologists is inserted to explain the importance of communication (line 136). The last two 'foreign and expert' voices are indirect discourse with which the voice of the *People's Daily* itself is blended (Fairclough 1992). The purpose of this is presumably to make the messages conveyed in the article more persuasive and authoritative. It also brings in the discourse of globalisation that prescribes China as a part of the global community with a global perspective. In the official discourse, 'learning from each other' and 'global perspective' appear to be an important process of globalisation.

The analysis and discussion in this section has illustrated the Chinese discourse of globalisation. Through offering their voices in the dialogue about English, globalisation and national development, China perceives itself on an equal footing with the world, as a part of the global community. It has the agency to utilise the language to their best interest. Globalisation is taken as an 'othering' and 'de-othering' process because through the two-way exchange, a country learns and absorbs the languages and cultures of the others to whom it simultaneously transfers its own languages and cultures. Modernity, prosperity and English used to be the categories by which Chinese people differentiated themselves from 'the Other'. These criteria are however being eliminated with English being a lever for change in the intergroup relations (Tajfel 1981). When the concept of globalisation as a combination of traditions and modernity and as 'two-way' China-the world exchange is operationalised into linguistic categories, China and the world are engaged in language and cultural exchange. In Tajfel's (1981) terms, this process involves mitigating the legitimacy of English as a salient feature favouring the Other, and legitimising Chinese language as a new distinguishing characteristic of Chinese people. The discourses about language and cultural exchange are built out of

the discourse of Putonghua as a Chinese national identity symbol discussed in Chapter One. It demonstrates the dialogical relations between Chinese globalisation discourse and discourse about Chinese identity and culture.

Concluding this subsection on the 'two-way' China-the world exchange, what follows is an excerpt of a speech given by the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiaobao, to a foreign audience. It affirms the discussion in this subsection thus far.

"Wen's speech"

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用发展的眼光看中国
——在剑桥大学的演讲 中华人民共和国国务院总理 温家宝 （2009 年 2 月 2 日，英国剑桥）
2009.02.04 第 3 版 ［版名：国际要闻］ 作者：姚大伟

Seeing China from a development point of view
The speech of Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, at The University of Cambridge
(2009.02.02 Cambridge, United Kingdom)
2009.02.04 (Page 3 'International news') Author: Yao Dawei

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...

不同国家、不同民族的文化，需要相互尊重、相互包容和相互学习。今天的中国，有 3 亿人在学英语，有 100 多万青年人在国外留学。我们的电视、广播、出版等新闻传媒，天天都在介绍世界各地的文化艺术。正因为我们善于在交流中学习，在借鉴中收获，才有今天中国的繁荣和进步。

　　进入 21 世纪，经济全球化、信息网络化，已经把世界连成一体，文化的发展将不再是各自封闭的，而是在相互影响中多元共存。一个国家、一个民族对人类文化贡献的大小，越来越取决于她吸收外来文化的能力和自我更新的能力。中国将永远坚持开放兼容的方针，既珍视传统，又博采众长，用文明的方式、和谐的方式实现经济繁荣和社会进步。

...

Different countries and ethnicities need to respect each other, be generous and inclusive and learn from each other. In today's China, 3 billion Chinese people are learning English and over 1 million young people are studying overseas. Our television, radio broadcasts and publications introduce the cultures of different countries everyday to audiences. Because we are able to learn from the communication with other cultures, China is prosperous and improving.

Coming to the 21st century, globalisation and the Internet has connected the world as one. Cultural development is no longer self-contained, but progresses through learning from others. The contribution of a country or an ethnicity to humanities depends very much on her [the Chinese feminine pronoun used in Wen's speech] ability to learn from others and utilise them to rebuild herself. China will forever maintain its openness and generosity. It will preserve its culture and traditions, while at the same time learn from others. It will harmoniously and gently achieve economic and social prosperity.

As indicated in this speech of Premier Wen at the University of Cambridge, globalisation for China is conceptualised as mutual learning between countries and ethnicities. Wen's speech is given on behalf of all Chinese people. The article is framed under China's development but in the speech content, Wen also talks about humanity in general to situate China as a part of the global community. Through topicalisation of different issues, first, all countries and cultures in general, then the world and China, Wen comments on what the world should do in the face of globalisation, followed by specifically focusing on China. Wen's speech about China's development incorporates the global discourse about globalisation and Internet by a general reference to country and culture. This mixing of Chinese and global discourses can be seen as an accommodation to the 'world' audience.

From Chinese perspective, globalisation is about every country contributing and learning from each other, and is taken as a 'two-way exchange'. Consistent with the Chinese conceptualisations of globalisation, English is reinterpreted as something 'new' despite the long history of the language in China. When the world is progressing towards a new era, English is seen as a 'refreshed' and neutral language essential for integrating into the new era. The reception of English is portrayed as a sub-discourse of globalisation.

Globalisation is regarded more as a natural flow facilitated by all countries and cultures rather than being 'American-led'. The discussion thus far has demonstrated how Chinese discourses about English and globalisation have been shaped by the past and present, and the relations between China and the world. The voices of China's past and present intersect each other forming new 'voices' (Bakhtin 1981), some of which are juxtaposed to one another such as the voices of the present status of English, and voices of the history of China. English serves to empower China as a 'global' and 'modern' country, giving it a status equal to other cultures and countries, and Chinese globalisation discourse is also reflected in the perceived equal status of Chinese and English. It is under these circumstances that Chinese people learn English in today's China.

As discussed in Chapter One, China's internal and external unrests have presented challenges to the very definitions of Chinese 'ti'. When two-way language and cultural exchange is advocated as Chinese voices of globalisation, then what is 'the' Chinese identity and culture promoted by Chinese people in exchange for English with foreigners? This is a theme identified in *People's Daily* and illustrated in section 4.3 which also brings together the characteristics of 'being Chinese' ('ti') as found in all the articles presented and analysed thus far.

4.3 Chinese in relation to the Chinese people: making sense of Chinese identity in English learning

As a society that emphasises collectivism, the group identity of the Chinese whole is very significant and Chinese people are encouraged to learn English for collective benefits. In *People's Daily*, a number of strategies are used to create an educating voice

on the collective motivations of learning English including the utilisation of "lifeworld discourses" (Fairclough 1995:204) about Chinese cultural values such as attitudes towards role models, culture of learning, collectivism and patriotism. Drawing upon these discourses including the 'ti-yong' principle, the Chinese identity of English learners is still asserted in learning English. This is achieved through reworking and re-accentuating the discourses about English by the insertion of Chinese discourses and voices.

This section aims to examine this assertion of Chinese identity in English learning. It first discusses how the discourses about role models and culture of learning serve as the Chinese voices manipulated to re-accentuate the purposes of English. In particular, it demonstrates how Chinese cultural values and ideologies are manipulated to postulate the ideological construction of Chinese identity in the discourses about English. This section then draws together the characteristics of being Chinese as seen in the articles of *People's Daily* selected for this case study. Particular focus is put on examining how Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) is promoted as a national identity marker.

4.3.1 Role model discourse and the culture of learning

Bangyang jiaoyu ('education by role models') has long characterised moral education in China. Role models mainly refer to national heroes and heroines and other outstanding individuals who are also promoted as the desired outcome of moral education (Feng 2006:97). China has a culture of using emotive slogans and honouring national models and heroes with titles. As stated in Gangyao (the guidelines to construct civic virtues set out in 2001) discussed in Chapter One, "we must mobilize the masses to learn from our outstanding role models. We must be good at discovering and making use of moral role

models that look close, responsible, believable and learnable" (Feng 2006:97). The role models' deeds are nationally recognised and propagated, and people replicating their deeds are rewarded.

The role model discourse is one of the ways in which English is encouraged in China. In the *People's Daily* data, there are "national model court", "model bank", "model school principal", "model police" and "model worker". They are all named and honoured for their dedication to learning different modern skills including English or promoting the use of English in their services. Ordinary Chinese people, such as the grandma in the "Grandma" article, are portrayed as role model English learners. Most of the articles on role models published during the time before the Olympics appeared predominantly in the 'Olympics' section. Especially in the context of the Beijing Olympics, in Beijing and other Chinese cities, people seemingly were learning English in a cooperative situation. English, in this regard, is portrayed and propagated as a group tool for collective aims.

In the "Grandma" article, promotion of English is achieved through the description of the hometown and more notably the character, grandma, as a role model. Her hard work is very concretely described:

"入夜，我躺在席梦思上无法入眠，突然听到隔壁念英语的声音，爬起来一看，老阿妈正有板有眼地跟上高中的妹妹学英语。阿妈每天要接待外国游客，懂几句外语，可以介绍侗族的小工艺品。阿妈白天忙，只能晚上学。"

"At night, I lay on the Simmons, not being able to get to sleep. Some noises of practising English were heard from the room next door. I went and checked. I saw grandma was seriously learning English from my sister who was in senior high school. Grandma deals with foreign tourists everyday and knows a bit of foreign language. She could introduce them the crafts of 'Dong' tribe. Grandma is therefore busy in daytime and can only learn at night." (Line 202-206)

Diligence has been a significant attribute of role models in Chinese culture of learning. Tapping on the existing discourses of Chinese culture to resonate to readers, 'learning English' is an attribute added to the institutional discourses about role model. Making use of existing discourses is aimed to make learning English more acceptable and identifiable for the public.

Grandma, as a traditional indigenous person, is engaged in foreign trade and negotiation with foreigners through learning English. Grandma "who has remained in the village in her entire lifetime" signifies the loyalty to the village of the older generation. 'Learn modern skills (including English) and come back to develop the hometown and contribute to modernisation' can be one of the messages the role model discourse is aimed to convey. In China, people who have moved to the urban areas from rural areas such as university students are encouraged to return to and help develop their hometowns. Indeed, *People's Daily* always reports on the voluntary projects that engage youth to develop rural villages and towns such as the poverty alleviation program mentioned in Chapter Two. The article "Grandma" can be seen as utilising a grandma as an example to promote the rural development idea. Intertextuality can be found between this article and the wider discourses of national development, in that there is a relation between the role model and national development discourse.

The topic of the article "阿妈用心学外语" ("Grandma dedicates to learning foreign language") indicates to readers that the article is about grandma learning foreign language. However, the discourses about 'foreign language' do not appear until the last paragraph. The coherence of the article is thus established by the headline at the global level (van Dijk 1985), which makes grandma stand out more as the main character and

role model. By recalling the old days of the hometown, the first paragraph is essentially aimed to lead into the second paragraph which describes the changes the hometown is undergoing and sets up the context in which grandma is learning English. The last paragraph mentions a number of changes associated with learning English: "foreign trade", "foreigners", "Simmons" and "know English" ("new words") and introduces the discourse about English associated with economic and material gains the first time. The way grandma learns English seems very laborious and systematic. She works at daytime and studies English at night. Her hard work is positively related to the outcomes in the final paragraph. The use of "席梦思" ("Simmons", line 202) in grandma's home, a famous American brand of high-quality mattresses, indicates the good living and financial conditions in the hometown brought about by learning English to communicate and trade.

Furthermore, as illustrated in 4.2, the use of 'grandma' in promoting English learning is taking advantages of the 'respect for elderly' in Chinese culture to make the reporting more affective and hence more effective. As Yue and Ng (1999) show in their study in Beijing, 'respecting elders' is still a value endorsed by young people and elderly. Young people are still committed to fulfil their filial obligations while older people still hold high filial expectations from their children. The efforts grandma paid in learning English for her 'little business' elevated her to doing business with foreigners and foreign "negotiation" (line 208) ("谈判") (which actually means price bargaining). The concrete and emotive descriptions of grandma such as the use of "头发斑白的" ("white-haired", line 206) are also manipulative of readers' emotions.

The following is the table of keywords for an article entitled "Taxi driver" in which the character chosen is also an 'ordinary person'.

Keywords	Frequency
(Lao) Meng	16
English	11
he (Meng)	6
little memo notes	5
passenger	5
Olympics	4
learn	4
foreigner	3
his (Meng)	3
him (Meng)	3

Like "Li Yang" in 4.1.1, "Meng" as the main character of the article is the highest

frequency word (along with the pronoun "he"), indicating that the article centres again

on one particular person. "English" is also one of the keywords with high frequency.

The choice of a taxi driver as the main character is significant as he acts as the

intermediary between China and foreign tourists and moves people and brings them into

contact. The different channels of learning English that Meng uses include: memo notes,

memorisation of conversations, learning materials and teachers provided by the taxi

companies, transcription with Chinese phonemes, listening to English radio, MP3 audio

recordings and learning from anyone who knows English. Out of them all, the amount

of "little memo notes" is also stressed by the use of "thick pile" ("厚厚一摞", line 379).

Figure 6 shows the schematic roles of the keywords in the article.

The methods of learning English Lao Meng uses appear to be more than typical English

learning skills that involve largely memorisation and replication. The use of English

radio and MP3 audio recordings on one hand, indicate a modern China reworking the

past discourses about the backwardness of China; on the other hand, it educates and

informs readers of the methods they can follow to learn English, producing new discourses about English education. Some other features of the dominant institutional discourse about role models are also found in the passage. Meng's attributes including diligence, maturity (middle-aged), low educational qualification, 'speaking English with a Chinese accent' and the difficulties encountered in learning English resonate to a lot of readers who share the same attributes.

Like those of grandma, Mr. Meng's attributes contradict the belief of 'the younger, the better' expressed in Premier Wen's quote mentioned in Chapter Two. The writer in this case functions between the interdiscursive language acquisition and diligence discourses which positions the readers in contradictory ways. However, a new discourse about diligence is created and promoted: diligence is the most fundamental to successful language learning. The use of English to start the passage is intended to show the results of learning English to attract readers. More importantly, Mr. Meng demonstrates the possibility of learning English despite age and education problems. In the topic of "的哥" ("taxi driver"), the first word "的" is a simplification of the English loanword of "taxi" (的 士). The character "哥" literally means 'elder brother' but it is used to show respect for the taxi driver as a role model. The topic therefore has already reflected the influence of English on the Chinese language, and the positive attitudes towards the influence. The use of "一张张小纸条" ("little memo notes"), and "怀揣" ("cherishes") in line 373 and "宝贝" ("baby"; "treasure") in the topic reflects the high importance of learning English for Mr. Meng. The 'learning English' element is added to the existing role model discourses. The headline of the article is not a direct discourse/quote from Mr. Meng, but the 'voice' of the reporter which blends with the voice of Mr. Meng. It contains an elaboration of the reporter, transposing the 'voice' of Mr. Meng into her own frame – keeping the English memo notes as treasures. Through such characters as

grandma and Mr. Meng, readers, regardless of their attributes, are encouraged to learn English.

Furthermore, Mr. Meng is addressed as Lao Meng. "Lao" is a term used with middle-aged males that shows solidarity and thus allows possibilities of identification. There is also a sentence that seems to show solidarity and friendship between Mr Meng, a Chinese taxi driver and foreigners:

"老孟与老外的一些简单的基本交流已不成问题。老孟的英语和他热情爽朗的性格为他带来不少回头客，很多坐过他车的外国人，需要用车时会给他打电话。"
"Now, some simple basic exchanges between Lao Meng and Laowai have not been a problem. Lao Meng's English and his passionate and frank dispositions bring many customers back to him. Those foreigners who have been taken by him before call him when they need a ride. " (Line 391-393)

"Laowai" ("老外") is a colloquial term for addressing foreigners, and 'lao + surname' in Chinese culture is a way of showing solidarity. The choice of 'Lao Meng' and "laowai', in line with Ye's (2004) discussion of 'lao' that denotes old and close friends, indicates the mutual respect of the taxi driver and foreigners. Their relationships are premised upon exchange.

Consistent with the culture of honouring people of excellence, 'Star Taxi Driver' elections have been conducted since 2001 in support of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Drivers who receive the highest number of votes are awarded the title 'Taxi Star' and a sign 'Taxi Star' would be put up on the roof of the taxi. Learning English has become one of the personal qualities that attract votes. This, again, complies with the discourse of role model.

Chinese people value effort in their learning and achievement which has been shown to be primarily social as opposed to individualistic (Yu and Yang 1994, Li 2002). As Li (2002:250) discusses, seeking knowledge is more valued and highly regarded by Chinese people as exemplified in the Chinese value of "hao-xue-sin" (the heart and mind for wanting to learn). Diligence, enduring hardship, persistence are also elements of a Chinese learning model (ibid.). Ideal learners acquire effective learning methods and seize all opportunities to learn. Chinese emphasise the possibility of re-education. This is evidence of the Confucian emphasis on malleability of human beings and life-long learning which can re-shape and bring perfections to human beings (Yu and Yang 1994). This learning model of Chinese can explain the life-long learning of elderly people, taxi drivers and many others as depicted in the newspaper.

Within the "hao-xue-xin" model, role models play an important part. Through an analysis of both pre- and post-1949 posters created by the Chinese government, Landsberger (2001) demonstrates that models have long played an important role in educating people about the "correct behavior and correct ideals" in China (Landsberger 2001:541). They are perceived as "learners' soul mates" (Li 2002:262) and particularly influential in demonstrating that obstacles can be overcome by diligence and persistence. Since 1949, behavioural models who value learning and deeds that contribute to the country have been employed to mobilise the mass, and propagate ideas and behaviours. Following model behaviours can be interpreted as attachment to the society at large. In *People's Daily*, both 'ancient' and 'modernised' models are directed towards readers. In some cases, 'ancient' models are 'restyled' to suit the current modernising China. For instance, Lei Feng, who was mentioned in Chapter One, was touted as a private entrepreneur (which was strongly condemned during Mao's regime) (Landsberger 2001:557). The models appearing in *People's Daily* believe to serve the same functions

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of mobilisation. An interdependent society stresses self-control, education and skill learning, and the fulfilment of occupational, familial, and societal obligations. Each character such as grandma, the university student in "New Generation" and Mr Meng represents different age groups and sectors of the society. They are used as role model English learners whose education fulfils social obligations.

4.3.2 Collectivism and national development discourse

Collectivism and national development discourse is another theme identified from using the key words approach in coding the *People's Daily* data. It is another Chinese discourse inserted into the discourses about English to make sense of Chinese identity. In Chinese culture, individual goals must conform to the values of the group, and only by achieving the goals of the in-group can the individual realise him or herself (Yu and Yang 1994).

In "Grandma", although the article is framed as reporting on the grandma's experience of learning foreign language as indicated in the headline, with the concluding sentence, "the hometown has indeed changed", grandma's English learning experience is linked to the changes in the hometown and new world. The influences of English on 'grandma' are extended to the home village and her English ability at the personal level is elevated to the collective level through reworking the benefits of English with the insertion of the Chinese discourse of collectivism. The benefits of English are portrayed as being felt within the hometown village, aligning individual benefits with group development. This points to the co-existence of individual and group development which echoes the wider discourse of collectivism and 'suzhi' discourse which is a feature of interdependent

society mentioned in Chapter Two. Chinese feel a sense of pride when seeing individuals' achievements that benefit others.

In "Grandma", the author was emotional seeing the changes to the hometown as indicated in the concluding sentence below. He conveys a sense of pride for grandma as well as the hometown showing that Chinese people's emotion also operates within the Chinese discourse of collectivism:

"望着头发斑白的老阿妈，我心潮起伏，从未出过山寨的阿妈，现在满口新词，天天做"外贸"，还用外语跟外国人"谈判"。家乡真的变了。"
"Looking at the white-haired grandma, I was emotional. Grandma, who has remained in the village in her entire lifetime, now is filled with new words, does "foreign trade" everyday, and even uses foreign language to "negotiate" with foreigners. The hometown has indeed changed." (Line 206-209)

In "Taxi driver", the English sentence at the very beginning of the article introduces the context in which the article should be understood. It contextualises the article before continuing to discuss the meanings the English language carries at the particular time. The Beijing Olympics is not merely in itself an international sport event; but it also represents a new breakthrough for Chinese people in terms of China's international status as discussed in Chapter One. The event provides a new context for the understanding of not only English but also Chinese relations with its speakers. As the author comments, learning English could bring more customers to Mr. Meng:

"老孟的英语和他热情爽朗的性格为他带来不少回头客，很多坐过他车的外国人，需要用车时会给他打电话。" (*Line 392-393: "Lao Meng's English and his passionate and frank dispositions bring many customers back to him. Those foreigners who have been taken by him before call him when they need a ride"*). The schematic figure of this sentence (Figure 6) shows this semantic network. When Meng has

acquired English (through using little memo notes (as one of the keywords of the article)), it becomes a source that brings passengers to him. In this case, English takes on the role as a source, passenger as experiencer and Meng as a goal. English knowledge not only is a goal (that Chinese people aspire to reach) but has also become a source (that brings foreigners (that is, the world) to the Chinese people).

The personality and English ability of Meng provide foreigners the incentives to call back. In a similar sense, English is also a path by which Mr Meng reaches out to the passengers. He can obtain personal benefits out of his personal efforts in learning English, in addition to the support provided from all levels including passengers, taxi companies and media which can be considered 'collective efforts'. Throughout the article, the distant relations of the author and Lao Meng are indexed by the author's frequent use of the masculine third person pronouns "he", "him" and "his" as indicated in Table 6 in Appendix 7. There is also one instance where Lao Meng uses "my" (line 388). The concluding sentence of the article nevertheless diminishes the distance between Lao Meng and readers and creates an in-group membership by his use of "our" (line 399) to refer to Chinese people. To affirm the thoughts as final, this is achieved through the use of first person perspective: ""最大的收获就是让外国人了解了咱们的文化。" 老孟说。" (*line 398-399: ""The biggest harvest was to let foreigners understand our culture." Lao Meng said.*") Lao Meng's individual achievement is contributory to national achievement. Even though the article mentions primarily the personal efforts of Meng in learning English, the outcomes extend to the collective level. The discourse of collectivism is further put forward in the end, connecting personal efforts with the collective benefit English can bring to the country.

Although it is not specified in the article whether foreigners can be Meng's teachers, 'passengers and foreigners' are co-referential as shown by the sentence:

"老孟印象比较深的一次是，他拉一位美国客人去河北涿州，回来时路过京石高速，边上刚刚出土了一座精美的古老石桥，老孟特意放慢车速，用英文介绍说，"You see, old bridge, about 700 years。" 客人很感兴趣，回答说下次来拍照。"

Lao Meng was most impressed once. He pulled an American passenger to Hebei Zhuozhou. On the way back, they passed by the Beijing stone highway where a fine ancient stone bridge had just been unearthed. Lao Meng slowed down on purpose and used English to introduce, "You see, old bridge, about 700 years." The passenger was interested very much, saying that s/he would photograph it next time. (Line 394-398)

The "American passenger" (line 394), "passenger" (line 397) and "foreigners" (line 399) refer to the same referent. In Chinese culture, a teacher is a highly respected occupation, as shown by the long intellectual and civil service examination history when only scholars could be government officials. The 'teacher-student relationship' symbolically gives power to foreigners. Nonetheless, as illustrated in 4.1, Chinese people can claim agency in interactions with foreigners, for instance, the use of "let" puts 'foreigners' in the object position. Concluding the article with the above quote from Meng redirects agency back to Chinese people in relation to foreigners. The comment creates global coherence to the text, signaling that English learning will ultimately give agency to Chinese people in relation to foreigners as the 'experiencer' of Chinese culture. Indeed, towards the end of the article, Lao Meng is said to 'use' English to introduce Chinese culture, rather than 'learn' which is used earlier in the second paragraph:

Last paragraph:

老孟印象比较深的一次是，他拉一位美国客人去河北涿州，回来时路过京石高速，边上刚刚出土了一座精美的古老石桥，老孟特意放慢车速，用英文介绍说，"You see, old bridge, about 700 years。" 客人很感兴趣，回答说下次来拍照。"

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*"Lao Meng was most impressed once. He pulled an American passenger to Hebei Zhuozhou. On the way back, they passed by the Beijing stone highway where a fine ancient stone bridge had just been unearthed. Lao Meng slowed down on purpose and **used** English to introduce, "You see, old bridge, about 700 years. "The passenger was interested very much, saying that s/he would photograph it next time. "* (Line 394-398)

Second paragraph:

"...老孟就下决心要好好学英语。"
*"...Lao Meng has decided to **learn** English wholeheartedly..."*(Line 375)

In "Li Yang", although the description of personal experience and honours of Li Yang takes up a large portion of the article, Li's personal story is finally linked to national benefits, in Li Yang's own words: "我理解的爱国就是自强，就是把自己锻造成材，因为从此祖国多了一个人才，少了一个蠢才！…"(*line 55-56: "My understanding of patriotism is to strengthen oneself, forge oneself to become useful..."*). In this particular sentence, the theme is patriotism and self-strengthening is a manifestation of patriotism. In the article, the reporter writes:

"李阳的杰出贡献与爱国精神得到了社会的承认。他被公认为英语口语教育专家，被誉为"英语播种机"、"教英语口语的魔术师"、"爱国演说家"。2000年，李阳名列"全国十大新锐人物"榜首；2002年，被韩日世界杯组委会评为"世界杯荣誉特使"。"
Li Yang's outstanding contribution and patriotism are recognised by the society. He is recognized as an English education expert, known as "English planter, ""the magician oral English teacher, ""speaker of nationalism. " In 2000, Li was listed in the "top ten cutting-edge figures "; in 2002, he was appointed by the World Cup organizing committee of Korea and Japan as "Honorary Special Envoy for the World Cup. " (Line 58-62)

This is then followed by

"李阳并没沉浸在荣誉与鲜花中，他梦想着更辉煌的事业。他向世人透露，他将继续向三亿中国人传播"疯狂英语"快速突破法；在祖国一千个城市和地区举办大规模英语素质教育巡回演讲；在中国贫困地区援建一百所李阳·克立兹国际英语希望小学（目前已援建了十五所）…"

"Li Yang was not immersed in honours and flowers, he dreamed of a more glorious career. He revealed to the world, he will continue to spread to three hundred million Chinese people "Crazy English"; hold a large-scale quality English education tour in the thousand cities and regions of the motherland; build one hundred Li Yang- Pulitzer International English Primary School in poverty-stricken areas in China (15 schools so far)... " (Line 63-67)

This conjunctive listing structure (Fairclough 1995) in which Li's honours are conjoined with the contributions to the country is aimed to create emphasis on the 'expected' and 'more desirable' behaviours described in the second extract. With the use of pronouns in the article, Li's personal achievements are also effectively shifted to collective benefits. The deictic mapping chart (Table 7) shows that the author and Li are first indexed as belonging to different groups. While the author uses first person pronouns to refer to himself throughout, Li is always substituted for with "he", "his", and "him". Finally, the distance between Li and the author as Chinese is diminished by Li Yang himself through the use of pronouns in his final quotes. Li's use of "we" is inclusive of the author, students and people of his generation as in line 75-76. In line 39, he refers to the motherland as "(our) self motherland" and in line 49, he uses "our" to refer to the Chinese athletes. Line 81 is the only instance of Li using "I" to refer solely to himself but it is used only when he places himself in the battle for national interests in a way that conjoins his personal acts with national benefits.

Adding authoritative and 'scientific' 'voices' to the argument, the author cites the letter of a professor in English written to Li. The professor stated that Li not only is helping Chinese people learn foreign language, but also introducing to the world a new scientific method of learning invented in China. The honour Li has received is clearly 'authoritatively' extended to the country, which is also reflected most clearly in the use of "I" in his slogan in relation to the country: "I love the motherland, Rejuvenating the

Chinese nation!" (line 2-3) ("我爱祖国，振兴中华!"). These two sentences entail a cause-result relation. A person's patriotism will rejuvenate the nation.

The government's invitations to teach Beijingers and civil servants mentioned in the article officially recognised Li Yang's efforts and views about English. Li was interviewed by the official Chinese TV channel, ranked the first of "China's top 10 new people" in 2000 and called "Oral English magician", "oral English educator" and "speaker of patriotism". With these personal honours, Li nevertheless extends the honours to the country. While he teaches English, he perceives himself as promoting his ideas of 'never let the motherland down' and of loving the country, party and people which are the conversation topics Li uses to practice English with his students. Under the direction of Li, the students learn English to be patriotic Chinese[50]. The self-prestige he has received is linked to national benefits from him. This is an educating voice eliciting university students and readers to follow.

Furthermore, in the *People's Daily*, there is a tendency for "private events" and incidents that happen to individuals to become newsworthy (Fairclough 1992:276) and public stories through the insertion of the collectivism discourse into the texts. For instance, "Grandma" is written in a 'private voice' from the first person perspective and it even appears on Page 1 of 'News'. In "Motherland" as examined below, the

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[50] Li's (2009) case studies show that learners enrolled in Li Yang's Crazy English have a strong desire for social mobility, better-paid jobs, developing "authentic American pronunciation" and for patriotic reasons (Li 2009:214-215), all of which were perceived as obtainable through the provision of better chances by attaining command of English. Furthermore, the learners reported in Li's study felt good shouting English and the Crazy English course also gave them more self-confidence which in turn changed their self-image. The personalities of learners have been changed by the course in that they have become more positive (Li 2009:218). Under the influence of Li Yang, learners also longed to join the world as "International Chinese" (Li 2009:220). They seem to have more 'cosmopolitan' dreams such as opening a "bookshop where coffee is sold" (Li 2009:220) which can attract locals and tourists. There are indeed personal motivations involved in the learners' imaginations, but it is legitimized by Li Yang who proclaimed publicly that making money is a legitimate goal when combined with patriotism (Li 2009:215). By connecting them to being patriotic Chinese, the personal benefits English learning can bring are legitimated.

'ordinariness' of 'ordinary' individuals whose experiences/stories are also made public is clearly emphasised.

"祖国，我能为你做什么？十五岁，这样问自己；二十五岁，还这样问自己；三十五岁、四十五岁，再这样问自己……有没有这一问，区别可大了。…"
"Motherland, what can I do for you? At 15 years old, ask self the question; at 25, still ask self the question; at 35, 45, ask again…Whether or not the question has been asked does matter. (Line 100-101)

The writer in this case does not indicate clear addressees but only the age range for example, at 15, 25, 35 and 45. From the context of the article, it seems very likely that the writer's query is directed at anyone who is Chinese which can be seen more clearly in another sentence:

"…有了这一问，虽然只是普通的记者，下笔就感到具有千钧分量；虽然只是普通的教师，教室就变成庄严的圣殿；虽然只是普通建筑工人，脚手架就成为有血有肉的脊梁……"
"…The meanings and value of life are related to this. With the question asked, an ordinary reporter will feel energetic when writing; being an ordinary teacher, the classroom will then become a solemn palace; being an ordinary construction worker, the rack will become a supporter……" (Line 101-104)

This excerpt indicates that no matter whether a member of the elite, professional or working class – even though one is ordinary, a person needs to think about giving to the country. As shown in the deictic mapping chart (Table 8), in the first paragraph where the author is 'talking to him/herself', the motherland is the 'addressee', but from the second paragraph where "we" is used by the author, motherland then becomes the 'third person' as the author is talking *about* the motherland. Towards the end of the article, the first person "I" includes both the author and readers, and "you" refers to the motherland as the second person. The word "ordinary", in this regard, serves to connect everyone in Chinese society as one group. In "Motherland", the contrast of ordinary vs.

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extraordinary seems to convey that the contributions ordinary people make to the country can yield extraordinary outcomes as concluded by the very last sentence: *"our hard work will then have extraordinary meanings."* ("我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。", line 122)

The elderly and children living in the Hutongs in "Power of communication" and "American tourists" are also 'cultural representatives' of China. They learn English to show the tourists the passionate, open and improving Chinese. Chinese tourists overseas in articles named "Chinese fever" and "River" play the same role as representing China's image since Chinese culture has gradually captured the world's attention. The educating voices manifest in all the aforementioned articles which show that ordinary people such as grandma, taxi driver, elderly and children are learning English to contribute to the country. Calling for readers to follow, the articles and reports demonstrate that any ordinary people can contribute to the nation.

Chinese culture emphasises sharing the fruits of individual success with the group. The above sentence: *"our hard work will then have extraordinary meanings."* ("我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。", line 122) also indicates a shift from talking about oneself, to talking about the Chinese whole, as also reflected in the use of "we" and "our" in other parts of "Motherland". Collective and individual efforts are reduced to individual actions based in the presumed popular experience of private life.

As also reflected in the article, English benefits and strengthens the country. English teaching and learning is involved in the contribution to the country. Reference to the historical saying "为中华崛起而读书" ("Learning for the rise of Chinese") still applies today and influences a lot of people including those who study English. This not only

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operates within the traditional discourse of learning, but also the long-lasting values of collectivism. A person who is greatly influenced by English, for example, an English teacher, is still dedicated to contributing to the country. In "Motherland" there is still an educating voice promoting intellectual study for the benefit of the country. Building on from the long tradition of imperial examinations, people currently need to learn English well along with other 'modern' knowledge and skills to strengthen the country. As shown in the final paragraph, Chinese people have striven to contribute to national development from even a century ago. A poem written over 100 years ago by a prominent Chinese government official in the Qing dynasty, Lin, is quoted in the "Motherland" article: ("苟利国家生死以，岂因祸福避趋之",*"He who is ready to sacrifice his life for the lightest interest of his country will not consider his fortune or misfortune"*, line 113-114). In 2003 and 2009, Premier Wen Jiabao used the poem on two occasions.

In a speech given in his first press conference as the Premier of the PRC in 2003, Wen quoted classical literature four times in front of several hundreds of Chinese and foreigner journalists in the Great Hall of the People, including the lines from Lin given above. On February 28 2009, Premier Wen went to the Chinese government and Xinhua news agency live Internet studio and communicated with Internet users around the world for two hours. He quoted the same verses. Lin was a patriotic government official who represented the imperial Chinese government in international diplomacy and destroyed opium a century ago (line 112). By mentioning his story, the article calls for contributions to strengthen the country and renounce personal gains. Lin's verses are said to reveal the righteousness of a great man which motivates and inspires later generations. The mention of past humiliations by the West elicits readers' efforts to strengthen the country by arousing their emotions about past history. The continuation

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of Lin's spirit up until the present time shows that the culture of collectivism still remains consolidated.

In "Motherland", there is indeed no mention of individual benefits of learning English. It only mentions doing good "for the family", "for the city" and "for the country" (line 92-93) which became more significant approaching the anniversary of the People's Republic of China when the article was published. The article therefore operates on the prevalent traditional discourse of collectivism, that is, working together towards the good of the country. In "New Generation", the author also connects the success of the new generation with the future and hopes of the country in the article. As noted previously, he mentions Liang Qichao in illustrating his point that intellectual learning has had a long tradition of aiming to benefit the nation. Under the voice of a university student, the use of the personal pronoun "I" is shifted to a "we", "our (country)" and the use of "Chinese people" in her response to a foreign judge who commented: *"In the next 25 years, China will certainly develop at a faster pace. I want to know, what do you think are the things that need to remain unchanged in China? What is very worth cherishing and needs to continue to be carried forward?"* (line 167-169). The deictic mapping table (Table 2) in Appendix 6 illustrates the use of pronouns. By way of building up a dialogical relation with intellectual discourse using pronouns, the personal and collective benefits of learning English are conjoined together.

Operating within the long history of discourses about learning, learning is connected to contributing to the country, and so is English learning. In *People's Daily*, learning English is said to be able to bring benefits, and individual and personal benefits are always extended to include national benefits. Strengthening of the self is strengthening the country. This is compatible with the historical and intellectual views mentioned in

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Chapter Two, and the citizenship education that Feng (2006) discusses. Over generations, Chinese intellectuals have been encouraged to learn with the aim to strengthen and contribute to the country. As Donald (2004) explains, the new generation has affective power and as discussed previously in Chapter One, it is a prevalent Chinese discourse that children and students are symbols of a bright future for China. The connection between the old and young is aimed to evoke the emotions of readers and project a prosperous future through depicting the harmonious relationships across generations. Using the examples of student and children, *People's Daily* shows that the new Chinese generation who speak English and preserve their own traditions can empower the country. Previous examples including "Li Yang", "Power of communication" and "New Generation" feature 'high school students', 'children', 'university students, and 'young Chinese people' in the texts. Emphasis has also been placed on 'Chinese characteristics' including 'passion', 'open', 'self-confident', and 'smart'. The symbolic values of mentioning the young generation and their attributes are utilised in the meaning-making of Chinese identity.

In appropriating English, as this chapter has demonstrated, the attributes of Chinese culture are defined and displayed. The Chinese discourses of role model, culture of learning and collectivism and national development influence the practice of learning English (Foucault 1972). They are the distinguishing or "psychologically salient" features that can differentiate Chinese people in comparisons with the Other (Tajfel 1978:66). In the official discourse about Chinese identity discussed in Chapter One, the language that represents China is the national language, Putonghua. This is another category identified in *People's Daily* which is illustrated in the next section.

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4.3.3 Putonghua and Chinese identity

As the discussion thus far has illustrated, "Chinese fever", "River" and "American tourist" show the Chinese language itself as a 'selling point' of Chinese culture. They attribute the Chinese fever overseas to the charm, uniqueness and attractiveness of Chinese culture and to the peaceful development of China. The number of foreigners learning Chinese both in and outside China is increasing as pointed out in Chapter One. To further illustrate the roles of the standard Chinese language (known as Putonghua) in the official discourse of China, the article entitled "Changing sound of the hometown" is analysed.

The article shows that, together with English, Chinese language can contribute to the modernisation of the country, especially of the rural areas that are still relatively underdeveloped. As it appears, modern Chinese and English provide capital for economic growth. People who leave their hometowns to work in coastal cities return home, bringing with them "全是新语、新词、新口音、新观念、新思维" *("the new language, new words, new accents, new ideas, new thinking",* line 428-429). The new languages, new words and new accents include "Beijing accent", "Cantonese" and "English" (line 422-423) echoing the discourses of 'new+old' or 'tradition and modernity' and national development. These languages and accents contribute to the improvement of the people as well as the hometown by facilitating the emergence of "new ideas", "new thoughts", "new tactics" (line 429-430), and therefore modernisation. As a contrast, the out-datedness of the obsession with native dialect and old living style is emphasised by the use of "in the 60s of the last century" ("上世纪 6 0 年代") to refer to the 1960s. This renders the native dialect and old living style undesirable. In this case, the 1960s, a period of internal political and cultural unrests, is implicitly denounced.

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Even though history is utilised to make sense of Chinese people's behaviours in today's China, the past is not always desirable.

Notably, in "Changing sound of the hometown", the dialect itself is blamed for its changes and fusion with other languages. This is seen in paragraph 5:

> *"然而，近几年我回乡探家，强烈地感觉到乡音也在改革的大潮中嬗变了。变得不再固步自封，不再坚守清纯。它被越来越多的异乡异域之音渗透、融合，形成了杂交的语系。最早融进乡音的是京腔、粤语和英语。"*
> *"However, when I returned home in recent years to visit my family, I felt very deeply about the 'hometown language' which was changing with the tide of reform. It no longer stands still and stays protected, no longer guards its purity. It is becoming more exotic with the penetration and fusion of foreign languages and accents of different places and region, and turning into a hybrid language. Melt into the local accent is firstly the Beijing accent, then Cantonese and English."* (Line 419-423)

The personification of dialect draws the responsibility for the language mixing and change to the dialect itself which is stressed by the two parallel sentences where "it" refers to the dialect:

> *"变得不再固步自封，不再坚守清纯。"*
> *"It no longer stands still and stays protected, no longer guards its purity."* (Line 420-421)

As an inanimate object, dialect cannot stay protected against other languages by itself, but through the use of personification in the article, it is made animate and responsible. It is given human attributes and is described as if it is not sufficiently strong and fails to protect itself from the penetration of exotic languages. The delay in mentioning Beijing accent, Cantonese and English in the same sentence lessens their effects and thus their responsibility for the mixing. Rather implicitly "Changing sound of the hometown" denies the hometown dialect as a culture and acknowledges these new dialects and

languages as beneficial for hometown development. While dialect used to stand for one's origin, ancestor and 'foundation' as Chapter One has shown, "accents from the south and north" were not valued. As the article indicates, when the author greeted his childhood friend Qiang in the dialect as a sign of solidarity, Qiang refused to speak it to the author and stated that "老同学，你当了这么多年官，说话还是这么土冒，没人笑你耍官腔呀！..." ("*Old schoolmate, you have been a government official for so many years, but still speak in an old-fashioned way, no one would laugh at you playing bureaucrat...*", line 440-441). Local dialects are strongly affiliated with one's hometowns and ancestors in the Chinese society. In the past, Putonghua was considered a bureaucratic language spoken by people with high status or government officials, but it is now portrayed as a common language that supersedes local dialects and expresses the sense of belonging to one China. The word "old-fashioned" as it is used in the text fits in the discourse of standard language ideology and image planning of Putonghua discussed in Chapter One.

The author first implicitly judges "accents of the south and north" as undesirable but at the end of the article, realising the positive impacts of the languages on the development of the hometown, he seems to have relaxed some of his feelings about keeping the dialect. This not only is seen in the word choice, but also construed relative to the knowledge of China, namely, the knowledge of the meanings of 'reform and opening up' (which is associated with the changes to the dialect), and the favourable combination of 'old + new' as seen in "the rising of a new hometown on the ancient land" in line 463. The author being "ashamed" of the hometown dialect also indicates acceptance of new languages and accents, and the word "evolvement" used to refer to the changes of people's thoughts also denotes a sense of 'becoming better and more mature'. The author's feeling of 'shame' can also be attributed to his feeling of

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inadequate learning. According to Li (2002), when Chinese people are ashamed, it is usually because they cannot face up to their families due to their inadequacy in learning. Taken together, the author feels ashamed upon his realisation of the changes his hometown, the basis of his family, has undergone. The Chinese culture of learning holds the author responsible for his poor erudition.

The article makes use of the local coherence of its structure, that is, the juxtaposition of ideas throughout the paragraphs to illustrate the status of dialect in villagers' relationships in the past and the present, and the break is very clearly presented. The first three paragraphs describe the situations when people did not speak 'pure' dialect, and the association of dialect with the hometown and 'villagers' as relatives. From paragraph four onwards, the present situation is described, illustrating the changes occurring in the hometown and the dialect as a result of 'reform and opening up'. Once a sign of familiarity and affiliation in the past, the dialect has now been ascribed the attribute of 'old-fashioned' distancing the villagers:

Paragraph 2:

"…无论在天涯还是在塞外，在金陵还是在羊城，在桂林山水边还是在五指山下，不但没有丢生一口乡音，而且每当听到熟悉的乡音，亲切得怀疑自己是不是回到了故乡，总把乡音当乡亲。有时还情不自禁、"厚颜有耻"地主动朝着乡音走去，搭讪、攀谈，居然无一拒绝，聊上一阵就貌似知心朋友。"

"…regardless of whether I was in the border or beyond the Great Wall, or in Guangzhou or in Nanjing, in Guilin or buried beneath a mountain side, not only did I not lose my accent, but every time when I heard the familiar accent, I suspected whether I was back home, regarding the accent as my relatives. Sometimes, without shame, I took the initiative to approach and chat with people with the accent. No one had ever actually refused to talk, only for a while, we felt like we were intimate friends." (Line 408-413)

Paragraph 8-9:

"我为了表示对他的亲热和自己"没忘本"，就主动上前打招呼："强妹子，你这个鬼崽子，30多年没见面，你还像红花伢子一样呀！"他愣了一下，立马认

出是我来，却说着一口标准普通话："老同学，你当了这么多年官，说话还是这么土冒，没人笑你耍官腔呀！禀报你吧，我现在是个不大不小的董事长，外国人叫我张先生，乡亲们叫我张老板，公司里叫我张总裁。我们公司正准备申请上市哩——"我们正说着话，突然有辆桑塔纳"嘎"地一声停在他身边。强妹子——不，强董事长连忙双手合在胸前朝我鞠了一躬："对不起，公司有急事先走了，明晚为你设宴洗尘。"说着一溜烟就走了。"

"I wished to express [my] affection and "sense of belonging" to him, and so I took the initiative to say hello (in the local dialect): "Qiang sister, you son of the X, it's been 30 years since I last met you but you still look like a kid" He was shocked for a moment, and then recognised me right away, but he spoke in fluent Mandarin: "Old schoolmate, you have been a government official for so many years, but still speak in an old-fashioned way, no one would laugh at you playing bureaucrat! I report to you, I am now sort of a Chairman, foreigners call me Mr. Zhang, folks call me boss Zhang, in the company, they call me Chairman Zhang. We are preparing to apply to be listed on the stock market. -" While we were talking, a Santana suddenly stopped beside him. Qiang sister - no, Chairman Zhang quickly bowed toward me with his hands held in the chest: "I'm sorry, there is an urgency in the company so [I] have to go. [I] will host a banquet to welcome you home tomorrow." Then [he] left in a flash." (Line 437-447)

Paragraph 2 and paragraph 8 echo each other, showing the symbolic value of the dialect in the past and current period. While the dialect used to be an ingroup identity marker that brought people together, the distancing relationship dialect makes today is strongly expressed by the way Qiang's leaving is described - *"he left in a flash"* - after his comment on the author's use of dialect. In the article, the juxtaposition of dialect, Mandarin (Putonghua) and English exemplifies the relative status of the three languages/dialects. While dialect is not welcomed, Mandarin is used for work, in daily life and as an identity symbol and English is for international communication (with "foreigners" in the case of "Mr Qiang" in line 442) and acquiring new knowledge and skills. There seem to be clear-cut functions, but at the same time, the higher value of Putonghua and English is expressed. The "local coherence" chain (van Dijk 1985:128), that is, the juxtaposition between "Beijing tone", "Cantonese" and "English" in line 423, "sound of the hometown with Cantonese accent" in line 424, "Canton flavour" and "Hong Kong flavour" in line 426 with "new language", "new words" and "new accents" in line 428-429 explains this preferable 'development' of languages. Although up to the

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point of line 436, it is still unclear whether this new 'development' of languages is favourable, the local and global coherence of these lines mentioned and the last paragraph confirms the positive evaluation of the 'new' languages.

Regarding Chinese identity, as the analysis of the local coherence of the article reveals, there is a shift from saving face and close family relations, which are Confucian ideals, to disrespect and impoliteness. This is reflected in the following two sets of excerpts:

'Face'

Paragraph 1:

"上世纪６０年代我们村有个在外地工作３年的青年回乡探亲，与乡亲们扯谈时，偶尔冒出几句"官腔"（故乡人把普通话称作"官腔"），乡亲们都在背后指责他是"出了几天门，就忘记了老祖宗，不知道自己是喝啥地方的水长大的"。"
"In the 60s of the last century, a teenager in our village who had worked for 3 years away from home returned to visit relatives. When he spoke with the villagers, he occasionally used a few sentences of the "bureaucratic" language (hometown people referred to Mandarin as "bureaucratic"), the relatives accused him at his back "only away for a few days and already forgot his ancestors and the water he drank came from."" (Line 403-407)

Paragraph 8:

"我为了表示对他的亲热和自己"没忘本"，就主动上前打招呼："强妹子，你这个鬼崽子，３０多年没见面，你还像红花伢子一样呀！"他愣了一下，立马认出是我来，却说着一口标准普通话："老同学，你当了这么多年官，说话还是这么土冒，没人笑你耍官腔呀！"
"I wished to express [my] affection and "sense of belonging" to him, and so I took the initiative to say hello (in the local dialect): "Qiang sister, you son of the X, it's been 30 years since I last met you but you still look like a kid" He was shocked for a moment, and then recognised me right away, but he spoke in fluent Mandarin: "old schoolmate, you have been a government official for so many years, but still speak in an old-fashioned way, no one would laugh at you playing bureaucrat!" (Line 437-441)

These two paragraphs present the differences in 'face' between the past and current period. While the relatives accused people behind their back in the past, Chiang

comments directly to the author's face on his use of dialect as "old-fashioned" at the present time.

'Family relations'

Paragraph 3:

"记得我第一次回家探亲时，乡亲们见我还是一口原汁原味的家乡话，无不竖起大拇指："国良这伢子，出门这么多年，家乡的话一点都没改，跟过去一样实在，有出息！""

"[I] remember when I first went home to visit relative, villagers all had [their] thumbs up when [they] heard me still speak an authentic native dialect: "This Guoliang has left for so many years but still has not changed his hometown dialect. [It's] still as good as [it] was in the past, excellent! "" (Line 416-418)

Paragraph 10-12:

"强妹子的妹妹小名叫菊伢子，在家时是个跟男孩子说话都怕羞的姑娘。大学毕业后去深圳打了几年工，变魔术似地弄回了一个养殖公司，当起了老板。还搞什么资产重组、资源优化组合，把村办企业也"吃"掉了。

她伯父原在村办企业当头，现在没官做了，请求她安排在公司里吃碗松活饭，她却通知他去饲料加工厂当工人，把伯父气得直骂娘。她两手一摊，很硬气地说："这是董事会的决定，我没法搞掂。"

接着，她把眼镜一摘，耐着性子给伯父解释："如果把一个现代化企业搞成了家族式的体制，家长制的管理，就无法严格遵守制度，提高经济效益了。你有困难，可以向我申请救济。你不服从分配，只好请你走人。"后来，她伯父还是乖乖地上班去了，只是偶尔发几句牢骚。"

"The little sister of Qiang is named Daisy. At home she was a shy girl when talking with boys. After graduation, she went to work in Shenzhen for a few years. Like playing magic, she started an aquaculture company and became a boss. What was more is she also engaged in the reorganization of assets and resources, and 'ate out' the village-run enterprises.

Her uncle originally was a leader of the village enterprises. He lost his job and begged her to give him a job, but she asked him to be a worker in the breeding company which made the uncle very angry. She insisted as if she had no decision-making power: "This is the board's decision, I cannot fix it up."

Then she took off her glasses and explained patiently to the uncle: "If a modern enterprise becomes a family business and patriarchal system of management, the economic efficiency of the company cannot be improved. If you have difficulty, you can report and apply for aid. But if you do not obey, I have to ask you to leave." Her uncle

still obediently went to work, with only a few occasional complaints." (Line 449-460)

Not only have villagers' relationships changed, the article also indicates a change in the upholding of family values and respect for seniors. As seen above, the relations between Qiang's sister and her uncle are now multifaceted. Being the boss, Qiang's sister asks her uncle to either follow the company's policy or to resign. The change in economic activity and structure is accompanied by changes in family values and supersedes family relationships. *People's Daily* has to admit to disharmony within (extended) family and a village that arises in responses to increasing development and reform.

In "Changing sound of the hometown", pronouns are also effectively used to indicate relationships, some of which have a very high frequency as shown below.

Keywords	Frequency
I (Chinese)	14
sound of the hometown	12
new (language, words, accents, ideas, thinking, tactics)	9
me (Chinese)	9
relatives	7
"away from home" (different forms: 'waidi' 外地, 'leave home' 出门, and 'different hometowns and regions'异乡异域)	6
go home 回家 回乡	5
you (object)	5
you (subject)	5
him	5
hometown dialect	4
reform (and) opening up	4
Lao (solidarity term)	4
she (Qiang's sister)	4
he (Chinese)	4

As seen in the above table as well as the deictic mapping chart (Table 9), the article uses relatively more third person pronouns including "he", and "she". With the highest

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frequency, the first person pronoun "I" is used by the author throughout to report his visit and experience in his hometown. The use of third person pronouns increases when the author starts to introduce Qiang and his sister. When the author first meets Qiang after many years of separation, he speaks in the hometown dialect to Qiang who replies in Mandarin (line 437-441). The identity and group distinctions become obvious as Qiang uses "you" (line 440-442, 446) to address the author and "I" and "me" to position himself (line 442-443). Furthermore, Qiang also positions himself together with his business with "our company", indicating the significance of the economic changes for his identification. To refer to Qiang, the author and Comrade Zhang also use "him" and "he" (line 439, 448), after finding out that he is no longer affiliated with the hometown dialect. At one point, the author creates an in-group relation with Qiang in line 431 with "our" as in "our hometown". This "our" is inclusive of Qiang. In line 444 with "we", the in-group relation is also created between the author and Qiang, but when Qiang's sister stops by to pick up Qiang as in line 444, the in-group marker is eliminated and the marking of group distinctions resumes in line 447. This symbolically represents the distant relationship the new economy, language and ideas have created.

Comrade Zhang is depicted as belonging to the same 'group' as the author. This not only is indicated by the author's use of the solidarity address term "Comrade", but also by Zhang's use of "him" in line 448 to refer to Qiang. Comrade Zhang and the author are talking *about* Qiang and her sister as "he" and "she". The author uses "she" and "her" to position Qiang's sister (line 453-460), and the direct quotes from Qiang's sister also show her own distancing from the uncle ("I" and "me" as opposed to "you", line 455, 458 and 459). As demonstrated in this article, people in the villages and those who have left the hometown and progressed in the new economy are represented as two differential groups.

Interestingly, as also indicated in the above table, places outside of the hometown are referred to with different synonyms including "away from home" ("外地", line 404), and "different places and different regions" ("异乡异域", line 422), as opposed to "home" as in "went home" ("回家", line 416). The following excerpt makes explicit the 'home' and 'not-home' (Shenzhen) distinction:

Paragraph 10:

"强妹子的妹妹小名叫菊伢子，**在家**时是个跟男孩子说话都怕羞的姑娘。大学毕业后去**深圳**打了几年工，变魔术似地弄回了一个养殖公司，当起了老板。还搞什么资产重组、资源优化组合，把村办企业也"吃"掉了。"
*"The little sister of Qiang is named Daisy. **At home** she was a shy girl when talking with boys. After graduation, she went to work in **Shenzhen** for a few years. Like playing magic, she started an aquaculture company and became a boss. What was more is she also engaged in the reorganization of assets and resources, and 'ate out' the village-run enterprises."* (Line 449-452)

These different places and regions away from home are actually also within China, but they are considered as 'not-home'. The languages or accents of these different places are also described as exotic. This indicates that people indeed identify their city/town/village of origin as 'home', and this 'home' has its own characteristics and language.

This "Changing sound of the hometown" article indeed raises a number of issues regarding Chinese identity. If one's dialect, as the article first claimed, is one's cultural and identity foundation associated with ancestors, then what does the change imply? What then has become the foundation of Chinese identity? That is, what are the essences of 'ti'? The texts in the newspaper are constituted by elements of discourses of Putonghua as symbolic power. The ambivalence Chinese dialect speakers have

encountered is made use of and represented in the news article, but this ambivalence drawn upon from the "lifeworld" is in the end resolved by the writer's recognition of the need for new languages. There is a merging of public discourse about dialect as an identity marker and official discourse about Putonghua as the 'mother tongue' and symbolic capital. The merging results in a view that 'standard' Putonghua is more valued while minority languages are discouraged and gradually fade out due to modernisation.

Through the global coherence of the article that connects the local coherence with the concluding paragraph, the distancing of relationships that dialect makes, changing family relations and changing harmony ideals are referred to as the features characterising the new hometown. These go against Chinese culture and values – Confucian ideals – the society has been promoting.

In the encounter of globalisation, closer international relations, increasing contacts with foreigners and the desire and need to let foreigners know about China, Chinese people are forced to position themselves towards Chinese language and culture and to rethink what Chinese culture and identity mean. But what is Chinese culture and what is Chinese identity? As discussed in previous chapters, one's identity is defined in relation to others. This seems to be the case for the official views of Chinese identity as the analysis of *People's Daily* has shown. Chinese culture and identity can be defined in the encounters with foreigners when cultural identity becomes manifest as a result of cultural comparisons. For foreign tourists, the 'selling point' of Chinese culture is the craftworks and tribal arts of tribal towns and villages, which are also the source of income for village people as discussed in the "Grandma" example. Foreign tourists are interested in scenic spots such as the Great Wall, and traditional arts such as calligraphy,

traditional dance (American tourist - Mike), traditional Chinese food (Power of communication; Chinese fever), Peking opera, Wushu (Chinese fever) and costumes (New Generation). The articles also raise people's awareness of traditional buildings and streets that are very commonly taken for granted by Chinese people, but are of great cultural value such as Hutongs and Siheyuan (Power of communication; American tourist - Mike).

Apart from the tangible elements of culture, some traditional Chinese cultural values are also promoted and reinforced in the face of globalisation. One dominant idea is Collectivism. The educating voices of role model learners, learning for collective benefits, and contributing to the country are traces of the prevalent influences of Collectivism. The influences of Confucianism also become obvious in the utilisation of 'respect for elders', and 'loving oneself is loving one's country' (Grandma; Power of communication; Home country).

In "Taxi driver", the 'discovery' of the ancient bridge has a resonating function for Chinese readers. The bridge is described as "刚刚出土" (line 395-396: "had just been unearthed"), which indicates that even in this modern era, Chinese culture not only is preserved, but also constantly anew for Chinese themselves. The contrast of the freeway and the 700-year-old bridge is a combination of the 'new+old' nature of development and modernisation in the Chinese discourses. The educating voices of the themes identified and illustrated to some extent are influenced by and thus built out of the language (and cultural) ideology of China that Chapter One has discussed. Putonghua (Mandarin) is the official language of China. It not only is promoted as the 'standard language' of the country and the lingua franca among different ethnic minorities, but also as the 'mother tongue' of Chinese.

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"Changing sound of the hometown" demonstrates that Putonghua is perceived as a more preferred language than dialect. This idea is symbolically recognised by its appearance in the national newspaper. Both Putonghua and the local dialect have been praised as 'intimate' and 'familiar' but, for the local dialect, the descriptions become more negative towards the end of the article: ashamed, old-fashioned, no longer pure. Although it is affiliated with the hometown, dialect is considered backward even in the hometown. It changes with the tide of reform, and is no longer 'useful'. The relative status and functions of dialect, Putonghua and English can also be found in other articles not analysed in this thesis. The unwelcoming attitudes towards dialect are conveyed through the adjectives used to describe them as opposed to Putonghua and English such as "old-fashioned" and "low quality". One example found in *People's Daily* is the use of Shanghainese in Shanghai. The use of Shanghainese in railway broadcasts is seen as hindrance to the promotion of Putonghua, and is said to be "of low quality" (Li 2007).

On the contrary, Putonghua is associated with new development, and is positively portrayed and described: beautiful, new, standard, resonant. Its use is broad-ranging, and representative of China. Connected with Putonghua is the issue of Chinese-English translation and interpretation. The broadcast over the Seine River in Paris, Chinese fever and the interpreting ability of Li Yang from English to Chinese and Chinese to English all illustrate the 'usefulness' and importance of Putonghua which has high symbolic values associated with economic and social development. Putonghua has high symbolic values because it is constantly associated with reforms, development as well as the identity of the Chinese whole. Relations with 'reform and opening up' appear to make any activity/action 'legitimate' within the institutional 'voices' of English. The

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incorporation of the Chinese voice of modernisation and national development into the current discourse about English creates a new hybrid discourse about English that legitimises and thus encourages English learning to contribute to "national prosperity". This incorporation is sometimes achieved through global coherence as in the last few sentences of "Changing sound of the hometown" that conclude about the learning of new languages and new ideas:

"面对我曾经引以自豪的至今未改的乡音，此刻我却有了丝丝惭愧。我低估了改革开放的神奇力量，我漠视了改革大潮中家乡人民思想观念的进化。
而从乡音的嬗变中，我看到了古老土地上一个新故乡的崛起。"
"I used to feel proud of [my] ability to keep [my] local accent. But at this moment, I feel ashamed. I underestimated the magical power of the reform, and I overlooked the evolvement of the thinking of [my] hometown fellows in the tides of reform.
From the changes of the local accent, I can see the rising of a new hometown on the ancient land." (Line 460-463)

In "Motherland", the global coherence between English learning in the middle of the text and 'reform and opening up' in the conclusion below is also made:

"朋友们，我们为中国数千年灿烂文化而骄傲，为改革开放发生的巨大变化而自豪。每当国庆节的时候，都禁不住问自己：祖国，我能为你做什么？只要时常这样提醒自己，我们的生活将因此而充实，我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。"
"Friends, we are proud of the thousands of years of cultural richness of Chinese, [we] take pride in the enormous changes the open door policy has brought. On every nation's birthday, one cannot help asking oneself: "motherland, what can I do for you?" If [we] keep asking and reminding ourselves, our life will be more enriched. Our hard work will then have extraordinary meanings." (Line 119-122)

The 'standard language' of China is promoted as a symbol of Chinese identity which is also reflected in the descriptions of Chinese language experience of foreigners as in "American tourist" and "Chinese fever": write Chinese words, hear Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, learn Chinese, use Chinese, have a glimpse of Chinese culture, admire more Chinese language and culture.

To project to the outside world a strong Chinese identity, a standard 'mother tongue' and unified identity is emphasised; but the 'mother tongue' ideology exerts some influences on Chinese people. Putonghua clearly represents Chinese ethnicity ('ti'). The promotion of Confucius Institutes abroad and the two-way learning of English and teaching of Chinese of Chinese people rank highly in reporting in international news pages. This is as if language and cultural exchange is a form of diplomacy. China is aware of the rising status of Mandarin Chinese overseas as a result of the rising economic and international status of China. Mandarin Chinese is said to be able to display Chinese culture and facilitate communication and exchange, and Chinese can be heard among the many world languages.

As is prescribed in the official discourse, there seems to be an existence of "independent self" but this "independent self" is embedded and attached to the "interdependent selves" (Markus and Kitayama 1991:226). In learning English, Chinese people seem to be able to shift from "independent self" to "interdependent selves" (Hong et al. 2001) operating within the discourse about joint individual and national development. When they learn English for self-benefits, the individual identity evoked is always tied to the 'collective Chinese identity'. The 'ti' in this regard is community-oriented and constitutive of many 'small individual selves'.

4.4 Concluding remarks

Through an analysis of a selection of *People's Daily* articles about English, the official Chinese perceptions of itself and the Other have been explored in this chapter. These perceptions are embedded within the discourses about English and globalisation and

Chinese cultural discourses. In the official discourses, English is symbolic of a new generation and new image of Chinese people. Knowledge of English, on a par with international business and other 'modern skills', is a characteristic of the new generation. It is well-integrated into Chinese society and appropriated to the interest of the country through the combination of traditional Chinese discourses and English education (Canagarajah 2006). As the analysis has demonstrated, the current discourses about English in China are embedded within the existing Chinese mediatic discourse patterns including the discourses of role model, learning, and collectivism and national development. English, in this case, is used to reflect local Chinese themes that are already common in the local context and, at the same time, is appropriated to refashion a new 'modern' Chinese identity (Pennycook 2010).

Having been re-accentuated by these Chinese discourses, English is a means by which personal benefits are obtained and elevated to collective benefits. The group identity constructed by the collectivism discourse is imposed upon the discourse of English through the reworking of the history associated with the language. It in turn constructs the subject positions Chinese people are placed in learning English. Together with traditions, the history associated with English in China is utilised to make sense of the present intentions to learn and popularise the language. The reworking of the past discourses about English and foreigners is aimed to shape the current attitudes and practices of learning English. The need for this reworking and reaccentuation illustrates the role the 'ti-yong' principle still currently plays in English education in China.

As examined in this chapter, the roles of English can be realised within the context of 'reform and opening up' which is considered a 'Chinese' way of 'walking towards' globalisation and towards being a part of the global community. With 'reform and

opening up', not only is the ownership of English claimed, but also that of globalisation. The mitigation of the power of English is achieved by claiming agency in globalisation and the advocacy of two-way language and cultural exchange, that is, learning English and teaching Chinese or teaching English and learning Chinese. This direction of 'modernisation with Chinese characteristics' is an identifier of China's global community membership.

A dialectical/dialogical relationship between China and the global community, which can be treated as a counter-discourse to the dominance of English, is desirable. How China perceives globalisation has influenced its perceptions of English. It is the discourses about globalisation that lead to those about English identified in the current study. The study of the "intertextual chains" of English, globalisation and Chinese identity is one way of gaining insight into social structuring and perceptions of the world (Fairclough 1992:288). The way in which Chinese people receive English and China integrates into the global community is thus revealing their past and projecting into the future. The current texts about English, the Other and globalisation of China are inserted into Chinese history which are then "reworked and reaccentuated" (Bakhtin 1986:89) in future subsequent texts. This production and reproduction of old and new 'voices' is illustrated in the figure below.

Historical discourses about English

Discourses about Chinese culture, language, traditions and identity e.g. "lifeworld discourses"

English

Historical discourses about China's relations with the Other

Globalisation discourse
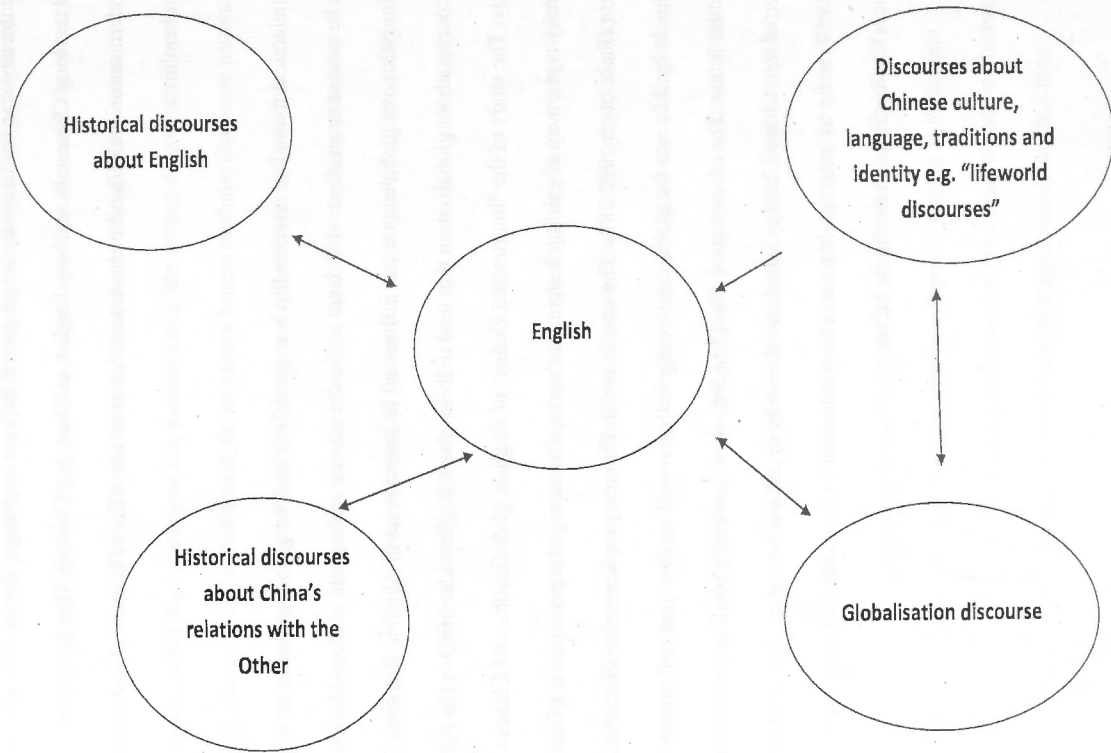
The three types of discourses as shown in the figure are the components/voices found relating to the discourses about English in China. The production and reproduction of discourses is indicated by the two-way pointed arrows. The new voices of English are shaped by the previous discourses about the language but also produce future subsequent voices. This also applies to the discourses about China's relation with the Other. As the figure shows, the "lifeworld discourses" about Chinese culture and identity are involved in the current "orders of discourse" (Foucault 1984:23) that govern the attitudes and practices of learning English. Chinese culture is emphasised in the networks of official discourses about English.

In China, the status of English is realised in relation to Putonghua (Mandarin) and that of Mandarin in relation to other dialects. The legitimacy and power of the two dominant languages as "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu 1991:70) in the society manifests in similar "markets" (Bourdieu 1991:58) such as education (as characterised by the minority and majority streams of bilingual education) and job markets. China perceives as successful its 'acquisition' of English and it now aims to spread Chinese in the world. Its past international relations with the West and the historical associations of English have created the ideologies associated with English by which China and Chinese people live and act. The relative symbolic status of English and Chinese represents the wider relations of power between foreigners and Chinese. In a sense, China now conceives itself as having the two desirable languages of the world. In accepting English, the Chinese language is promoted to the world to create an equal relationship between China and the world.

The analysis of the *People's Daily* articles has also revealed two facets of Chinese identity, namely, 'mainstream pure Chinese' and 'global citizen', which are in line with

Orton's (2009a) 'pure Chinese and international' but more revealing of the natures of 'pure Chinese' and 'global'. Chinese do 'being Chinese' (as in "do 'being European'" in Cramer 2010:633) still through making the clear 'us' and 'them', 'we' and 'they' as well as 'ti' and 'yong' distinctions. The analysis of pronominal use in the newspaper articles has shown that the Chinese sense of distinction from foreigners and the world is salient but there is also a sense of being a part of the global community as English adds 'new', 'modern' 'open' and 'global' elements to 'being Chinese' ('ti'). In learning English, Chinese people still keep intact the Chinese identity, one that is historically constructed; but Chinese identity, as this study has demonstrated, is also more complicated than a simple 'us' and the internal complexities of the very nature of being Chinese are visible. As a national identity marker, Putonghua undermines other local dialects that are strongly affiliated with one's hometown or local identity.

One of the aims of this thesis, as mentioned previously, is to investigate and compare the popular and official discourses about English. In the next chapter, drawing from the results of the interviews conducted in Beijing, the perceptions of English of university and high school students, teachers and parents are presented and examined.

Chapter Five

"Chinese people know more about themselves, so [they] have awakened":
popular discourses about English and 'being Chinese' and a
comparison with the official discourses

Using English as a window into what it means to 'be Chinese' today, this chapter
discusses the results of Phase Two interviews conducted following the Q sort
questionnaires (as Phase One of the interviews, the results of which are presented and
discussed in Appendix 2). The results of the Q sort questionnaires revealed the existing
discourses about English. The diversity of these discourses reflects the multiple voices
and subjectivities associated with English that have developed among Chinese
respondents. In contrast to the 'standard' view of English as a universal modern skill,
these popular discourses have demonstrated that there is not a coherent 'standard' view
of English among the public[51]. This chapter illustrates and discusses these 'non-
standard' views and the ways in which English learning influences 'being Chinese' in
popular discourse. It focuses on the voices that represent different discourses about
English and Chinese identity existing in the Chinese society. To address the research
questions of the differences between the official and popular discourses, this chapter is
divided into two main sections, namely, the similarities and differences between the
official and popular discourses.

Within the framework of frame-shifting of cross-cultural psychology, each question in
the interviews is set up to frame the 'self' for the participants. Below is an outline of
what each question aims to achieve:

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[51] The names of the discourses derived highlight the public views on English. For a detailed narrative or beliefs that
characterise the particular discourses, see Appendix 2.

Question	Aim	Question
Q1	Function as a starting point	"Do you think it is essential to learn English?"
Q2	Not define or frame the 'self'	"Why or why not?"
Q3	Define self as a Chinese	"What is the role of English for yourself as a Chinese?"
Q4	Define the participants' self as part of the Chinese whole	"What is the role of English for the country?"
Q5	Investigate whether there are personal or intrinsic reasons to learn English ('individual self')	"Do you like learning English? and why?"
Q6	Test the significance of the 'collective self'	"Do you think all Chinese people should learn English? and why?"
Q7	Investigate how interviewees frame themselves when the country is raised	"Do you think there are any impacts of English on the country? if so, what impacts or changes?"
Q8	Investigate views on mother tongue relative to English, using English as a window into what mother tongue is for Chinese people	"Which one is more important, mother tongue or English? and why?"
Q9 and Q10	Reveal more the relative status of Chinese and English language and culture	Q9: "Do you think English learning has affected the mother tongue? if so, in what ways?" Q10: "Does English learning affect traditional Chinese culture? if so, in what ways?"
Q11	Test the desire to learn western culture	"In order to learn English well, do you think it is essential to learn the culture associated with the language? and why?"

As Kramsch (2009) states, keywords reveal the embodied dimensions of language learning experience. In particular to the Chinese language, as mentioned in Chapter One, meanings are primarily conveyed through words. The keywords used in the interview responses of the high school and university students, teachers and parents to each of the 11 questions were recorded and attached as Appendix 4. Using grounded theory methodology, coding of ideas in the interviews was completed to derive categories and their sub-categories. These categories identified are taken as discourses

about English and Chinese identity which are then interpreted within a Critical Discourse Analysis framework.

For discussion in this chapter, some focal participants are chosen from each participant group. Excerpts of interviews are presented and discussed to illustrate the common discourses identified as well as the differences between the official and popular discourses. Each section of these interview data is introduced by a summative statement, followed by presentation of these data and a reflective commentary from the researcher. At the end of each section, conclusions are then drawn to bring together the key issues reflected in the interviews.

5.1 Popular discourses: similarities with official discourses

As illustrated in Chapter Four, the official discourse portrays an active agent role of Chinese people who offer their own voices about English, in English. Their voices reflect the agency they claim to speak English as well as in interactions with foreigners. The official discourse about the Chinese people in relation to the world is influenced by the official discourses about history, national development and globalisation as a two-way exchange. The Chinese identity as portrayed in these official discourses is assumed to remain intact and to be 'pure Chinese' and 'International' (Orton 2009a). There also seems to be an 'independent self' involved in learning English but this 'independent self' is embedded and attached to the 'interdependent self'.

As the analysis of interviews has revealed, the participants also draw on the official discourses about history, national development and globalisation in making sense of the roles of English. They are found to have developed an individual/personal identity that

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seems to branch out from the collective and interdependent Chinese self. In relation to the world, their perceptions about English have also indicated the development of their global identity. This all is consistent with the official discourse about English and the co-existence of Chinese and global identities. The following section illustrates how the popular discourses about Chinese identity and the world are consistent with the official discourses.

5.1.1 "My future job will require more English. I also think that in Beijing such a big metropolis, many people, the people encountered, can speak English": development of a Chinese *plus* global identity

According to cross-cultural psychologists as discussed in Chapter Two, biculturals are able to shift between different facets of their identities as cued by culturally-specific frames (Hong et al. 2000). In various situations, frames are the "structures of expectations about situations" that provide a guideline for individuals to act (Tannen 1993:21). For instance, if participants are placed within a frame that defines their selves as a Chinese in relation to the collective Chinese whole and in relation to the world, they will then supposedly respond within the 'collective Chinese footing'. This is based on the hypothesis of cross-cultural psychologists that strong identification with a group will lead to perceptions and behaviours that are consistent with the particular identity and the appropriate values and norms defining it. In the interviews, while Q1 serves as a starting question, the significance of the different 'selves' within different 'frames' for the interviewees can be most illustrated over the course of answering the 11 questions, especially Q2 to Q4.

Focusing on the perceptions consistent with the official discourse, this section aims to show how the four groups of participants perceive Chinese identity and their relations with the world through the issue of English learning as a window. It particularly investigates the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle among the participants.

High school students

As the interviews have shown, English has further highlighted Chinese identity in relation to the outside world and led to the rise of a global identity among the high school student participants. From the responses to Q2 to Q4 about the necessity and roles of English, the keywords with the highest frequency in Q2 include 'communication' ('交流'), 'understand' ('了解'), 'they' ('他们') and 'the world' ('世界'). The keywords in Q3 include 'tool' ('工具') and 'communication' ('交流'), and those in Q4 were 'the world' ('世界') and 'communication' ('交流'). The range of keywords demonstrates that for some high school students, English is a common language and communication tool of the world which can also broaden Chinese people's horizons. Students also learn English for exams, job/promotion, employment in multinational corporations, further study, personal interest, and to read world famous literature. English learning, from the high school students' perspectives, also enhances 'suzhi', helps acquisition of advanced technology from the West and "walking towards" the world.

In responding to Q2 which allowed the students to define the 'frame of reference' themselves, high school students generally still tended to mark the distinct group memberships of themselves and 'foreigners' (and 'the West'). On the other hand, they were also aware of the universality of English which led them to situate themselves as a

part of China and a part of the world. Below are a high school student's responses to Q2 to Q4:

Excerpt (1):

*Because I live in **Beijing** and Beijing is a very **international metropolis**. Especially now, due to globalisation, **the world** and every country started to communicate. Because there are many **English-speaking countries**, if I need to communicate with **them**, I need to use English.* (Q2)

Excerpt (2):

*And as for the role for **myself**, first, English is a tool and then also lets **me** understand this world.* (Q3)

Excerpt (3):

*For all **Chinese people**, **China** and **the West** need a bridge. There was originally no English and then **Chinese people** thought that **the West** was barbarian and backward when there was no understanding of English. And then now there is a better understanding of **the West**.* (Q4)

From this high school student's responses to Q2 to Q4, the Chinese frame of self was maintained throughout especially by the group distinctions she made between herself and China/Chinese people and the West/this world in Q3 and Q4. In addition to this Chinese identity, there were also signs of a global identity indicated in her response to Q2. In expressing the views about the roles of English when her self was not defined in Q2, the expectations and ideas about being a Chinese in relation to the world was significant. This can be demonstrated by the student situating her 'self' within Beijing as an international metropolis and the world, which was referred to by the student with 'international', 'globalisation', 'English-speaking countries' as well as 'them' in Excerpt (1). In answering Q3 which defined the self as 'a Chinese', the student still retained her 'Chinese self' with clearly identifiable pronouns "myself" and "me", as opposed to "this world". While Q4 placed her under a 'collective Chinese' frame, she constructed a national 'collective' Chinese identity through the categorisations of

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'Chinese people'/'China' and 'the West'/'the world'. From the high school student's perspectives about English and 'the world', it can be seen that global and Chinese identities exist side-by-side.

'The world' is a keyword with high frequency in the responses to Q2 to Q4. In the students' responses to Q2, there are a total of seven instances of 'world', six in Q3 and nine in Q4. These show that when the self was not defined in Q2 or was framed as 'a Chinese' in Q3 and 'part of the collective Chinese self' in Q4, that is, regardless of the frames within which she was situated, the student's global and Chinese identities were prominent. For the high school students, English in general was a tool for communicating with and understanding 'the world', and there were no obvious differences when the 'frames' vary in Q2, Q3 and Q4. This is further illustrated in the following line-up of the 'global', 'student' and 'Chinese' discourses constructed by a student. The impacts of English learning that students raised in responding to Q7 are a mix of local, national and global-level impacts, when the question framed their 'self' as a 'national self'. Presented below are two examples:

Excerpt (4):

...China has closer and more frequent communication and contacts with the outside *('global' perspective) and in China, many foreign investors come to communicate and* *exchange with Chinese people ('Chinese' and 'global' perspective). This is meaningful* *to China's development ('Chinese' perspective). English is now used everyday and* *integrated into daily life. Everyone, for example, says "thank you" in English and* *everyone is working hard to learn foreign language and know some English ('Chinese'* *perspective).* (Q7)

Excerpt (5):

There are definitely changes. Because for example, if comparing us with the Qing *dynasty, the changes should be huge. The Qing dynasty was very hostile to the West.* *And now we are equal friends with the West and some people admire these western* *countries ('Chinese' and 'global' perspective). In our daily life, it's now a bilingual* *society and everyone celebrates Christmas, Halloween, Thanksgiving, these festivals* *('student' and 'Chinese' perspective).* (Q7)

The keywords in Q7 include 'we' ('我们 '), 'communicate' ('交流'), and 'foreign' ('外国'). The words used by the high school students also include 'life' ('生活'), 'thinking' ('想法'), 'develop' ('发展') and 'integrate' ('结合'). As reflected in Excerpt (4) above, the high school student contended that, Chinese people, at the global level, assumed the agency to connect with foreign countries and to play a part in the global community while, at the more local level, they used English in their daily life. In Excerpt (5), Chinese and the West were said to be equal friends. As marked in both excerpts above, the student made the comments from multiple perspectives as a part of the global community (through the use of "we" in "we are equal friends" in Excerpt (5)), as a part of the collective Chinese whole (through the use of "Chinese people" vs. "the West" in Excerpt (4) and (5)) and as a student (through the use of "our daily life" in Excerpt (5)).

As both Excerpt (4) and (5) show, English seems to have contributed to the development of a global identity of Chinese people, and at the same time, English also appears to be used commonly as a 'norm' in the society which the student thinks has become bilingual. In using English, the identity of being Chinese, as reflected in the interviews, can be preserved while a global identity has been developed.

In response to Q4 and Q7 which constructed a 'collective Chinese whole' frame for the students, some students drew upon the past history to make sense of the need of all Chinese to learn English. For instance, Ben, a Grade 8 student born in Beijing raised the Qing dynasty and the past idea of "barbarian" in explaining the role of English in current China in Excerpt (5) above. When asked about the changes English has brought to China in Q7, Ben also drew upon China's relations with the world:

Excerpt (6):

*... First, English is a tool for communication and exchange. If you want to exchange successfully with foreigners, there is not a need to recite all grammar very perfectly or to speak very correct sentences, as long as [you] can communicate. So I think the changes to China include its limitation on people's potential to develop. But at the same time, I also think that there are many advantages for China. There are not only very extreme effects of English, there are also many positives. For example, **people's** thinking has changed, the knowledge about **themselves** has changed. Because during the Qing dynasty, **they** thought **they** were a great civilisation and other places were barbarian. So, I think English has also facilitated the communication between China and the outside. **Chinese people** know more about **themselves**, so [they] have awakened. (Q7)*

In Excerpt (6) above, through the use of 'they' to refer to Chinese people living in the Qing dynasty, Ben actually distanced himself and today's China from the Qing period (as is the case in Excerpt (5) where Ben used "us" and "Qing dynasty" in "if comparing **us** with the **Qing dynasty**, the changes should be huge" to mark the group distinctions between today's China and the past). In "they thought they were a great civilisation and other places were barbarian" in Excerpt (6), although Ben's use of "they" seems to refer to Chinese people including himself, he did not attach himself too much to the narrative about English and Chinese society as though he was making an objective comment and presenting an evaluation of the English learning situation in the past outside the 'collective frame'. Even though the history was distant to him as a Chinese living in current China, Ben still looked back at the history to make sense of the integrity of 'ti' and to regain a sense of how China had come into its current being.

In response to Q2 to Q4, Ben, tended to retain the frame as a part of the 'Chinese whole':

Excerpt (7):

When a country is strong and its power is strengthened and recognised by the world, its language will spread. It's like in a company, you won't work hard to understand what your colleagues are saying, but when your boss tells you something, [you] will try your utmost to complete the job your boss gives you. When a big country speaks to you, you possibly need to learn from them and understand their development. So you need to learn English. I think if China can become as strong as the US, Chinese will also

become the world's important language. So at the present time, no matter it's a social demand or trend, learning English is relatively important. (Q2)

Excerpt (8):

*I think it plays the role of, as a language, a tool for human communication. It provides convenience to mutually communicate, mutually learn. So I think English now for **me** is a tool. At the same time, because English proficiency is required in many respects, English is also a personal standard for **myself**.* (Q3)

Excerpt (9):

*For the whole country, it is a standard by which people's oral ability is assessed. Furthermore, I think that it can also show a country's strength. We are **city dwellers** learning English but **people living in the farmers village** are not. This is because we **as city dwellers** have sufficient energy and sufficient money to learn English, whereas for **people in the farmers village**, **they** have to get up very early, sleep at night very late, support the family, so they don't have the energy to learn English, and haven't even thought about learning English. So when all the people in the country can speak English, this shows that the country has a certain status. When people in a country can speak English, Chinese will also become a universal language of the world.* (Q4)

Ben's responses provide a few interesting insights into how Chinese language and identity is understood in relation to the world. As the response to Q2 indicates, if a country is strong, its language then becomes a symbolic power desired by the world. Ben's ideas about the world and about language as power were presumably informed by the history of the rise of English as a world language. In response to Q3 in Excerpt (8), although Ben mentioned the roles of English for himself, he embedded his own 'self' within the social 'self' when he mentioned that English was a tool required in many different fields and thus had also become his own standard. This is as if Ben learned English for social purposes which then also became his standards.

Ben's individual 'self' is embedded within the collective Chinese self. Even though in responding to Q4, he seemed to exclude the "people living in the farmers village" from "people in the country" in talking about the need of all Chinese to learn English which contradicts the official discourse of a unified Chinese whole, in Q6 where Ben was

asked to explain whether all Chinese should learn English, he did not make any classifications:

Excerpt (10):

Learning English is a promotion of language. [The situation that] Chinese people [are] learning English indicates that [the country], like the English-speaking countries in the world such as the US has a high status. So its language will spread to other parts of the world. I think English for all is necessary because English learning entails the enhancement of people's suzhi and learning English can also increase communication between China and the outside. At the same time, [we] can understand Chinese and foreign cultures. People learning English like us can know more western ways of seeing things, their economy and technology and their ways of dealing with things. We can understand their thinking through learning. But those who don't know English cannot understand. It's like a book from heaven. (Q6)

The hostile relationships between China and the world in the past help the students make sense of learning English. In commenting on the necessity for all Chinese people to learn English, Ben responded as a 'national Chinese', explaining the need at the national and global level. For Ben and the other students, the 'Chinese self' was significant throughout. The ideas of language as power and English as a means to learn from foreign countries to enhance 'suzhi', which, as Chapter Two has discussed, symbolises the 'ti' constitutive of individual 'small selves', are salient in their meaning-making of English learning.

Despite the group distinctions between China and 'the world' in the viewpoints of high school students, the students emphasised the role of English in facilitating the mutual cooperative relationships between the two groups. English seems to provide some high school student participants with a chance to look back at Chinese history. At the same time, it also enables them to develop the Chinese self they identify with in relation to 'the Other'. The high school students' individual facet of self has also developed upon the 'collective Chinese self'. Within the mutually contributory discourse, there are signs of the co-existence of individual, global and Chinese identity. This is consistent with the

official discourse which highlights both the distinctive Chinese and global identities, as well as the notion of 'small self' embedded within 'big self'.

University students

The keywords with the highest frequency in Q2 include 'we' ('我们'), 'understand' ('了解'), 'communication' ('交流'), and 'the world' ('世界'). The keywords in Q3 include 'tool' ('工具'), 'understand' ('了解'), 'communication' ('交流'), 'we' ('我们') and 'culture' ('文化') and those in Q4 are 'we' ('我们'), 'tool' ('工具'), 'the world' ('世界') and 'foreign' ('外国').

University students' viewpoints about English are very diverse. Across the responses to Q2 to Q4, the pronoun 'we' ('我们') has a significantly high frequency, as compared to the high school students who had a significantly lower frequency of use. For some university students, English is a common language and communication tool of the world. They also take English for exams and jobs and for their interest in the language and its associated culture(s) ('interest' as a keyword in Q5). English learning, from their perspectives, is also for acquiring advanced technology from the West, and for "walking towards" the world.

The focal university students chosen for this discussion provide very detailed and interesting insights into each question. Their conceptions of 'Chinese self' in relation to the world and the Chinese people reveal the development and co-existence of their global and Chinese identities. In response to Q2, the students commonly used 'we/us' ('我们') to refer to Chinese people, but instead of using 'they/them' ('他们') to refer to

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foreigners, they used directly 'the world' ('世界') and 'foreigners' ('外国人'). As an English major postgraduate, Lin, stated:

Excerpt (11):

*Because probably for **me**, **my** future job will require more English. I also think that in **Beijing** such a big **metropolis**, many people, the people encountered, can speak English. Many companies will cooperate with foreigners. In **personal** life, there are many foreigners. I think it [English] is needed.* (Q2)

Lin moved from Shandong to study in Beijing in 2004. She reported that she spoke dialect in her hometown and regarded Putonghua as her mother tongue. While Q2 did not define the 'self' for her, in responding to the question, she raised the roles of English for her job and for communicating with foreigners which are more instrumental reasons for learning English. When asked about whether she liked learning English in Q5, she simply said "okay". She seemed to have fewer intrinsic reasons for learning English which was confirmed further by her response to Q3 and Q4 that framed her 'self' respectively as a Chinese and a part of the 'collective Chinese whole':

Excerpt (12):

I think it's a tool, a tool that allows me to work and study better. (Q3)

Excerpt (13):

I think it's simply a tool. Because we are after all Chinese. No matter what, English will not achieve an equal status as the Chinese language. So, I think it's a tool. (Q4)

For Lin who has learnt English for over 13 years, as well as some other English and non-English majors, English does not have a 'subjective value' (Kramsch 2009) and is simply a 'tool' (as one of the keywords in Q3). Lin's Chinese identity is made salient by her comparison of the language with English. Contrary to previous studies (for example, Chen 2008), these responses show that the length of studying English does not necessarily affect the students' sense of Chinese identity. However, consistent with

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Chen (2008), it does not necessarily increase their affiliation with English. Lin's experience of learning English was still organised by the sense of practicality and the sense of being Chinese.

Alex is a postgraduate journalism student in his early twenties, having studied English for over 12 years. He is from Sichuan and moved to Beijing in 2007. He stated that he had scored 106 in TOFEL which he did to apply for a postgraduate program in the U.S. He also reported that he spoke his local dialect when he was in his hometown and his mother tongue was Putonghua. Alex offered some very interesting insights into the roles of English in China. In responding to Q2-Q4, his individual personal self appears to co-exist with the collective and the global 'self' which complies with the official discourse. Alex's responses in Q2-Q4 are presented and discussed below:

Excerpt (14):

*(1) Because the current development of the society is relatively fast, many **foreign countries** are more advanced than **China**. So if you want to increase competitiveness, from a personal point of view, if you want to increase competitiveness, you must walk in front of others. Because no matter how fast technology is getting imported these days, the quickest, at the end of the day, would still be the ones who can get information on their own. It's impossible to obtain first-hand details of what's happening **overseas** if you don't understand English—it might not be several months, half a year, or even a year until the information reaches **China**. So I think you need to know about **other places** - especially those that are more advanced than **China** – what is happening to **them**. (2) The second point is I think learning English is not simply learning a language. You can understand through English you read something about **the outside**, understand the situations **outside** and you will find out a totally **different society**. You will find out even though you are told that the society you grew up in was very special, you will find out every society has its own uniqueness after knowing about **other societies**. The society you live in is not that outstanding but it is in fact very ordinary. So I think [learning English] is helpful for building a multi-dimensional view. If you ever only know about one culture or you have only one source of information, you are probably being controlled. You ever only watch one TV channel, only read one newspaper, you read the Globaltimes, so you think that the thing the **whole world** wants to do everyday is to get rid of **China**—when that is so not true. [English] can also let **our** thinking pattern be more multi-dimensional. There is also a third point. (3) **I myself** like learning languages because I have also learnt Japanese. For English, I have taken TOFEL before when I was in Year 2, I got 106. Now I am preparing for the GRE because I am preparing to go to the US to apply for the school there. **Personally**, [English] is very much valued because English is very important. It becomes the key*

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when you study or live overseas. It's not because of exams, even though it's for taking TOFEL, GRE and IELTS, these types of exams. You should have noticed that they will be very helpful for the future. You also memorise vocabulary now. There is something you do early. As [your] memory is very good now, you can do it earlier. It's very helpful. (Q2)

In this response to Q2, Alex constructed and shifted between the different frames of 'Chinese' (vs. foreigners) and his personal self. As marked by (1) in the excerpt, he started by talking about the roles of English in the global/national level where group distinctions were made between "foreign countries", "overseas", "other places" and "them", and "China". He mentioned the role of English in enhancing competitiveness of China at the international level where the collective self of Chinese in relation to 'the world' was constructed. As indicated by (2), Alex continued to make the group distinctions between China and the "whole world" and "other societies" which were characterised by the differences in worldviews and cultures. It is not until (3) that Alex mentioned his personal need for English to study and lived overseas which is also more an instrumental motive.

Below is Alex's response to Q3 where his self was defined as 'a Chinese':

Excerpt (15):

*(4) The first point is because English will become a prerequisite, for example, if you find a job, they will ask about your results of the Band-4 and Band-6 tests. If you apply for a public servant position, many of them will require your Band-4 test score to be above 600 and require you to pass Band-6. There are many concrete requirements. If you cannot reach the requirements, no one will be able to help you through personal relations because you don't fulfil the requirement. (5) The second point is that I think that learning English is different to many other things since it reflects one's **suzhi**. So everyone to their abilities—some are particularly bright with numbers, some are good at other fields, and you're talented at languages. If you're able to use this to your advantage, then it's also something that you can train yourself on. (6) And as I said before, I major in Journalism, so I need to read the CNN and BBC websites. What I should know should be complete and not edited information. What I don't need to know is those opposed to China. I want to know more about other information. If you want to get more original stuff which is not sufficient in China, especially databases and electronic publications and thesis, they are not adequate. If we want to do more concrete and comprehensive research in an area, we might want to search in English*

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databases. Because from there, we can find more. All the 56 students in the class won't hand in the same work. Even though you borrow something from others, you will probably also import something new, a new perspective. This is more related to our study. (7) In relation to life, because now you can see many things written in English such as manuals, tags. For example, fruits. Even on fruits, there is a tag. In this case, we can understand more information. Although it might not be very helpful for you, it will let you understand more things. This is related to personal life. (Q3)

When the self was framed as a 'Chinese self', Alex responded first within a Chinese frame talking about the need of English for applying for government positions in the broader context in (4). As indicated by (5), Alex further drew upon the official discourse of 'suzhi' in explaining the need for English. 'Suzhi', as discussed in Chapter Two, conceptualises 'the Chinese people' ('ti') as constitutive of many 'small selves'. In (6), Alex expressed again the point about English for accessing information not available in China or in the Chinese language as he did in responding to Q2. He also constructed a university student identity within this 'Chinese self' frame by mentioning the role of English in research. Excerpt (7) is a more general point applying to all Chinese where Alex explained how English was relevant to daily life.

In response to Q4, Alex made the following comment:

Excerpt (16):

*(8) **I don't think** all people need to learn English because not everyone has the opportunity to engage with the outside. It's really not necessary for everyone to learn English because there are many other languages. If you really let everyone learn language, there are many other languages to choose from. Now it's all free-trade. China doesn't just deal with English-speaking countries—there are also lots of others. For instance, you'll notice, if you study foreign relations, that those who study Sino-American relationships far surpass those who study Sino-Arab relationships. There then implies a stereotype, because in fact we aren't any less intimate with these other countries as we are with the U.S. In reality we are closely linked to the former when it comes to oil resources. But why is it that so few people can understand Arabic? I am not saying that all people need to learn Arabic. I am just saying that the gap is very big. Because there are very few people who know it [Arabic] and the proportion is very small. (9) **I think** one still needs to choose based on personal interest. If a person, he doesn't like English, he doesn't like languages, but you force them to learn, then you are really wasting their time. (10) But for the **whole China, I think** a portion of people, I'm not sure about the percentage, but **I think** a portion of people should learn English.*

*In this case, you will be able to exchange with the **outside** your thinking and know what's happening, unlike in the past when **the country** was closed off and let oneself be stupid. (Q4)*

Q4 defined the 'self' as a part of the collective Chinese whole for Alex. As marked by (8), Alex began with mentioning the necessity for English at the national level. He presented an objective view about the necessity for other languages determined by China's economic and trade relations with other countries. In (9), Alex then moved on to talking about the personal preference of learning English which appears to be rather 'personal' within the collective Chinese frame Q4 had constructed. In (10), however, he shifted back to the collective Chinese frame as he drew upon the history of 'closed door' to illustrate the necessity of English of some Chinese people. This can also be seen in the distinctions marked by Alex's use of "the whole China" and "outside".

As Alex's responses to Q2-Q4 show, the different frames or selves are significant to him at different times. Alex was able to shift between his multiple frames of reference: as a Chinese, a part of the Chinese whole in relation to 'the world' and university student. Throughout Q2-Q4, Alex's responses/narratives are very structured, moving from one point to another and from one frame to another. The global and collective Chinese selves and the interconnection of these different facets of identities are prominent for him. This is consistent with the official discourse of Chinese identity.

It is interesting that instead of using 'I' to identify the subject position in his narratives, Alex, as well as other university student participants, frequently used 'you' in making his points. Like Ben who constantly used 'they' to refer to Chinese people, 'you', in Alex's responses, not only was used to refer to Chinese people including himself, but Alex also attempted to distant himself from the narratives about English and the Chinese society by using 'you'. According to Herman (1994:378), this use of "you" in

narrative, termed as "doubly deictic you" results in "deictic transfer" from "I" to "you" when the first-person character refers to him/herself as "you". A function of "doubly deictic you" is to generalise a viewpoint or experience that the speaker considers 'general' or the 'norm' (Mildorf 2006).

In the university students' responses in Q2, 63 instances of "you" and "your" were recorded, 42 instances were recorded in Q3 and 16 in Q4. For high school students, there were 14 instances of "you" and "your" in Q2, eight in Q3 and none in Q4. For parents, there was none in Q2-Q4 and for teachers, there were only three to four instances in Q2-Q4. For the university student participants such as Alex, the use of the generic "you", based on Herman's (1994) argument, serves to generalise their experience and feelings to other Chinese people and thereby brings in the collective Chinese frame. The differences in the frequency of second person pronoun used by the four groups cannot be sufficiently explained here given the relatively short responses provided by the parents. Nevertheless, it can be said that university students, as more "advanced" English learners and users (Kramsch 2009:59), might have more subjective experiences that allow them to evaluate English learning.

When the students were asked about the impacts of English on the country in Q7, some of them also situated the Chinese self within the global community, portraying the role of English as a 'connector' of China and the world:

Excerpt (17):

*It might be that the way of thinking is no longer so stubborn, and the way **we** see problems have changed a lot as **we** use the western point of view to see China **(Chinese and western perspectives)**. You'll be more attentive to each individual country as well as the world after you've learnt English. For example, when we learn journalism **(local identity as students)**, we point out the positives as well as the negatives of other **foreign countries** to see how foreigners see **us (Chinese and western perspectives)**. And now Chinese have also started travelling and other business trends, as well as in many other*

respects...now you won't, we are no longer too surprised when we see a foreigner in the streets as if we see a monster. It's all commonplace now, they are like us as people **(Chinese and global perspective)** —*this would be a better way to see it. So it's one world, one dream, and everyone's on the same planet* **(global perspective)**. *This sense of community is something that I'm particularly fond of.* (Q7)

As marked in the response above, the global-Chinese-student perspectives and identities exist side-by-side. In illustrating how English had broadened the horizons of the Chinese people (referred to as "we" by the student), the student used his own experience as a journalism student. The national benefits of learning English are thereby aligned with the benefits at the personal levels. In the excerpt above, English no longer seems to be an identity and group marker differentiating between China and 'the world' from the student's perspective. Rather, it has become a 'community' language of "the one world". The idea about 'seeing foreigners as monsters' in the above excerpt presents a counter-discourse to the curiosity of seeing foreigners depicted in the *People's Daily* article, "Power of communication", examined in Chapter Four. For the university students, Chinese people are now more open and assume agency in the reception of English. As demonstrated in the following responses to Q7 and Q10, university students also make sense of this 'equal' relation with the world through the discourses about history and national development which again points to the co-existence of Chinese and global identities:

Excerpt (18):

Of course, in the many years of **'reform and opening up'**, *because we learn English, I think our people can be more open. They are more willing to learn other things. I think this is very important for us...And also because I think more people learning English, for China, can bring China more the rights to speak. In fact, not only English but also other foreign languages...*(Q7)

Excerpt (19):

It's actually not contradictory, but because China is currently at a turning point and becoming stronger in contrast with a weaker China **in the past** *(...) But the thing is the Chinese public does not wield enough confidence yet, and therefore there is a lack of*

confidence of the government and the public. This in turn exacerbated their negligence of their own culture and their blinded pursuit in learning English, be it due to the needs of governance or individual interests. There are lots of Chinese people who have now raised the concern about increasing awareness and education of traditional Chinese culture. This is a wonderful trend. I believe that our mindset would be different once China has truly taken on a more powerful position after some fifty years or a century (...) we will gradually realise the importance of our own culture. (Q10)

Reflected in Excerpt (18), the lack of foreign language knowledge, in the student's view, would weaken China and deprive it of its "rights to speak". English was linked to the 'reform and opening up' of China which can be regarded as linking China's national development discourse to English. Indeed, when asked about the changes English has brought to China in Q7, most students referred to the 'reform and opening up' of the country which is one of the keywords of Q7. In responding to Q10 about the contradictions between learning Chinese and English in Excerpt (19), the 'weak' and inferior China in the past was mapped by the student onto Chinese people's English learning experience in today's 'growing China' and in the future. The discourses about national development and history are drawn upon by the students to make sense of the roles of English for the Chinese people as a whole. From some students' perspectives, China and 'the world' not only will become more equal, but China will possibly become even more powerful. In learning English, the collective Chinese self is still guiding their perceptions; and this collective Chinese self co-exists with the global identity.

Teachers

From the teachers' responses, signs of the co-existence of Chinese and global identities can be found. For the teachers, the keywords with the highest frequency in Q2 include 'communication' ('交流'), 'the world' ('世界'), 'understand' ('了解'), 'tool' ('工具'),

'culture' ('文化'), 'work' ('工作') and 'life' ('生活'). The keywords in Q3 include 'culture' ('文化'), 'tool' ('工具'), 'translation' ('翻译'), 'communication' ('交流'), 'important' ('重要') and 'life' ('生活'), and those in Q4 are 'the world' ('世界') 'tool' ('工具') and 'culture' ('文化'). The range of keywords for teachers is rather identical to those of the high school and university students.

In response to Q2 with the teachers' self undefined, to Q3 that defined the teachers' self as 'a Chinese' and to Q4 that put the teachers under a 'collective Chinese' frame, the set of keywords reveals that for the teachers, English is a tool for communicating and understanding the world and its culture. It is also a common view among the teachers that English is important for their job. Despite the high frequency of 'translation' in Q3, five out of seven of its occurrences came from one teacher who thought that translated work very likely had twisted the original meanings and that knowing English could help read original English work and obtain information.

The high frequency of 'life' ('生活') in the responses to Q2 and Q3 can be explained by the views of a teacher below:

Excerpt (20):

To me English is a very important device to communicate and to absorb western culture. English has also become part of my life. (Q2)

Excerpt (21):

I think English can enrich my life. I read English newspapers and listen to English news broadcast at leisure time. It's interesting to compare how English and Chinese express the same thing and see the differences. (Q3)

As shown in Excerpt (20) and Excerpt (21), English has become a part of the teacher's life. It not only was used as a means to communicate, the teacher's English knowledge

also enabled her to read English newspapers and listen to English news broadcast at leisure. Although she displayed an interest in western culture, the knowledge about western culture seems to enable her to understand the differences between English and Chinese as shown in Excerpt (21). This points to the fact that the 'otherness' of English makes explicit the 'Chineseness' of the teacher, rather than making her 'less Chinese'.

Unlike the two student cohorts, the highest frequency words in the teachers' responses to Q2-Q7 do not include any pronouns. This can be due to the fact that the teachers more frequently used 'the world' ('世界'), 'international' ('国际') and 'global' ('全球') instead. There are eight mentions of 'world' ('世界') in Q2 responses, five in Q3, and 13 in Q4. When the 'self' was not defined in Q2 and defined as part of the 'collective Chinese self' in Q4, Chinese people's relation with the world English evokes became more significant for the teachers. As the teachers' selves were defined as 'a Chinese' in Q3, understanding foreign culture and reading English work was more salient for them. It can be seen that the sense of being Chinese (vs. the world, foreign culture and English) was significant for the teachers regardless of the frames within which they were situated.

Like the official discourse, both English and non-English teachers generally perceived that China and 'the world' were in a mutually facilitative relationship and that their global and Chinese identities co-existed. This is illustrated below in Q2-Q4 responses of a classical Chinese lecturer, a male in his mid-thirties:

Excerpt (22):

It's in all levels of our academic careers: from middle school to high school, from university to postgraduate studies, and from then on to becoming a doctorate—it all involves exams on English proficiency. The other thing is occupation. If one wants to be promoted from a lecturer to an associate professor or from that to a professor, for

*instance, it's impossible not to have his or her English ability assessed as an objective requirement (**teacher's perspective**). All career opportunities require English ability as a prerequisite, so if you don't have that in you then you're automatically sacrificing all the chances for promotion. Some people find English appealing as a personal interest. Western culture fascinates them and they want to understand more about the culture, to read foreign work and communicate with foreigners, to travel overseas...for them there is a real need. They are not forced to learn (**individual needs, collective Chinese perspective**). As for myself having to present my papers and find ways to get myself promoted, I need to communicate, using English, with students who aren't so good at Chinese (**teacher's perspective**)* (Q2).

Excerpt (23):

*First of all, for me it is a very important tool, as I study linguistics (**teacher's perspective**). Having learned a language, the most critical thing is to grasp how foreign scholars learn. Now because we're studying the Chinese language, the only way to figure the peculiarities of Chinese is by comparing as well as contrasting it with other languages—without contrast there is no way we could see what sort of advantages the Chinese language holds (**collective Chinese perspective**). A lot of documentaries are written in English, and the language is extremely important to my academic career (**personal/teacher's perspective**). Other than being a device for learning, it is also a means of communication. For instance, I often need to interact with foreign students, teachers and friends. They don't know Chinese, and so I had to speak English (**personal/teacher's perspective**). English is a window through which I can expand my knowledge and horizons. I have read a lot of books in English and absorbed the essence of western culture to enhance my **suzhi**. It's a pathway to learn western culture (**individual/collective Chinese perspective**)* (Q3).

Excerpt (24):

*For Chinese people, it can be considered a bridge. China walks towards the world and the world walks into China. It's like a bridge that exchanges the civilisations of Chinese and the West (**collective Chinese perspective**)* (Q4).

As seen in the responses above, this classical Chinese lecturer constructed and shifted between the different facets of his 'self' throughout. While Q2 did not define the frame of self for him, in Excerpt (22), he constructed a teacher identity by describing his own learning experience and the need for English ability for promotion. Additionally, he referred to the experience and purposes of other Chinese people in responding to the question. This is as if when the self was not defined, he had all Chinese who were learning English at the back of his mind. Despite the fact that Chinese people have different reasons, both intrinsic and instrumental, for learning English, these Chinese

people constitute the Chinese whole, reflecting the idea that 'small selves' are embedded with the 'big self'. The 'self' this classical Chinese lecturer constructed for himself in this case is one associated with his occupation as a teacher as well as a collective Chinese self. This is further reflected in his response to Q3 which placed him within the frame of 'Chinese self'.

In Excerpt (23), although this lecturer indicated some intrinsic reasons for learning English such as interest in western culture, he related English knowledge to enhancing 'suzhi': "English is a window through which I can expand my knowledge and horizons. I have read a lot of books in English and absorbed the essence of western culture to enhance my suzhi". As Chapter Two has illustrated, 'suzhi' is a contemporary form of Chinese 'collective self'. 'Suzhi' discourse, literally translated as "essentialised quality" discourse (Murphy 2004:2), is concerned with enhancing the quality of individual Chinese so as to improve the strength and quality of the whole nation. It also links individual efforts to national development. By linking English learning to 'suzhi', the 'individual' aspect of self associated with English learning is therefore linked to the collective Chinese whole. It is obvious that knowing English does not make the lecturer 'less Chinese'. Rather, it only makes him more global as English knowledge enables him to communicate with foreign scholars, students and "friends". As Excerpt (24) shows, it is also a bridge for the contacts between China and 'the world'. The global and Chinese identities exist side-by-side for this teacher, for whom an individual personal identity has also developed but is embedded within the collective self.

Mr Wang is an English university lecturer in his forties. Like the classical Chinese lecturer, Mr Wang also retained a 'collective Chinese self' throughout Q2-Q4. He gave the same response to Q3 and Q4:

Excerpt (25):

I am an English teacher. If I don't learn English, my English will deteriorate. (Q2)

Excerpt (26):

After the many years of 'reform and opening up', as a Chinese and when China plays an important role in the world, [one] should maintain the spread of culture and have the responsibility to spread the motherland's language and culture to the world. This is a necessity in globalisation. (Q3&Q4)

In making sense of the roles of English, Mr Wang referred to his English lecturer identity when his self was not defined in Q2. In response to Q3 and Q4 which respectively defined his 'self' as a 'Chinese self' and a part of the 'collective Chinese self', he referred to the changes China had undergone since the 'reform and opening up' at the international level, thereby constructing a collective Chinese identity. Mr Wang's mention of globalisation whereby the Chinese language and culture was spread not only indicates his conceptual categorisation of 'Chinese' in contrast to 'the globe', further highlighting the collective Chinese identity, at the same time, it can be seen that, from Mr Wang's perspective, the collective Chinese self is also situated within 'the globe' of which it is a part. While English spreads to the country, the Chinese language and culture should also spread to the world. This constructs the mutually contributory discourse within which the global plus Chinese identities are constructed.

When the teachers were asked about the impacts of English on the country (Q7), the keywords they used include 'culture' ('文化'), 'we' ('我们'), 'they' (他们') and 'communicate/communication' ('交流'). Teachers tended to perceive English as a means to introduce Chinese culture to foreigners whose knowledge of Chinese culture could facilitate communication. Although the group distinctions between Chinese and foreigners were still made through the use of 'they' and 'we', demonstrating the

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attempt to preserve Chinese identity in relation to 'the world', the Chinese self was also situated within the global community, indicating the co-existence of global and Chinese identities.

Like the two student cohorts, teachers also made sense of the roles of English through the discourses about history and national development. A high school politics teacher made the following comment in response to Q2:

Excerpt (27):

It's a very uncomfortable situation. Our Chinese culture—being one of the four major civilizations of the world—we once had such spectacular epochs! **(past)** *Yet now we are so powerless that we need to learn from the West.* **(present)** *We don't have enough time. The things that you can say with their language and the depth of it—it all pales in comparison to the Chinese language. After all, I think that the Chinese language can express so much more—not just in contents but also in depth—than English. A few words from the poems or prose of the Tang and Song dynasties can express such beautiful and subtle meanings whereas all of that gets wrecked when translated to English. We have such incredible words and yet we weren't able to make its beauty known to the world* **(past and present)**. *On the contrary, we even need to spend such a long time learning English. I think it's so embarrassing. And yet there's nothing we can do: we need to connect with the world.* **(present)** *We've been closed-up for many years, went through the revolution, and for a long time we've lost contact with the rest of the world.* **(past and present)** *But now we need a means to re-establish a form of contact with the world, and in this case it is English. If the Chinese wants to be heard in the international arena, then we must rely on English. Others would not approve if we use Chinese, not to mention in international assemblies. There's no other way, so the Chinese must be stronger—we must master the tools well.* **(present)**

The role of English for this high school politics teacher was realised through the past history of China in relation to the world. To talk about the present and project into the future, this teacher drew on and reaccentuated the discourses about the Chinese language, world's ancient civilisations and the Tang-Song dynasties, which are all part of the official discourses discussed in the previous chapters. In organising his memory and experience of English, this high school teacher, as marked in the excerpt, alternated between the past and present and at times the past and present could not be separated such as the development of Tang and Song poetics which is still part of Chinese culture.

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What constitutes this teacher's self therefore needs to be conceived as extended in time through memories and projections (Kramsch 2009). His reaccentuation of the past constructs the continuity and integrity of Chinese identity, 'ti'. Like the high school and university students, the reference to the history associated with English evoked the national Chinese identity for this teacher.

In the case study, non-English and English teachers did not display much discrepancy in terms of their views of mutuality and China's relation with the world. Their experience with English was organised more by practicality and their perceptions that English was associated with globalisation.

Parents

All parent participants were in their mid-thirties and forties. It must be emphasised that their responses were too limited to be able to derive a range of keywords, and that in the responses to Q2-Q4, they did not highlight their standpoints as parents in expressing their views of the need to learn English. This is due to the fact that the interview questions were aimed to elicit their views of the roles of English for themselves but not their children. The keywords with the highest frequency in Q2 include 'communication' ('交流'), 'the world' ('世界'), 'understand' ('了解'), 'international' ('国际') and 'tool' ('工具'). Those in Q3 include 'tool' ('工具'), 'communication' ('交流'), 'the world' ('世界'), 'important' ('重要') and 'we/us/our' ('我们'), and those in Q4 are 'we/us/our' ('我们'), 'tool' ('工具'), and 'understand' ('了解'). The range of keywords for Q2 to Q4 does not differ from that for the teacher participants, indicating that English for them is a common tool for communication and understanding 'the world' and 'the West'.

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The highest frequency words in Q2-Q6 do not include the pronoun 'we' ('我们') and its different forms. Similar to the teachers, this can be due to the fact that instead of pronouns, the parents more frequently used 'the world' ('世界') and 'international' ('国际'). In the responses, there are 13 instances of 'the world' in Q2, five instances in Q3, and four in Q4. When the self was not defined in Q2 for the parents, they all answered from a 'collective' perspective. When the self was defined as 'a Chinese' in Q3, the roles of English remained to a considerable extent the same as those for the self undefined. More commonly raised in response to Q3 was the point that English was useful for accessing information in English and for jobs. Regarding the roles of English for all Chinese in Q4, parents held a diverse range of viewpoints. English was considered a tool for achieving different purposes. Their conceptions of 'Chinese self' in relation to the world and the Chinese people are also more compatible with the official discourse, in that their 'small self' is connected with their 'big self'. Parent participants have also developed a global identity, alongside their Chinese identity.

As a public servant, Mrs Song adopted the 'collective Chinese self' perspective all along:

Excerpt (28):

*Because since the **country's 'reform and opening up'**, there have been more contacts with the West. It's therefore necessary to learn to communicate with **them**, and English as an international universal language, naturally has become a prerequisite for understanding the West...(Q2)*

Excerpt (29):

*I think English for **me** represents trendiness. Because after all **I** am already over 40, **my** contacts with English since a young age have been fewer than the children nowadays. But if [one] wants **to improve with this society**, then it's necessary to at least know a little bit of English. It is a trend that brings **me** forward. (Q3)*

Excerpt (30):

*I think it plays the role of an assistant. As **we** need to understand western culture, English is like a patient assistant who helps **us** out such as for translating foreign literature.* (Q4)

While the frame of self was not defined in Q2, Mrs Song made the group distinctions between China and the West, as indicated by her use of 'country', 'the West', and 'them' (referring to 'the West'). In learning English, the Chinese national/collective frame is clearly significant for her. In response to Q3, English was said to give Mrs Song a sense of 'trendiness'. Learning English meant that she was taking part in this social trend and allowed her to "improve with this society". Even though Mrs Song stated the roles of English for herself, showing a rather strong 'individual-self' focus through the use of "I think", "my" and "me", she embedded her motives of learning English within the wider society, which is consistent with the traditional Chinese perspective of "small self" embedded within the 'big self' discussed in Chapter Two. In response to Q4 which put her under the collective Chinese frame, Mrs Song shifted back to a collective Chinese frame as marked by "we" and "us" embedding her own perspective and self-identity (marked by "I think") within the collective Chinese frame.

Another focal parent, Mrs Zhang, a white-collar worker, also adopted the 'small-self-big-self' perspective in response to the three different frames:

Excerpt (31):

*I wish, through learning English, to communicate and learn from **people from many different countries**, in order to better understand **the world's** culture, understand the knowledge in politics, military, and science of **other countries**. Through communication, the understanding between **people of different countries in the world** can be enhanced to achieve the integration of **the world's** ethnic cultures.* (Q2)

Excerpt (32):

*Since the end of **my** student's life, basically English has not been necessary. It can be said that English has become strange when it used to be familiar. But with the big leap forward of **China's 'reform and opening up'**, especially since the 2008 Beijing Olympics, English for **us** has become more familiar. It will become a language of necessity of **our** life, a partner for communication.* (Q3)

Excerpt (33):

It's a second mother tongue. It can be said that all people are now learning English. It will become an important thing in life. (Q4)

Mrs Zhang also aligned her own 'self' with the collective Chinese self. For example, in Excerpt (31), even though she began her response with a clearly identifiable "I" to emphasise her own views, this use of 'I' served to construct her own self as different to "people from many countries", "the world", "other countries" and "the world's ethnic cultures". In response to Q3 when the self was defined as a 'Chinese self', Mrs Zhang situated herself as a part of "us" and "our" in Excerpt (32) which represented the collective Chinese whole. She related using English to the two major events of China – 'reform and opening up', and 2008 Beijing Olympics – and did not mention the use of English for herself. Responding to Q4 that defined the self as a 'collective Chinese self', Mrs Zhang even referred to English as a second mother tongue for all Chinese people as it would become important.

Unlike with the two student cohorts, there were clear uses of 'I/me/my' and 'we/us/our' in the responses of Mrs Song and Mrs Zhang to identify their subject positions as a part of the collective Chinese self in the discourses about English (Kramsch 2009). English is linked with 'reform and opening up' and the Beijing Olympics. In particular, English has been and will continue to be relevant to Mrs Zhang as a part of the development of her 'Chinese self' since the past (as indicated by the referral to 'reform and opening up'), at present (as indicated by the referral to the widespread use of English and the

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Olympics), and in the future (as indicated by the comment "It will become a language of necessity of our life, a partner for communication. " (Q3) and "It will become an important thing in life" (Q4) with both '它' ('it') referring to English). The referral to the national and international events also shows that parents, like the other three participant groups, make sense of English learning through the discourses about history, national development and globalisation which indicates the development of their global Chinese identities.

In the response to Q7 about the impacts of English, it is more obvious that parents have developed a Chinese plus global identity. Below is the response of Mr Pu, a manager in a company, in his thirties:

Excerpt (34):

Of course there are [impacts]. Now children can speak English, right? And now more foreigners come to travel in China, doing business with foreign friends (global + Chinese perspective), doing shopping, right? Providing much convenience to foreigners (global + Chinese perspective). Also, children learn English at a very young age, and elderly people also learn English. Then English is one more way for expression, language expression. (Q7)

In explaining the impacts of English in China, Mr Pu considered the impacts on both the Chinese people and foreigners. As indicated in the second line of the response above, English could be used to communicate with foreigners who travelled and did business in China. By mentioning this, Mr Pu created the group distinction between the Chinese people and foreigners, reinstating the Chinese identity in relation to the world. Like the *People's Daily* article, "American tourist", discussed in Chapter Four, foreigners, in Mr Pu's response above, were said to be provided convenience by Chinese people through language accommodation. This further highlights the agency of Chinese people and the consolidated Chinese identity in the interactions with foreigners.

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Simultaneously, Mr Pu also situated Chinese people within the global community simply by mentioning the common day-to-day exchanges between Chinese people and "foreign friends". Mr Pu's response reveals the mutually contributory relationships between Chinese and foreigners by which the global identity of Chinese people is constructed.

Parents, like Mr Pu, emphasise that English is necessary for spreading Chinese culture to the world. As shown in Q9 responses, they perceived that there were no contradictions between learning English and learning Chinese because English belonged to the world and therefore also belonged to the Chinese people. This viewpoint also reflects the parent's bearing of a 'Chinese-global identity':

Excerpt (35):

Contradictions for China? Don't exist! The Chinese people means the world, the world is also the people (the Chinese people). (Q9)

The responses presented thus far show that the 'collective Chinese self' in relation to 'the world' is significant for some parent participants. This is also reflected in Q7 responses of which the keywords include '奥运会' ('Olympics') and '开放' ('open'), indicating that the Olympics and opening up of China have played an important role in the construction of the global identity for the parents. While some parents did not think that English has brought any changes to the country, some parents stated that English has made China more open. They did associate English with an image of openness, higher understanding of 'the world', communication with the outside, broadening Chinese people's horizons and enhancing 'suzhi'. Like the official discourse, parents also perceived the relationship between China and the world as 'two-way' and mutually facilitative.

The above discussion has demonstrated that the four groups of participants: high school and university students, teachers and parents have developed global and Chinese perspectives within which they make sense of the roles of English. There are also mentions of individually-oriented motives and the individual facets of self also manifest. However, their individual 'selves' demonstrably branch out from their collective Chinese frames as they are always embedded within the 'big self'. This is consistent with the official discourse about Chinese identity.

Chinese's relation with the world today is characterised by the perceived mutuality of China and 'the world', communication and equal status. These characteristics found in the interviews reflect and support the official discourse of 'pure Chinese and global identity' where English is a symbol associated with the global facet of Chinese identity. Constructed within the mutuality discourse, the national and global identities exist side-by-side.

As globalisation involves movements of ideas, cultures and people, the identity of Chinese people presumably no longer remains static and being a 'pure Chinese' may become a problem. In illustrating the integrity of Chinese identity, the following section discusses the differences between the official and popular discourses about English and Chinese identity.

5.2   Differences between official and popular discourses

As the previous chapters have illustrated, English is largely taken as a universal modern skill in the official discourse. 'Yong' (doctrine of 'English for utility') in the 'ti-yong

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principle' has been guiding China's English education. The interviews with the participants, nevertheless, have revealed some discrepancies between the official and popular discourses about English. This section examines these discrepancies which will provide indication as to how Chinese identity is perceived among the people.

5.2.1 "In some places, the Chinese language is not even learnt well (...) English is in fact not very important for the remote areas": Putonghua as the identity marker and Chinese as 'the Other'

As illustrated in Chapter Four, a standard 'mother tongue' and unified identity is emphasised in the official discourse which projects to the outside world a strong Chinese identity. The analysis of the interviews, however, reveals that the official discourse of 'one unified identity' does not hold. On one hand, Chinese respondents perceived that the Chinese mother tongue was more important than English; on the other hand, English was associated with other social aspects of identification for them. As the previous section has shown, the mutuality of mother tongue Chinese and English was emphasised by the four groups of participants. This section shows the ways in which the act of English learning and the idea of 'all Chinese people' can evoke the plurality of 'being Chinese' among the participants that contests the single dominant Chinese identity the official discourse prescribes in 'ti'. As mentioned in Chapter Three, before the interviews began, each participant was asked to provide information about their dialects and to identify their mother tongue and place of birth.

High school students

In the interview, Q8 was set to investigate the participants' views on mother tongue using English as a window. 'We' ('我们'), 'China' ('中国') and 'they' ('他们') are the keywords of the high school students' responses. All high school students who were born in Beijing stated that Putonghua was their mother tongue. There were three students born outside of Beijing, one of whom stated that her mother tongue was both Putonghua and the local dialect while the other two stated Putonghua only. In fact, the majority of students at first stated 'Chinese' or 'Hanyu', which is an all-inclusive term for all Chinese dialects, as their mother tongue. When I asked them whether it was Putonghua, they all confirmed this. This shows that, for the students, the mother tongue 'Chinese' is a national Chinese symbol that represents the linguistically and culturally diverse Chinese whole.

To illustrate the importance of Chinese as the mother tongue, Daudut's *Last Lesson*, which is mentioned in the *People's Daily* article "Motherland" examined in Chapter Four, was coincidentally referred to by three high school students, including Ben, in the interviews:

Excerpt (36):

I think the mother tongue is still more important. Although English is undeniably also important, English is important for communication with the outside whereas the mother tongue is a culture. I remember today just now in the class, Daudut's "Last Lesson" mentions a saying that is unforgettable to me. He said "in a nation, effort must be devoted to remember solidly its mother tongue". (Q8)

It was in fact a rather common view among high school students that even though the mother tongue was more important, English was also important in different domains such as business and commerce. In comparing Chinese and English, some students

perceived that, as they were Chinese, the mother tongue was naturally more important. It was generally agreed that the mother tongue embraced Chinese culture which needed to be passed on to future generations. As a student mentioned:

Excerpt (37):

I think the mother tongue is more important. Because first, we need to pass on China's five thousand years of culture; otherwise, it will be discontinued. And then there is another reason: within the country, the mother tongue is used primarily and Chinese is also spreading in the world now. The meanings of a lot of the classical work will be lost if it's translated into English such as the "Dream of the Red Chamber". (Q8)

From this student's response, it can be seen that the development of Chinese culture could be dated back to the ancient time and included classical Chinese work. Even though Putonghua was identified as the mother tongue, for this student, mother tongue also referred to the classical Chinese language. The mention of 'China's five thousand years of culture' is noteworthy. While the development of Chinese culture has been disrupted throughout the Chinese history as discussed in Chapter One and Two, Chinese culture was presented by this high school student as one continuous culture which can be further reflected by her use of "otherwise, it will be discontinued" ("不然它都断了"). This is also attuned with the official discourse illustrated previously.

When mother tongue Chinese in the official discourse is an important identity marker, students not only thought of the importance of mother tongue from the perspective of identification, but they also considered the living environment. This is why '生活' ('life') and '环境' ('environment') was also used rather commonly in Q8, as in the following response:

Excerpt (38):

I think it depends on the environment. If one was born in China, raised in China, as for myself, mother tongue is more important because everyone around you uses your

mother tongue and if you want to communicate with them, you need to learn mother tongue. The nature of language is for communication and exchange with others. Mother tongue is still more important in China. (Q8)

From the student's response above, it seems that the Chinese language was important not so much because it was the mother tongue of the Chinese people, but rather, it was because of convenience of communication in the living environment. The high-frequency of '中国' ('China') is also attributable to its use in views such as "born in China", "raised in China" and "live in China".

For various reasons, high school students generally perceived that the mother tongue Chinese was not seriously affected by the importance of learning English, nor the tendency that too much time was spent on learning English. The keywords in Q9 reveal the diversity of viewpoints regarding the relative status of English and Chinese. Some students perceived that Chinese people placed more emphasis on English, with '重视' 'emphasise' as a common word. They also answered the question from a high school student's perspective such as the followings:

Excerpt (39):

I think theoretically there should not be any [contradictions]. But now for the students, they have to learn many things. Maybe you don't have that much energy to learn everything well, so there maybe some impacts. But it's (mother tongue Chinese) used everyday, so you shouldn't not be able to learn it well. (Q9)

Excerpt (40):

There are a few impacts but not that serious. Some people emphasise more English, say, in our school, there are exams on English, Maths and Commerce, but there is more emphasis on the results of English and Maths. It feels like it's okay to just do well with Chinese. (Q9)

The 'ti-yong' principle prescribes the role of English for practicality while Chinese remains the identity symbol. For some high school students, learning English was also

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for instrumental and practical reasons such as passing exams. Although this is consistent with the official discourse of the 'yong' aspect of the 'ti-yong' principle, the students' perceptions of the nature of 'ti', as the interviews have revealed, differ from the official perspectives. For some high school students, 'the Chinese people' are not homogenous, but diversified.

In the responses to Q6, 'they/their' and 'us' were the words with the highest frequency. Of the 11 occurrences, two 'they/their' refer to 'foreigner' and the rest were all used to refer to Chinese people. Below is an example of the use of 'they' to refer to other Chinese people:

Excerpt (41):

It's not necessary for all people to learn English. Because we are students, there is a demand for us. It's the first point. The second point is we need to do something related to English, that is, to enhance people's suzhi. But those farmers on the farm, they don't need English and still lead a good life. Different people also have different levels. (Q6)

The nine out of 11 instances of 'they' in Q6 were used to refer to Chinese peasants, villagers and people living in the mountains from whom some high school students distant themselves. The student below even raises the issue concerning ethnic language:

Excerpt (42):

*Not all Chinese people need English. I think if Chinese people, including in the valleys in Tibet, and those living on the grassland, they have their own ethnic languages as well as Chinese. If they forget their own language because of learning English, I think it's not worth it. Furthermore, those people they probably don't have the chance to communicate with other people in the entire life. I think **they** should just **be themselves**, and for **people like us**, I think learning English is essential (Q6)*

From the above response, it is obvious that group distinctions among 'the Chinese people' were made on the basis of living place, the languages/dialects spoken as well as the opportunity to communicate with the outside. English was perceived as unnecessary

for "those" (Chinese) people who lived in the valley or grassland and who would not have the opportunity to be in contact with foreigners over their entire lives. It is interesting that the student asked "those" people to "be yourself" where the 'self', as reflected in the response, was defined by the ethnic language of "those" people. The use of 'I', 'we/us', 'them' in the answer separated ethnic minority and "people like us" who lived in the city. Indeed, there is a total of four occurrences of the words 'farm village' ('农村') and 'valley' ('大山里') in Q6. The view that not all Chinese people need to learn English is in clear contrast to the official discourse which states that English represents the collective unified Chinese whole illustrated in Chapter Four. The classification among 'the Chinese people' was even made by the students based on their knowledge about the Chinese language and the country:

Excerpt (43):

I think it's impractical for all Chinese people to learn English because there are too many people. In some places, the Chinese language is not even learnt well. So it's not necessary for all people to learn English. The major reason is that English is in fact not very important for the remote areas. (Q6)

Excerpt (44):

I think it's not necessary for all people to learn English because firstly there are many Chinese and the level is different. Some people don't know about China, don't understand China. So that's also impractical...(Q6)

As discussed in Chapter Two, English education is promoted for all Chinese as a form of "suzhi" education that prescribes a collective Chinese self in learning English. Interestingly, while enhancing the 'suzhi' of 'the people' was raised as a reason for learning English, students did not see the need of the villagers or farmers to learn English, as if they were not considered as part of 'the people'. This is reflected in Excerpt (41) above. The distinctions such as "remote mountainous areas", "ordinary people" and "levels" of Chinese people were made by the high school students to clarify

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the point that not everyone needed to learn English. When Chinese people were defined in relation to English, the collective footing was more salient and the mother tongue was an identity symbol. If individual Chinese was defined in relation to other Chinese, more classifications and diversified identities were evoked.

University students

In comparison to the other groups, university students had more diverse views as to what their mother tongue was. All of the university students in the study were born outside Beijing and moved to Beijing to pursue their undergraduate or postgraduate degrees. They generally perceived that because they were Chinese, mother tongue Chinese was more important than English (with 'Chinese people' ('中国人'), 'culture' ('文化'), 'we' ('我们') and 'self' ('自己') as the keywords in Q8). For the students, the mother tongue represented Chinese culture so that they needed to learn Chinese well before learning other languages and cultures.

Daudut's *Last Lesson*, which is mentioned and illustrated in the *People's Daily* article "Motherland" in Chapter Four as well as by three high school students in the interviews, was used by one English major university student to illustrate the importance of Chinese as the mother tongue:

Excerpt (45):

Of course it's the native language. First of all we are Chinese. Like I said just now, all languages in the world carry some cultural legacies with them, and this is one of the roots where the possibility of a nation's renaissance stems from. I recall the words from Daudet when I was studying his La Dernière Classe: He said, of course, he is a French but he said "there's nothing comparable to the French language. I am French." Because I'm Chinese, to me there's also no other language comparable to Chinese. It's something irreplaceable deep in your soul. And even if you speak superb English, there are still many things that can't be expressed in that language. There is

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an ancient prose in Chinese, 'zong shi ju an qi mei, dao di yi nan ping' (originated from The Dream of the Red Chamber, this prose depicts the deep distress felt by Bao-Chai, the woman who married Bao-Yu, but knew that her husband was still in love with another woman.) I don't think you can convey such a feeling if you try to say it in English. (Q8)

In considering the relative status of the mother tongue and English, this student took into account his own Chinese identity and its relations with mother tongue Chinese as well as the translatability between languages and cultures. From his perspective, each language had its cultural legacies and each country such as France had its own language and culture. In explaining his points about language and culture, like the high school student in Except (37), this student referred to the classical Chinese work *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. This demonstrates again that classical Chinese was considered a part of Chinese culture. For some students, as shown in the responses to Q9, there were contradictions between learning English and Chinese. One very unique keyword found only among university students is "古文" ("literary Chinese") which occurred six times in Q9 responses. It was used by the students when they expressed the impact of English on the time to learn classical Chinese.

While the mother tongue was generally perceived as more important for Chinese people, an English major student held the view that Chinese and English were equally important:

Excerpt (46):

Based on the current situation, both are important. Learning mother tongue is, like I said previously, not simply about speaking mother tongue and Chinese, you need to understand [your] own country, [your] own country's culture. As for learning English, because after all, the society is undergoing 'reform and opening up', learning English is still needed. That is [they] are equally important. (Q8)

Despite the perceived equal importance of both languages of this university student, it can be seen that her view was still consistent with the official discourse. The mother

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tongue, from the student's perspective, represented Chinese culture and the country, while English was important because of its roles in the 'reform and opening up' of the country. In other words, while the Chinese language remains the essence of the Chinese people, English is important for modernising the country, that is, for practicality which is consistent with the 'ti-yong' principle.

In Q8, the high-frequency of '中国' ('China') not only is attributable to its use in expressing views such as "born in China", "raised in China" and "live in China", but university students also raised the points of 'China's/Chinese history', 'China's/Chinese language', 'China's roots' and 'modern China', as in the following excerpt:

Excerpt (47):

I think the native language is still more important. Most of the Chinese that we come into contact with in our society nowadays are mostly those who don't speak English. It's still Chinese that is more valuable for all of our communication about traditional Chinese culture, Chinese history, Chinese books, the logic behind modern Chinese thinking, our society, our values etc. We still absorb a lot of information and form concepts mainly through Chinese. So Chinese is still more important than English. By the way, when I say Chinese I mean Putonghua. (Q8)

From this student's comment on the importance of the Chinese language, it can be seen that the language plays a role in facilitating communication among Chinese people about the past (as indicated by "traditional Chinese culture" and "Chinese history") and the present (as indicated by "modern Chinese thinking"). Although all of the Chinese elements the student raised including "culture", "history", "books", "thinking", "society" and "values" evolved from the past, as the student indicated, they still had impacts on the Chinese people today and were applicable to current China. This idea of the link between the past and present of 'Chinese elements' is very much in line with the official discourse about Chinese culture and identity as consolidated and continuous.

The mother tongue Chinese – Putonghua – is the major medium by which these 'Chinese elements' are transmitted and by which Chinese identity is represented.

While Putonghua is promoted as the official identity symbol of the Chinese people, like the high school students, some university students also raised reasons other than 'identification' in considering the importance of the mother tongue. Below is the response of an English major student:

Excerpt (48):

Of course the mother tongue is more important. Because as a Chinese, at least we people of China, ethnic Chinese people have the world's largest population. Although English is used widely, as a Chinese - not only for Chinese people, I think for everyone - mother tongue is the most important. Foreign language is only a tool, a tool for communication. For myself, in my hometown, I think the dialect is the most important because when I am in my own hometown, I never speak Putonghua. But outside, I need to use Putonghua because if I use dialect, others will not understand and misunderstanding will occur. It's like if I go overseas in the future, I can't speak Chinese and must speak English. (Q8)

In addressing the question about the importance of Chinese as the mother tongue, this English major student considered both the 'collective Chinese whole' and 'personal' factors. Consistent with the official discourse, the student perceived that the mother tongue Chinese was the most important for all Chinese people for identification reason. On the other hand, it can also be seen that, the importance of each language or dialect for her was also determined by the living environment and practicality. She used her dialect in her hometown, Putonghua "outside" of her hometown and English was for overseas. Indeed, in the responses to Q8, 生活' ('life') and '环境' ('environment') are the keywords, indicating that it is a rather commonly held view that the importance of the mother tongue and English depends on the living condition.

In contrast to the other three participant groups, there are a few mentions of local hometown in the university students' responses which also reflect the significance of their hometown identity. This probably is due to their greater affiliation with the hometowns which they left more recently to pursue their studies than the high school students. In Q4, the local hometown was even talked about and signified by the students' use of 'we' within the 'collective Chinese' frame, such as this English postgraduate student:

Excerpt (49):

I think it's also a tool and something that supplements our life for the Chinese. All Chinese people are suitable for learning English. You get lots of traditional Chinese things that don't exist elsewhere, for example, Chinese Classics. Foreigners wouldn't have and understand these things, and they don't even use them. So I think they may not even need to learn them. They'll be thinking 'Well, I'll never need to use this language in my entire life' **(Chinese perspective)**. *As to the Chinese peasants in the remote regions, they don't even have the conditions to learn (English), so they'll also think that it's of no use* **('other Chinese' perspective)**. *(Our hometown) needs to learn, we have a vegetable exposition in our hometown* **('local' perspective)**, *and because there are matters to do with exports, some (people) might need to learn a bit as there'll be some technical concerns here and there, and that'll require some communicating with foreigners. But then again for some people they might not even need it* **('local' practice)**. (Q4)

When probed by the 'collective Chinese frame' constructed by Q4, this student displayed three different aspects of Chinese identity. As indicated in bold in the excerpt above, these aspects included a collective Chinese perspective when the student mentioned foreigners and Chinese 'things', 'other Chinese' perspective when he described Chinese peasants in the remote areas, and a 'local' perspective in mentioning his hometown and international trade. Clearly, for this student, the concept of 'collective Chinese' as probed by Q4 evoked and revealed his views about 'being Chinese' as multifaceted.

The university students' classifications of Chinese people resemble those of high school students. In response to Q6, the act of learning English of Chinese people evoked the conception of 'the Chinese people' among the university students:

Excerpt (50):

*I don't think all Chinese need to learn English. Take me for example. I come from Henan **('local' perspective)**, and it's only because you're in a big metropolis like Beijing or some large cities, but once you go to regions of the centre or the inner west, in reality there is a lot of people who don't know how to speak English. They may not even get in contact with anything that has to do with English in their entire life, let alone come in contact with foreigners **('other Chinese' perspective)**. It's really hard to say for sure for the future, but at the moment it's not necessary for absolutely everyone to learn English. Some people may not have been to universities after graduating from high school, or if some went straight to work, then they might not be in great need of English. So I don't think all Chinese people should learn English. (Q6)*

The comments about the differences between the hometown, "big metropolis" and "regions of the centre or the inner west" and about people with different educational levels reflect how the student perceived 'the Chinese whole'. Chinese identity seems to be defined not only by the idea of 'all Chinese people', that is, ethnicity, but also by locality and factors such as place of origin, educational qualification and jobs. In the interviews, both English and non-English majors made the 'classifications' among 'the Chinese whole'. In Q6, the outsider identity marker 'they' is the highest-frequency word, with all occurrences but one referring to Chinese people. Below is an example:

Excerpt (51):

*I don't think this is necessary. Everyone plays their own part in this society, and everyone comes from different backgrounds. If your goal or lifestyle requires you to be very open and communicative to the outside world, then yes, learning English would be vital. However—and may **I** be frank and sound a bit nasty with this—for **those in the more remote and poorer regions of China**, first it's impractical for **them** to learn English, and second, there's no point since there's no one to communicate in English to. **They** don't even have access to the internet. So even if **they** learned how to speak English, **I** don't think it'll be of any use. (Q6)*

Similar to the high school students, university students thought that some Chinese people did not need to learn English because they would not have the opportunity to be in contact with foreigners. 'I', 'those', 'them' and 'they', as seen in the above excerpt, separate the student and those who need English to communicate with the outside world from 'those in the more remote and poorer regions of China" who do not need English.

While previous research (for example, Gao et al. 2007, Orton 2007) has found that students study to pay back their parents, this is not revealed in the findings of the present research. As compared to the high school students who did not mention their parents at all in the interviews, three university students mentioned their parents' needs and experience of learning or using English in response to Q6 such as the following:

Excerpt (52):

I don't think so. Let me raise an example of my parents. They needn't learn English in their generation, and they're doing pretty well right now. They're also outstanding in their positions. So I think it's pretty much up to the individual. For example you are a technician, you need to repair something everyday and don't need to use English. Right? (Q6)

By mentioning the different generations and social sectors, people in different regions of China, and people with different educational levels and jobs, the university students created group distinctions among 'the Chinese people'. The university student's response of 'may I be frank and sound a bit nasty' preceding his explanation in Excerpt (51) above was used to precaution the researcher that his thought was not a common and 'accepted' one, since, in his intuition, the idea of 'English for all' was 'generally accepted' or the 'norm'.

Among the teachers participating, only two teachers were born in Beijing and reported that they could speak only Putonghua. Two of the teachers born outside Beijing stated that their dialect was their mother tongue. One had moved to Beijing from Nanjing for six years at the time of the interview and only used Putonghua with 'non-Nanjingers'. Another teacher had lived in Beijing for seven years and only started using Putonghua everyday since her arrival.

Some teachers, like the high school and university students, not only considered the importance of the mother tongue from the perspective of identification, but they also took into account the living environment. This is why '生活' ('life') and '环境' ('environment') were used rather commonly in the responses to Q8, as in the following response:

Excerpt (53):

Because you're living in an environment where everything is in your native language, and where much of the knowledge is absorbed via that language. On the other hand, English provides a way of thinking and makes you realise what advantages are available in the expressions of your native language. So they're reciprocal. But it's really hard for me to say which one is more important. Being a Chinese, my native language, after all, enables me to enhance my knowledge and my social network and English increases my ability to compete. (Q8)

For this teacher, English and Chinese seemed to serve different and reciprocal functions which has made it difficult for him to indicate which language was more important. The native language was perceived as important because it was needed for living in China and because it enhanced his knowledge and social networks. At the same time, English was also seen as essential for enhancing competitiveness and allowed the teacher to know more about his native language. In this teacher's response, one issue that stands

out and contradicts the official 'ti-yong' principle is that while the mother tongue is

regarded as the most important for the Chinese people in the official discourse, the

teacher participants hold differing opinions on the relative status of the mother tongue

and English. The participants' perspectives on the mother tongue, in contrast to the idea

of 'Chinese as essence' ('ti'), show that the mother tongue is valuable because of its

practicality in China, like English. Its status as an identity marker is not necessarily the

major reason.

The results of Phase One Q sort questionnaires showed that a high school Chinese

teacher was the only participant of all the 87 participants who was extremely negative

towards English learning. This teacher perceived that English has monopolised the

study and job markets and has harmed the Chinese language and the society. Among the

teacher participants, he was the only teacher who thought that everyone was too

occupied with learning foreign language and therefore neglected the mother tongue. He

agreed (rather strongly) that English was more valued than Chinese in China. As he

stated in response to Q8 and Q9:

Excerpt (54):

It's not necessary to say. Of course the mother tongue is more important. You say which is more important, breastfeeding or milk from cows? We are human and so need to be breastfed. (Q8)

Excerpt (55):

Of course there are impacts, great impacts. For example, we don't have enough time to learn mother tongue now, and still haven't yet fully realised the beauty of the mother tongue. I think there are of course impacts, especially when English is popular among the young people. This trend has some impacts on the mother tongue. (Q9)

For this high school Chinese teacher, there were contradictions between learning

English and Chinese and the two languages were not mutually contributory. Although in

response to Q2, he could explain why learning English was necessary: *"in terms of what was called globalisation and internationalisation, I think the motives behind learning English nowadays are all for materialistic gains"* ("是从那个什么全球化国际桥梁的角度去讲 我觉得就实际而言 现在英语学习的功利性太强"), the negative impacts of English, including materialism, were significant for him. The use of "what was called" ("那个什么") in his comment is rather remarkable. With the use of 'what was called', this teacher appeared to distance himself from "globalisation and internationalisation", as if he was recalling this 'long chuck' of words from memory that was not relevant to him at all.

Other teachers in the case study thought that English has affected the mother tongue Chinese both positively and negatively. As the keywords in Q9 indicate, '时间' ('time') has the highest frequency. This is due to the common view held that learning English has taken up much time from learning Chinese. There was a concern that the Chinese proficiency of students was declining as they focused much more on English. One other common view among the teachers was that English has penetrated into the Chinese language, which has been more 'Englishied' or 'Europeanised'. As the classical Chinese lecturer remarked:

Excerpt (56):

Firstly, we have adopted many English grammars. Our language has been Europeanised to the point where bizarre sentences are starting to pop out as a by-product. We've emphasised English and neglected the learning and enhancement of our native language. For instance some people can now speak superb English, yet their ability to master their native language has suffered. However the spread of English also has its benefits. That is to know the ways of learning a language. (Q9)

In Q6 in particular, the highest frequency words include pronouns 'they' ('他们') and 'we/us' ('我们') for the teachers. Out of the nine instances of 'they', seven were

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actually used to refer to other Chinese people and only two instances referred to 'foreigner'. Below are some examples:

Excerpt (57):

*I don't think that all Chinese people need to learn English. First of all, **those in the cities** might need to because they have more chance to encounter foreigners. But for the peasants—and after all 70% of the Chinese population are **peasants**, now it's probably 50%—they won't have a strong incentive to learn English. Another important problem is the issue of the **older generation**. We now use English as something to get promotions; it's a very critical assessment in our **career life**. But for a lot of people, English isn't necessary for what they do and they've also passed the best age for learning the language. They learn English only so that they can pass exams instead of applying English to real life. It's all competition for the sake of competition. (Q6)*

Excerpt (58):

*I don't think that all Chinese people need to learn English. Some people for example won't need to deal with foreigners in their entire lives. But it also depends on one's needs. In the **remote mountainous areas of China**, for instance, **peasants** would remain peasants throughout their lives, so it's possible that they won't need to learn English. It's just like it isn't necessary for us to farm. Everyone learns or not depending on their needs. Then again, **those who study ancient Chinese literature** might just learn English according to his preferences, or he might be happy just learning Chinese. (Q6)*

Similar to the high school and university students, in clarifying the point that it was not necessary for all Chinese people to learn English, the teachers made classifications among 'the Chinese people'. For instance, they differentiated city dwellers from people living in 'farm villages' ('农村') and 'very remote mountainous areas' ('很偏远的山区'), and those who farmed and those who studied ancient Chinese literature. In some teachers' opinions, some people did not need to learn English because they would not have the opportunity to be in contact with foreigners over their entire lives. It is worthnoting that in the responses, 'entire life' ('一辈子') which occurred four times in Q6 was used to emphasise the lack of necessity to learn English.

Among the teachers participating, one teacher presented a counter-discourse to the classifications made among 'the Chinese people'. He pointed out that if one thought that some people did not need to learn English, that was then a division among 'the Chinese people':

Excerpt (59):

Well if it is so that not everyone needs to learn English, then in other words we're categorising among the population: who is to say that some people need to learn English and others don't? (Q6)

This teacher became a university English lecturer after graduating with a postgraduate degree. He was in his mid-twenties, born in Nanjing and moved to Beijing in 2003. He stated that his dialect was his mother tongue which he used with people in his hometown, while Putonghua was only used with "non-Nanjing people". In response to Q2, he did perceive that English was essential for everyone as it was beneficial for 'suzhi' and it could broaden horizons through exposure to western culture. His response to Q6 above demonstrates his strong 'collective Chinese footing' within which he made sense of English learning as a collective act.

Interestingly in Q6, the word '个人' ('oneself' literally meaning 'personal') is one of the keywords. It was used by the teachers to highlight their view that learning English was a 'personal' choice, interest or need:

Excerpt (60):

I don't think learning English is necessary for the entire Chinese population. Learning English should be a personal preference—it's merely something emphasised by the state. If one is sure of his or her needs or if one can manage English as a tool well enough according to one's materialistic needs then I guess it's OK. (Q6)

The use of 'personal/oneself' reflects to a certain extent the orientation of 'individual self' involved in the teachers' decision-making regarding English. From the above

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discussion, it is obvious that for the teachers, English learning also evokes their concept of 'the Chinese people' as being diversified.

Parents

Before the interviews began, each parent was asked to provide information about their mother tongue and place of birth. However, some parents did not consent to reveal the information which makes the analysis of the connection between their identity and mother tongue difficult. Only one of the parents stated that her mother tongue was the dialect spoken in her hometown, Xian.

The word 'foundation' ('基础') has the highest frequency in Q8 responses, illustrating that it was a common view among the parents that the mother tongue was the foundation and root of Chinese people. 'We/our' ('我们') is also a keyword. As Mrs Zhang stated,

Excerpt (61):

Even though I think that learning English is very important, I still think that the mother tongue is more important. Because as a Chinese, it is necessary to learn well the language of [our] own ethnicity and own country. Because Chinese is the soul of Chinese people, the root of Chinese people. The purpose of learning English is to understand better the world, and also let the world better understand us. (Q8)

As seen in this response, from Mrs Zhang's perspectives, the Chinese language was the soul and root of the Chinese people and therefore it was more important. English was important for instrumental reasons such as better understanding and communication with the world. In explaining their views about the importance of the mother tongue, similar to the other participant groups, the perspective of practicality and living

environment was also raised by some parents instead of an identity perspective. For instance,

Excerpt (62):

The mother tongue is more important because living in China, life cannot be separated from communicating in the mother tongue. (Q8)

This explains again why '生活' ('life') was also used rather commonly in responding to Q8. Parents thought that English has affected the mother tongue Chinese both positively and negatively. Like the teachers, as the keywords in Q9 indicate, '时间' ('time') has the highest frequency. This is due to the common view of parents that learning English has taken up much time from learning Chinese. There was a concern that the Chinese proficiency of students was declining as they focused much more on English:

Excerpt (63):

Theoretically, I think there should be no impacts. The impacts should be positive, meaningful and facilitative. Because mutual communication is fruitful. I think the popularity [of English] is a bit too extreme. Sometimes when you see the preschool and primary school students, his time spent on learning English is more than that on learning the mother tongue. When he still hasn't yet grasped the mother tongue, he goes and learns another language. In the end, it's possible that [he] won't be good at both. (Q9)

Unlike for high school and university student and teacher participants, the pronouns 'they' and 'we' are not the keywords for parents in Q6 responses. Contrary to the other groups, parents did not differentiate themselves from peasants and people living in the remote mountainous areas. Some parents perceived that Chinese people did need to know at least some English to enhance 'suzhi' and the international posture of the country, for example, "should try to learn to enhance the internationalisation of the country and people's suzhi" ("尽量都学 以提高国家的国际化程度和全民素质").

Nevertheless, according to some parents, China had a large population with varying

levels of 'suzhi' which could present challenges to 'English for all'. Below are the responses of two of the parents:

Excerpt (64):

It's in fact not practical and essential for all Chinese to learn English and not practical to see learning English as a necessity. This is because English is just a language tool or whether or not [you] have this skill. There are also other ways to communicate and exchange with the outside. There are also many Chinese people and there is a large discrepancy in 'suzhi'. It's not practical for all to learn English. (Q6)

Excerpt (65):

I don't see the point [of English for all]. Because there is discrepancy in personal educational levels and conditions. (Q6)

Chapter Two has illustrated that 'suzhi', an idea underpinned by the ideology of a unified Chinese whole, is expected to be the outcome of education from the official perspective. However, as seen in Excerpt (64), 'suzhi' is itself a determining factor of education success, rather than an outcome. The 'unified self' and the interconnection between the 'collective' and 'individual' self that the 'suzhi' discourse prescribes are therefore challenged. From the parents' perspectives, the Chinese whole could be divided on the basis of education levels, occupations, regions and even 'suzhi' levels.

From the responses of all the four participant groups in the case study, the immediate living environment is considered an important factor determining the importance of language and thus identity. As an English major postgraduate student commented on my speaking of Putonghua as a foreigner:

Excerpt (66):

*From the perspective of my major for **myself** ('personal'), for example, [English] is beneficial for finding a job, further study and personal development in the future ('personal'). From an international perspective ('**international'/'global'**), now that China has joined the WTO ('**Chinese national**') and connected with the world, you*

need to introduce [your] own culture to other countries, then you need a tool to get the message across. It's now impossible for everyone to learn Chinese in a short period of time. So I think that learning English is necessary in the short period of time. When everyone has understood and accepted Chinese culture to some extent, we can then promote Chinese. In fact, foreigners are all like you, being able to speak so fluent Chinese. (Q2)

This student, in giving his response, displayed his personal, global and Chinese national perspectives and the interconnection between the individual, Chinese national and global selves. He was aware of the status of China in the world and that the power of language came with the power of the country, which is a point the focal high school student Ben also made. What is noteworthy in this response is this student's comment on my Putonghua proficiency and identity as a foreigner. Even though he was aware that I was originally from Hong Kong and moved to Australia and could speak fluent Putonghua, I was still considered a foreigner. It appears then that fluent Putonghua is not an indicator of 'being Chinese', neither is my place of birth, outlook nor Chinese ethnicity. It is more a matter of the 'place' of belonging and living environment.

Of the four participant groups, university students seem to consider the roles of language from the perspectives of practicality and usefulness more than the perspective of identification. As Chapter One has discussed, Chinese people have an excessive tendency to use 'family logic' to talk about the Party, ethnicity and society which explains the impacts of 'motherisation' (Sun 1995:101) on Putonghua Chinese. However, on the contrary, as Dai and He (1997) state, the concept of 'native language' not only should mean a concrete language/dialect, but also a language that is the practical medium of communication. This apparently applies to the respondents who seem to be more influenced by the practicality of language in determining the importance of language. The "family logic" is not always adhered to in realising the society. Ye's (2004) illustration of 'wairen' and 'waidi' as discussed in Chapter One is

also evident in the responses of some university students for whom the local dialect is their mother tongue attached to the land regarded as their hometown.

In contrast to the 'one-language-one-identity' official discourse, the discussion in this section has shown that there is a plurality of 'being Chinese' among the participants whose identities are multifaceted - hometown affiliation and city dweller - and who have in their mind classifications among 'the Chinese people': peasants, villagers, and people with different occupations and educational and 'suzhi' levels. In the encounter with English, the participants still position themselves as Chinese, but the idea of 'the Chinese people' evokes other stratification. The differences in the ways 'suzhi' is interpreted by the official and popular discourses and the stratification of 'the Chinese people' in the people's minds point to the challenges presented to the upholding of the 'ti-yong' principle. Particularly, the integrity of 'ti' is questionable.

5.2.2 "In the past we thought that China was very powerful, but after you learn English, you would discover that China is actually very backward": 'multiple worlds' and 'English-speaking self'

As the analysis of interviews has shown, Chinese people today have closer contact with English and therefore their imagination about 'the Other' differs from the past. Especially for the younger generation, they are not just learning English but also experiencing English as a different way of being. In the face of the import of western culture and ideas, Chinese identity and culture is expected to remain intact. As is illustrated in this section, however, the positives of western culture, from the respondents' perspectives, contribute to the evolvement of Chinese culture and identity over time. Even though the co-existence of 'Chinese' and 'global citizen' identities could

be found among the participants in the case study as demonstrated in the above discussion, the participants also constructed and claimed an identity associated with English, that is, an English-speaking self. In this section, the development of this English-speaking self of the participants is examined.

High school students

As section 5.2.1 has demonstrated, there is a multiplicity of subject positions among the high school student participants that get played out on the framings of English learning (Kramsch 2009, 2010). The three levels of identities: global, national Chinese and student identities are framed and interconnected, as is prescribed by the official discourse about self illustrated in Chapter Two.

Among the high school student participants, there was one obvious case where frame-shifting occurred within one person, and yet, it showed that English defined the 'self-image' for the student in addition to it being a tool for communication.

A Grade 8 student, Sara was born outside of Beijing and moved to Beijing with her parents when she was in Grade 1. When the 'self' was not defined in Q2, Sara responded from a 'student' and 'Chinese' perspective:

Excerpt (67):

I think for most of the majors, say, for university, it's a standard. When I enter university, possibly there will be over 90% of majors which require English as a prerequisite (students' perspective) but I think for example, for those who study Chinese, their area of research is Chinese ('other Chinese' perspective), and English can only play a supplementary role. It's very important to learn English because after the 'reform and opening up', we need to first learn their language to communicate with foreign countries. There will be no barriers to communication (Chinese perspective)

From the response above, it can be seen that Sara shifted between different perspectives as a student, as well as a Chinese person in relation to other Chinese and in relation to foreign countries. In constructing herself as a student, Sara described English as a prerequisite at the university. She then shifted to comment on the need for English of other Chinese people using third person pronouns 'those' and 'their' (for example, in "for those who study Chinese, their area of research is Chinese"), thereby constructing herself as an individual Chinese. It is clear then that in her perception, 'the Chinese people' are also diversified. At the end of the response, the use of 'we' as opposed to 'their' by Sara in "...after the 'reform and opening up', we need to first learn their language to communicate with foreign countries" constructed herself as part of the Chinese whole in relation to foreigners.

When Sara mentioned English had increased her confidence in response to Q3, a more general role of English was mentioned in response to Q4:

Excerpt (68):

Because I didn't learn English really well when [I] first entered high school. But when I spent more time, [my] English had improved and it has given me confidence about my study, especially in this school full of genius. [It] gives me a lot of confidence. (Q3)

Excerpt (69):

For all Chinese people, it plays a supplementary role. I think it's the most important point. Second, it serves as a bridge for professional research. (Q4)

Sara was the only high school student who mentioned her enhanced confidence through learning English, an attribute of an 'individual self' and sign of self-identity change illustrated by Gao and her associates (Gao et al. 2005, 2007, Zhou and Gao 2009). As reflected in her response, her enhanced self-confidence played a part in defining her self-image amongst the "genius" in her school. From Sara's perspective, while English

was supplementary for the Chinese whole as shown in Excerpt (69), the language played a self-defining role for herself. Her English ability gave her subjective experience of the sense of self-worth and self-confidence (Kramsch 2009).

When the comparison between Chinese as a mother tongue and English was made in Q8, Sara's response still showed a 'Chinese-oriented identity':

Excerpt (70):

Definitely my classmates including myself think that the mother tongue is the most important because it is the root of our whole life, and furthermore in China, we now still have very few chances to meet foreigners. And unlike our school, not many schools have foreign teachers. So the mother tongue should be more important because our common people still speak Chinese. (Q8)

As a multilingual, like some other students, Sara seemed to resonate to both Chinese and English, as she was aware of the different contexts in which the two languages were used and relevant (Kramsch 2009). However, for Sara, her mother tongue was both the dialect and Putonghua, as she mentioned:

Excerpt (71):

My mother tongue is Putonghua and my hometown dialect. [both] are my mother tongues.

It is interesting that Sara who was born outside of Beijing made the following comments when asked whether all Chinese people should learn English:

Excerpt (72):

I don't think all people should learn English. Take a very simple example, I think English learning in China nowadays is targeting at us as children in the city. For those in the farms or mountains, it's not necessary for them to learn English. What's more, with their age, for the elderly, it's impossible. I think it should be up to their choice. All people in university should possibly learn. (Q6)

When Q6 evoked her concept of 'the Chinese people', Sara differentiated herself as a 'city dweller' (as 'us') from villagers, and differentiated between farmers (as 'those'), the elderly and university students. The classifications among 'the Chinese people' Sara made in Excerpt (67) discussed previously also showed her concept of a diversified Chinese whole. Her multiple facets of Chinese identities were reflected in her responses under different frames. She constructed herself as a Chinese in relation to other Chinese and foreign countries, but also a self associated with English. This, clearly, differs from the official discourse of 'ti-yong'.

In identifying the importance of Chinese and English and their contradictions, some high school students thought that Chinese and English were different and therefore English was not an intrusion into the Chinese language and culture. From their perspectives, Chinese people could take care of both Chinese and English language and cultures which could be hybridised:

Excerpt (73):

There are contradictions but I don't think they are big because in traditional Chinese culture, there are things more conservative and English represents innovation. It then provides traditional Chinese culture a positive supplement. (Q10)

Among the high school students, it was a commonly held view that Chinese and western culture could integrate and that English was a positive supplement of Chinese culture that was seen as relatively conservative. This view is in contrast to the official discourse discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Four that states that Chinese culture is deeply-consolidated and western culture should be a separate entity.

Rather than being a positive supplement existing side-by-side to Chinese culture, for some students, English learning had negative impacts on Chinese culture as reflected in

Q10 responses where the keywords include 'Halloween' ('万圣节'), and 'Christmas' ('圣诞节'), as well as 'China' ('中国'), 'tradition' ('传统'), and 'culture' ('文化') as in the following excerpt:

Excerpt (74):

There should be some contradictions. For example, now everyone celebrates Christmas and Halloween. But for Chinese festivals, say, mid-autumn festival, everyone happily has mooncakes and after that, there is nothing to do; in dragon boat festival, [everyone] only eats sticky rice dumplings; in Ching Ming Festival, I feel that not many people would visit [their] relatives. Some people have abandoned [their] own Chinese culture. (Q10)

When Q5 was set to explore why participants liked or disliked learning English, there was no mention of English being a 'tool' as there was in Q2 to Q4. But rather, more diverse viewpoints were found among the high school students including the intrinsic reasons for learning English. Some students learnt English for their interests in the language and culture or because "it is fun to learn English". Some students also admired the 'beauty' and 'charm' of English, which, for them, was not simply a tool. English also gave them perceptions of a different taste and feeling:

Excerpt (75):

*I quite like learning English because English has a **rhythm**. When saying it, it's quite **catchy**. So I quite like English.* (Q5)

In Kramsch's (2009) terms, English, as can be seen, affects the student's feelings in the living body and in the life in a foreign language, which in turn influences their embodied self. According to Kramsch (2009), emotions, feelings and memories are the embodied aspects of a socialised self. For some students, English, therefore, has become a part of their socialised self, their social identity, as it evokes feelings (for example, beauty, charm, rhythmic, catchy) and emotions (for example, Sara's enhanced self-confidence).

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In the official discourse of the 'ti-yong' principle, while learning the culture(s) embedded within English is considered not necessary, from the responses to Q11, it can be seen that the students were interested to know the culture, 'life' ('生活') and 'background' ('背景') (as the common words in Q11) of English in order to 'better' ('更好') (as a keyword) learn English. As Ben stated,

Excerpt (76):

I think understanding western culture is very important because that's why I learn English. It's for understanding the current situation of the West, western culture and even their advanced technology and for learning and bringing them into China. So understanding western culture not only can fulfil the learning purpose, at the same time, it can also let you better remember English. For example, through knowing the culture and history, the vocabulary or knowledge can be better memorised. So the purpose can be fulfilled and English can be better learnt. (Q11)

For diverse reasons, all high school students emphasised the importance of learning the culture(s) embedded within English. Some students also stressed that they could learn from the West their "good things" and another "world of things". Through learning English, the high school students are exposed to differing ways of seeing and understanding. They also construct and claim an identity associated with English.

University students

As indicated in the university students' interviews, they have also developed a 'self' associated with English alongside the global and Chinese identities which influence their perceptions of the world and their own country.

In Alex's interview, his imagination about the 'other world' and his global Chinese identity was prominent. As shown previously, he responded within a collective frame in

response to Q2. Below is his further response to Q2 divided into two excerpts, each of which emphasised different aspects about learning English:

Excerpt (77):

...but once you've been checking out all those other societies, you'll realise that they've all got something special: it's extremely helpful to establish more multi-dimensional ways of seeing the world. It's easy to be controlled when all one ever watches is that single television channel, or when all one ever reads is that same newspaper. So you think that all the other players on this planet want is to get rid of China when you read Globaltimes—when that is not true. We ought to be more open-minded. English can also let our thinking pattern be more multi-dimensional...(Q2)

Excerpt (78):

I think that learning English reflects one's suzhi. So everyone to their abilities—some are particularly bright with numbers, some are good at other fields, and you're talented at languages. If you're able to use this to your advantage, then it's also something that you can train yourself on. And as I said before, I major in Journalism, so I need to read the websites of CNN and BBC. What I should know should be complete rather than edited information. (Q2)

As indicated in the above response to Q2, Alex constructed a global Chinese identity in Excerpt (77) as well as a more individual-oriented self in Excerpt (78). When asked about the necessity of English, Alex made his points for all Chinese people in Excerpt (77) that English could broaden horizons and provide exposure to other ways of thinking. For individual Chinese (who, according to Alex, were bright with numbers or in other fields) including himself, Alex stated in Excerpt (78) that different people could excel in different areas, not necessarily in English. From these responses to Q2 where the self was not defined, it seems that Chinese people were treated by Alex as one collective whole, but within this collective whole, there was also diversity. There is no one single way of 'being Chinese'.

Alex's response to Q7 highlighted his thinking about the world outside China:

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Excerpt (79):

I think there should be some changes. For example, in terms of journalism, not everyone now only trusts Chinese media. Many people, they discover why foreign media and our media give hugely different and opposing reports on the same issue. This is the way of seeing many other things. In the past we thought that China was very powerful, but after you learn English, you would discover that China is actually very backward. There used to be a thinking that all the countries in the world were very hostile towards China, but after you understand more, it turns out that it's not that hostile. There are many other countries which are not as evil as we describe. I think this is for me the greatest change to thinking. (Q7)

While the official discourse emphasises the utility of English, English seems to offer the students more than just a communication tool. Some students in the study, like Alex, were not simply learning English, but also a new way of knowing and being which contradicted what they were told about China and the world. Alex thought that Chinese people were contained by their own views of "powerful" China and "hostile" West which had to be changed through knowing English. As this appears, English knowledge seems to challenge how Chinese people perceive themselves in relation to the world.

In response to Q2, Alex, as mentioned in 5.1.1, also expressed the desire to study overseas and explained the reasons for learning English. For him as a journalism student, foreign countries such as the US were regarded as the ideal place for a journalist profession. As the above excerpts demonstrate, exposure to the outside world could bring to Alex different ways of seeing China and the world, unedited information and open-mindedness. This is the fantasy about the West and America Rofel (2007) also discusses in her interviews with young Chinese women who have their own imaginations about foreign countries. As Gao et al. (2007) point out, if students learn English to go abroad or are very sensitive to learning results, they might get lost and feel the conflict between the two languages and cultures. For Alex, English appeared to have exposed him to a different 'world' which presented to him conflicting views and values (for example, "powerful" China and "hostile" West).

As the responses of university students indicate, English also seems to have become a part of their 'local life' that provides convenience as well as 'global life' which involves the mutual relationship between Chinese and the world. This makes the distinction between the utility of English and Chinese essence as well as the distinction between 'pure Chinese' and 'international' less clear-cut:

Excerpt (80):

Because first of all, for me, learning English isn't just for the sake of complying with the society or the wider environment. I think my life is in a sense invaded by English in so many respects that there'd be so much inconvenience if I don't actually learn the language. For example, I wouldn't be able to watch movies, browse the Internet, or even just play all those computer games. If I don't learn English, this all cannot be done. (Q2)

Excerpt (81):

Considering how China's developing these days, it's definitely helpful to master a language, whether you're on a tour or studying or living abroad. After all, it's an open world. Foreigners are stepping in and so are we walking out. So there needs to be a channel for us to understand one another. (Q2)

The official discourse prescribes that the 'pure Chinese plus international' identity should be the identity Chinese people bear (Orton 2009a). However, as pointed out in Excerpt (80), the boundary between the 'local' and 'global'/'international' life appears to have become less clear-cut, as the use of English is so widespread that almost all aspects of life involve English. The mention of travelling and studying abroad in Excerpt (81) also reflects the fluidity of the 'local' and 'global' (Pennycook 2007, 2010) which blurs the distinction between Chinese and the world.

With the 'ti-yong' principle guiding China's English language education, some students' motives of learning English were still associated with pure interest in the language and its associated culture(s). One such student is a first-year journalism

postgraduate, William. William was in his early twenties, from Shanxi and moved to study in Beijing in 2005. He had passed the Band-6 College English Test and reported that he spoke his dialect in his hometown. After he had moved to Beijing, he started to speak Putonghua which he said was his mother tongue.

When William mentioned that English was the common language of the world and the 'global village' within a 'collective frame' in Q2 where the self was not defined, he responded to Q3 with more 'personal' motives which he stated might not be applicable to other Chinese people. These motives included pure interest in the language and its associated culture(s), and the happiness learning English could bring. Below are William's responses to Q2 and Q3:

Excerpt (82):

*Because the world is a **global village** and becoming ever-more integrated, you need to first understand their language if you need to understand **others**. Thus we must learn English as it's the **universal language**.* (Q2)

Excerpt (83):

***Personally**—this **may not be so for other Chinese people**—I like the chemistry that you get between two contacting cultures. I think these interactions are very interesting, and that's why English for me is very charming. I'm very happy when learning the language, because I can sense the logic behind English when I do so. Not only are their values very interesting, but I'm also having a feeling that all this will somehow be useful in the future. Learning English is more of my personal preference.* (Q3)

As reflected in William's responses, the benefits of English for himself and the collective whole were clear-cut but they were not contradictory. At the national level, English was necessary for communicating and cooperating with the world as shown in Excerpt (82). At the personal level, William showed a clear intrinsic interest. At the beginning of Excerpt (83), before explaining his interest in the culture(s) associated with English, William clearly stated that his reasons for learning English might go

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beyond the 'collective Chinese frame': *"personally—this may not be so for other Chinese people"*. In learning English, William also developed a sense of happiness as he came to understand more about the values behind the language. This again demonstrates that William has developed a socialised self associated with English which brings him subjective experience and emotions (Kramsch 2009). According to Kramsch (2009), in language learning, learners can be conscious of the outside world as well as of their own experience of the outside world. For some university students like William, it was apparent in the interviews that they did not just learn English as a language but they also attended to the experience of learning the language and the feelings they encountered. Their experience with English allowed them to start to imagine the world associated with English.

While Q5, where the self was not defined, was set to explore why the participants liked or disliked learning English, there were more diverse viewpoints found including the intrinsic reasons for learning English. The keywords found in the Q5 responses of the university students are much more diverse than the keywords of the high school students, teachers and parents groups. These keywords include 'they' ('他们'), 'interest' ('兴趣'), 'culture' ('文化') and 'exams' ('考试'). Unlike high school students, university students expressed the view that exams had hindered the development of their interests in English.

A student, Issac, from whom Excerpt (80) above was taken, was a third-year journalism student in his early twenties. He was from Hunan and moved to Beijing in 2007. He had passed the Band-4 College English Test and was preparing for the Band-6 Test at the time of the interview. He reported that in 2005, he participated in a national English singing contest and sang a song of the band Westlife. He liked western music very

much and Black Eye Peas was one of his favourite singers/bands. For Issac, his dialect, which he used in his hometown, was his mother tongue and, as he stated, Putonghua was a tool he used to communicate with people outside his hometown. As for English, it seemed to have become a part of his life outside study:

Excerpt (84):

*In the past I could remember vocabulary very quickly, and I would never forget what I had remembered. But now, the vocabulary are just there themselves. You simply remember them without you putting them into context. For example, you don't have a text, a sentence, and you simply remember the vocabulary. You may remember it but when you need to use it, you don't know how. Gradually, you will forget it. For example, I am annoyed that I can't use it after learning or it's useless. **I feel very annoyed.** But say when I watch the NBA match, watch movie, watch online TV, and then discover I can understand its meanings, **I will feel very happy**. Now I am still practicing my listening skill. The teacher teaches us the methods of practicing. That is, you listen to a few passages, then you write them down, listen to a few passages again, and write them down. This is said to be quite useful. I go to the VOA (Voice of America) website to download ordinary English speech. Sometimes, there is a French accent if the speaker is a French reporter. Sometimes, when there is breaking news, he reports very quickly and I can't understand. **I then feel like defeated.** But sometimes, I feel more relaxed and can understand a whole text. When I can understand 70-80%, **I will feel very happy**. (Q3)*

English, for Issac, has become a tool that provides convenience to his life and even a sense of success, satisfaction as well as failure which can affect the formation of his self-image. As Issac stated at different points (as bold in the excerpt above), learning English could lead him to "feel very annoyed", "feel like defeated" and "feel very happy". He was highly capable of mapping English learning onto his daily life experience and feelings. Learning English, in this regard, is linked to his emotional experience and confirms "the representation of (his) primary happy sense of self" (Kramsch 2009:54), as well as his different feelings that influence self-perception.

As indicated in the responses to Q11, the university student participants were interested to learn about the culture(s), 'life' and 'background' (as the common words in Q11) associated with English. Very interestingly, 'vocabulary' is one of the keywords in Q11

(adding up to 16 instances). The students perceived the need to learn about the culture(s) in order to memorise vocabulary more easily and that knowing the background of vocabulary could facilitate understanding and learning. In explaining his views on why learning the culture(s) associated with English was necessary, Issac provided the following explanation which shows that the culture(s) associated with English also played a part in his self-formation:

Excerpt (85):

I think it is very essential to learn western cultural knowledge. For example, we started to learn English when we were young. You sometimes feel that when you have some knowledge of a particular aspect, you feel that learning English in this aspect is under control and easy. But when there are things you have never dealt with, you will feel it's hard to understand such as the customs and traditions of Halloween in the West, and the customs and traditions of Thanksgiving. If you come across a text that introduces these things, and sometimes you don't even understand a bit of it, you feel very strange, very hard to understand. But when you understand the local culture, you will feel "oh it's actually like this. I can understand it". Take an example from sports. The US president Obama and Brazilian president are both football fans. In summer this year, there was a united league match in which Brazil won over the US in the final. And in the G20 Summit not long ago, when they saw each other, the Brazilian president gave Obama a jersy of the Brazilian team on which the scores of the match Brazil won were printed. Obama was then very gloomy. This became a piece of news. When we practice our listening skills and reading, if I know of this football culture and the relations of these two countries, and when I do the reading and listening, I will feel it's very easy to understand. (Q11)

Learning the culture(s) embedded within English was seen by Issac as an important means by which he could successfully acquire English, which, in turn, provided him with a sense of success and pleasure. In Kramsch's (2009:75) terms, Issac's impulse to learn English well has to do with the "fulfilment of the self". The culture(s) associated with English play(s) a facilitative role in Issac's successful acquisition of English and the resultant development of the sense of self. In learning English (or in fact any language), it is also impossible to separate the associated culture(s) from the language itself. Clearly, learning English culture(s) also plays a part in the formation of the student's "idealized" (ibid.) self.

Despite the university students' interest in the culture(s) embodied in English, they were at the same time aware of the contradictions between Chinese and English cultures. As Issac explained:

Excerpt (86):

There're definitely going to be conflicts. Like I said, the spread of English would be accompanied by the spread of western cultures. And there are definitely clashes between the two. Take the concept of divorce as an example. Divorces were very uncommon in China before. But it has become more common after the 'reform and opening up', and especially after the '90s. The spread of English also came with the notion of sexual liberation and the rise of feminism, raising the awareness of the female population. There's also more of a sense of protecting oneself and of maintaining the rights of the individual. Take euthanasia for example. Euthanasia is definitely prohibited in China and in many European countries, it is sanctioned. In Chinese we have a saying that the body is given by one's parents, and that one's life not only belongs to him or her but that he or she must also consider others' feelings. But in foreign cultures, life itself is controlled and belongs to the individual as long as it does not affect others. Controversies like these are typical conflicts between the two cultures. Others like cohabiting and single-mothers are also classic examples. There's another saying which emphasises the notion of filial piety. You have to take care of the elders as well as your children. As your parents get older and when you have the ability to take care of them, you should do so with all your ability. But in western countries, they actually get rid of their kids at a young age and let them live their own lives. Sometimes they're even against the concept of sons and daughters being over-caring of the elders. They take this as interference to personal lives. It's like, OK, I've raised you and my job is done. Now you've got your own family and work, just go on and live your life and there's no need for you to come and manage mine; and even up to the point where they say "I don't want to let you take control". This is also a great conflict for traditional Chinese culture. (Q10)

English does expose the university students to another 'world' of practices and values which are very different or even contradictory to traditional Chinese culture. These, as Issac explained, include values such as filial piety, individual rights, and ideas about sex and independence. In the official discourse, as illustrated in Chapter Four, filial piety and individual rights (individual self) are utilised to appropriate and promote English as a collective tool for modernising the country. From Issac's perspectives, English was however contradictory to some Chinese cultural ideas such as the idea of looking after aged parents and the interconnection between the individual and 'family' (collective)

self. Learning English has exposed the university students to different ways of identifying the world, their own country and themselves. It has also led them to perceive differently the culture(s) associated with English as well as their own Chinese culture. For some students, English has also contributed to the formation of an ideal self associated with English language and culture(s).

Teachers

Like the two student cohorts, some teacher participants in the case study also displayed signs of developing an 'English-speaking self'. This is evidenced by their views about the relative status of Chinese and English and about learning the culture(s) associated with English. As discussed in 5.2.1, some teachers perceived that mother tongue Chinese and English were equally important. Jessica, an English tutor as well as a research assistant in the English department of a university in Beijing, was one of these teachers. Jessica graduated with a master degree in English literature. She was born in Beijing, in her early twenties and reported that she could only speak Putonghua. As probed by the interview questions, 'frame-shifting' occurred within her where she constructed different orientations of 'self'.

Through Q2 to Q3, Jessica seemed to maintain an 'individual frame' when her 'self' was not defined and defined as a Chinese respectively. In response to Q4 when her 'self' was defined as a part of the collective Chinese whole, she was able to speak from a Chinese perspective. Below are her responses to Q2 to Q4:

Excerpt (87):

First of all, I very much like learning English. I have liked learning English since I was young. Before even attending English lessons in primary school, I started to learn

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English. Then, since I started, I have felt that English is very interesting, so I chose
English as a major in university. (Q2)

Excerpt (88):

To me English is a very important device to communicate and to absorb western culture.
English has also become a part of my life. I don't know whether this is a function for me
as a Chinese, but I sometimes sense a contradiction between the two. Occasionally I
find myself a little unfamiliar with Chinese, and sometimes people might think that the
reason I learn English is because I'm not patriotic. (Q3)

Excerpt (89):

For ordinary Chinese people, learning English can provide convenience to their job
especially now there are many jobs that involve dealing with foreigners or people who
work in multinational corporations. So English is needed and, for ordinary Chinese
people, English is a very important communication tool. (Q4)

In Jessica's responses, there was a clear identifying subject indicated by the use of 'I' or 'me'. For instance, in response to Q2 when the 'self' was not defined, there were seven uses of 'I' which she used to explain how she came to like English and found English "interesting". Jessica mentioned that she watched a lot of American movies, listened to English music and read English books because she really liked English which has become a part of her life. Her sense of liking showed her subjective emotional experience in learning English (Kramsch 2009). The comment: "I don't know whether this is a function for me as a Chinese" in the response to Q3 is remarkable. Similar to the journalism student, William, this shows that she was thinking beyond the 'Chinese frame' and there was very likely something 'non-Chinese' associated with English in Jessica's mindset that led her to make such a comment. In responding to Q3, Jessica also associated English with a deteriorating sense of patriotism, possibly drawing on her knowledge about the historical association of English with foreigners.

From Q2 to Q4, Jessica's frame of reference is consistently an 'individual-oriented' one. As shown in Q4 response, in explaining the roles of English for the Chinese people,

Jessica used "their" to refer to "ordinary Chinese people" from whom she tried to distinguish herself. The roles of English for herself (as indicated in Q2 and Q3 responses) and for "ordinary Chinese people" (as indicated in Q4 response) were somehow different. For her, the motivation to learn English was more intrinsic (that is, interest in culture and sense of likeness) whereas for the Chinese people, it was more instrumental (that is, communication tool and job). Jessica, seemingly, has developed an individual self associated with English.

For Jessica, presumably because of the importance of English, there was not a definite answer as to which language was more important in response to Q8:

Excerpt (90):

It depends on how and from what perspective you interpret it. In terms of identity, I think Chinese isn't all that important to me, because I won't forget it no matter what. So I can't tell you which language is more important, but I think that Chinese must be mastered no matter what. When you learn a language you should learn it well, and this applies both to Chinese and English. (Q8)

Jessica did not consider the importance of Chinese as the mother tongue from an 'identity' perspective. Chinese was interestingly taken to resemble English as if the mother tongue Chinese also needed to be learnt like other languages. Despite some contradictions between learning English and Chinese, Jessica held that both languages should be learnt well. Similarly, for some other teachers, Chinese and English were equally important:

Excerpt (91):

This depends on who you ask. For me both are important because my work involves a lot of interpreting and translating and strengthening the relationship and communication between people. But for some people, it might be unnecessary to learn so much English since Chinese might be the most important for them. This is indeed the case in my hometown, for instance, where there are basically no foreigners. Then Chinese is definitely important and English is not really important. (Q8)

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Excerpt (92):

I think both are important. It's definitely more important for my work because I teach. But my native language isn't only useful as a communicating device when I communicate with friends and family within the country. Because I also work as a translator and interpreter, if my Chinese isn't good enough, then I can't do my job. So for me they're equally important. (Q8)

In the views of these teachers, English was important for their employment while

Chinese was the tool for communicating and expressing emotions in the country. The

two languages were perceived as important and useful in different domains. This had

possibly made it difficult for the teachers to determine which one was more important.

For many teachers, English even provides a window into looking at their own

traditional Chinese culture through comparisons which explains why Q10 responses

include 'tradition' and 'traditional Chinese culture' as keywords. For instance, in

response to Q10, the classical Chinese lecturer expressed the following view:

Excerpt (93):

Not only do I think that learning English has no contradictions against traditional culture, but it might even be a mutual symbiosis where one can compensate the other and where interaction between the two can take place. One thing beautiful about the Chinese culture is that we're more modest. Chinese culture is more inner-oriented, and this is reflected in the construction of the Great Wall, the intention of which was to defend ourselves instead of attacking others. But western culture has its positives as well. Most English-speakers take on a more direct approach. They speak without having to go in circles. Sometimes that appears more candid and honest, which I think is a positive attitude worth learning. So by learning English we're also learning the cultural tradition and quality that'll compensate for what is lacking in our own culture, while simultaneously exporting the good things about it. (Q10)

In the teachers' perceptions, Chinese culture would not be damaged but even enhanced

by the input of western culture(s). This classical Chinese lecturer not only appreciated

the beauty of Chinese culture, but equally, he thought that English culture(s) also had

their positives that could "compensate" for the shortcomings of Chinese culture. Like

the university students, the teacher participants all agreed with the need to learn the culture(s) associated with English. There are no prominent keywords in the responses to Q11 but the view that culture and language are inseparable is rather common.

According to the teachers, the vocabulary and ways of using language were affected by tradition. Learning the cultural knowledge of English could therefore facilitate English learning and communication. English and its associated culture(s) have led some teachers to reflect upon Chinese culture and how English can contribute to its development. This idea of incorporating English culture(s) into Chinese culture contradicts the official discourse that emphasises the 'pure Chinese and international' identity as well as the 'ti-yong' principle which discourages the learning of English culture(s).

Parents

Compared to the student and teacher participants, the parent participants did not display as much development of self associated with English learning. However, their attitude towards English and its associated culture(s) were positive. Similar to the teacher participants, some parents held the view that Chinese culture could be enhanced and further developed by incorporating the positives about English culture(s). In response to Q10, Mrs Zhang and Mr Pu respectively expressed the following views:

Excerpt (94):

I think at the beginning there are conflicts and contradictions. But as English is studied more in-depth, the conflicts and contradictions between English and traditional Chinese culture can be solved. We can more precisely spread traditional Chinese culture to the people of other countries in the world through English, in order to achieve the hybridity of Chinese and western cultures. (Q10)

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Excerpt (95):

Maybe there will be some changes and development as a result of the influences of western culture on traditional culture. It's not like before. For example, traditional festivals also influence the West. Now for example, foreigners also eat our dumplings, right? Time is evolving and tradition cannot remain unchanged. Tradition also has time imprinted on it. (Q10)

Despite the existence of some contradictions between Chinese and English cultures, a common view held among the parent participants was that English and traditional Chinese culture(s) could co-exist and be hybridised through 'learning' from each other. It is also clear from Mr Pu's response in Excerpt (95) that Chinese tradition should not remain unchanged and should learn from western culture(s).

Consistent with the view that English culture(s) can contribute to the development of Chinese culture, in response to Q11, all parents agreed with the need to learn the embodied culture(s) of English in order to better learn the language. There are no prominent keywords but the view that culture and language are inseparable is very common. As Mrs Zhang stated,

Excerpt (96):

I think it's necessary to learn some western cultural knowledge. English should be like the salt in our cooking. It's necessary. But only if it is integrated into western cultural knowledge, its tastiness will manifest, not only the taste of being salty. So it is still necessary to learn some western culture to help learn English. (Q11)

It is apparent that for Mrs Zhang the true meanings of English could not be realised without learning its associated western culture(s). In Kramsch's (2009) terms, the reference to cooking as a life activity is an indicator of Mrs Zhang's subjectivity involved in her English learning experience. Like the student cohorts, Mrs Zhang not only attended to the language in learning English, but she was also conscious of her subjective experience of learning the language as well as its culture(s).

Although the parent participants in the case study tended to maintain their 'collective Chinese frame' throughout the interviews as demonstrated in section 5.2.1, the culture(s) embodied in English still led them to rethink and reflect upon traditional Chinese culture which, in their perceptions, could evolve and develop by learning from the West.

5.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented and illustrated the results of Phase Two of the interviews with high school and university students, teachers and parents. Their discourses about Chinese identity and English have also been compared with the official discourses. In both the official and popular discourses, the distinctions between China and 'the world' are always made on the basis of the level of technology and development, and historical incidents between China and the outside world. English seems to be losing its group categorisation function as Chinese people are also acquiring the language as a symbol of an international/global identity. Instead of being western-dominant, the direction of global movements of languages and ideas are considered as two-way exchange (that is China «» the world). English in today's China has drawn Chinese and 'the world' into a new relationship characterised by equality and mutuality.

On English and Chinese identity, there are a diverse range of views of the government and the public, some of which are contradictory. As examined in this chapter, English has helped Chinese people reflect upon their identity, and Chinese people do not adhere entirely to the official 'ti-yong' principle. On the national level, the introduction of English into China is aimed to bring Chinese people together. However, on the social level, as has been demonstrated, it causes division. While the official discourse

emphasises the "one language-one culture-one nation" feature of China, the university student and teacher participants tended to recognise more the complex reality that heterogeneity does occur within the country at the levels of locality, education, age, occupation and even suzhi, which is intended to unite the Chinese whole. Putonghua is also not necessarily regarded as the mother tongue. As reflected particularly in the students' responses, the Chinese language and English have been used in similar domains and for similar purposes. "Practice" involving English is integrated with a wide range of other social practices for the students (Pennycook 2010) and has become a part of their lives. To be able to grasp the language, the participants generally contend that they need to learn the culture(s) embodied in English. There is no argument against the knowing of western culture.

As also shown in the case study, English has contributed to a sense of 'self' which might not be interconnected with the 'collective self'. The participants' exposure to English, foreigners and foreign culture(s) has led them to new ways of knowing, identifying and imagining. The experience and feelings associated with using and learning English seem to vary according to the level of instruction of English to which the participants are exposed. While the older generation such as parents and teachers associate English learning with more the new skills and ways of thinking, students especially university students, who are more advanced learners, associate English learning with changing self and new cultures and worlds (Kramsch 2009:59). Although English provides visions of another world and evokes other imaginations and identities especially for the younger generation, this actually happens alongside the continuous influence of the Chinese language and culture. The students have already been socialised in their native Chinese language and culture while their imagination in English is at work constructing different worlds and realities to them (Kramsch 2010). Some of the student and teacher

participants in the case study also perceived the possibility of connecting their Chinese-speaking and English-speaking selves. Learning English does not weaken the mother tongue identity and affiliation with Chinese culture of some participants in the four groups. Instead, English knowledge has even enhanced the participants' appreciation of Chinese language and culture, echoing Gao's (Gao et al. 2005, 2007) notion of 'productive bilingualism' mentioned in Chapter Two.

The findings of the interviews support the previous studies (for example, Yum 2008) discussed in Chapter Two that Chinese learners of English maintain their own mother-tongue cultural identity, while at the same time, have developed to varying degrees an identity associated with English. Nevertheless, it is not found in the current study that university English majors, who have studied English for a much longer period of time, tend to affiliate more with English culture(s) than non-English majors. Some English majors in fact dislike English and are learning the language just for its practicality and for better job prospects. In the current study, it is the Journalism majors who tend to affiliate more with English and its culture(s). As Gao and her associates mention (2003, 2007), knowing more about English-speaking culture(s) might arouse the awareness of their own native cultural identity for English majors and they are better motivated to work for the prosperity of their families and their country. As the case study has demonstrated, this also applies to non-English majors and high school students. Besides their intrinsic interest in the target culture(s), they also exhibit their desire to present their native culture to the world by using English as an instrument.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and implications

In highlighting the contribution the present research makes to the concepts of language, identity and culture in China and to the ways of thinking about multiple languages and identity/ties in general, this chapter brings together the findings of the case study and the literature review.

As set out in the earlier chapters of the thesis, through English as a window, the present research has explored and identified what is meant by 'being Chinese' in today's China including both the official and popular perspectives of Chinese identity. Using the 'ti-yong' (Chinese as an essence, English for utility) principle as a core reference point, it has also sought to compare the two perspectives.

This chapter begins by discussing the national, local and personal manifestations of 'being Chinese' as reflected in the case study. It then concludes with the implications of the current study for the roles of English in the quest for Chinese identity in the twenty-first century in the light of the 'ti-yong' principle and a note on the potential areas for future research.

6.1 "Being Chinese" in the global world: national, local and personal levels

The role of English in China is traced through its domestication in the country from the early nineteenth century and reflections upon its essentiality for the country's future. The key words and phrases used around English in the official and popular discourses reflect the values and attitudes that influence Chinese discourses about English, and

about Chinese identity and its relation to 'the Other' including the 'suzhi' discourse and discourses about the unified Chinese identity and the growing global status of Putonghua. Official as well as some popular discourses point to the monoglot ideology that underpins Chinese identity, while some popular discourses also reflect the perception that Chinese identity is ever-changing. Chinese identity, as this thesis has shown, takes on different meanings at the national, local and personal levels.

History has always played a role in defining 'being Chinese' and influenced Chinese views of 'self' and 'the world' up until today. This includes, as illustrated in earlier chapters, the sense of being the 'middle kingdom', historical relations with the West and the revival of Confucianism. Chinese perceptions of a Chinese self and the world have determined the status of English as a form of historical baggage. In Chinese discourses, both institutional and popular, globalisation is taken as a 'two-way exchange' where every country contributes and learns from each other. In this context, English is also portrayed as a sub-discourse about globalisation whereby it is reinterpreted as something 'new' and 'neutral' essential for integrating into 'the world'. Quoting Barmè's (1999:344) words at the beginning of Chapter One, there have been attempts at "a total reconstruction of the past" which is employed to begin a new history in China. In turning English as a historical 'barbaric' language into a Chinese characteristic, the language is aligned with other known elements to the Chinese public including the role model discourses, emotions, Chinese ideas of learning as well as other modern skills which portray English as a sub-discourse of China's modernisation.

While Putonghua Chinese is an identity marker of Chinese ethnicity, English adds the dimensions of 'openness', 'newness' and 'modernity' to 'being Chinese'. Both Putonghua and English have been used together to create and project a

monolingual/monocultural and modern Chinese identity to the world. There is perceived illegitimacy of the distinctions between China and the world on the basis of economic and social development as well as language. From both the official and popular perspectives, English is a lever for change in China's intergroup relations (Tajfel 1978) with the world and Putonghua as an emerging global language that facilitates the mobility of China to a more powerful and respected position.

The popular discourses, as this thesis has demonstrated, reflect differently on the idea of 'being Chinese'. Chinese people now live in an era with much more global outreach and less constrained by previous ideologies about learning English. On the personal level, they learn English within their own imagination of 'being modern' and 'being Chinese'. While the encounter with the outside world makes Chineseness more salient, some young people in the interviews did display the desire to transcend the collective-self developed in the past which was named as 'Chinese'.

How do people belong to 'China'? What does it mean to belong? These are questions related to the various ways people are attached and attach themselves to a place, to China, to the world. As this thesis has shown, although Confucianism has been promoted as a national symbol of Chinese identity on the global level, its influence seems to be weakening in the popular mind within China. In terms of language, which has been the major focus of this thesis, the symbolic values of Putonghua, local dialects and English for the popular have been revealed. While the institutional discourse perceives Putonghua as a symbol of Chinese identity and English a tool for communication and promoting China, the majority of the respondents indicated that Putonghua was their mother tongue when in fact most university students and teachers, and some parents surveyed only switched to Putonghua after migrating to Beijing.

Putonghua is also portrayed as more preferable than local dialects both economically and culturally. For some Chinese, both the dialect and Putonghua were mother tongues, and a few referred only to their dialects as mother tongues.

As illustrated in this research, there is only one dominant identity in China in institutional discourse. This identity is attached to China as the 'motherland' and Putonghua as the most important identity marker. However, the present research has revealed the embodied dimensions of language-learning experience of Chinese people who give meaning to a very personal and physical encounter with Putonghua, local dialects and English and to the associations they evoked. In Kramsch's (2009) terms, they have different subjective representations in Chinese people's minds which involve good and bad memories, and judgments of self-worth.

Chinese people, especially university students, resonate with Putonghua, other Chinese dialects and English relative to one another. They have a more acute awareness of the social, cultural and emotion contexts in which they speak and learn various languages or dialects and of the life experiences these languages or dialects evoke. This 'meta-awareness' may bring back the memories of the past, memories of who they are and juxtapose things associated with the languages or dialects in their subjective imagination. Particularly, this research has revealed the different facets of Chinese identity of English learners: namely, students, city-dwellers, farmers, Nanjingers; each of which gives them a particular identity that has different weights in different contexts. There are various perceptions of 'self' especially among both high school and university students who can shift between speaking for themselves and the Chinese whole, revealing the dynamicity and multiplicity of the sense of self and the existence and relative significance of their local 'collective' and 'individual' self.

As this research has demonstrated, younger students are comparatively more influenced by their perceptions and imaginations of China being a part of the 'global community'. As Essary (2007:512) remarks:

a global frame establishes the world as the point of orientation by incorporating supranational discourse into the interpretation of an event or issue". It also "locate[s] an event in terms of world instead of national history.

The 'global mindset', in this case, can be seen as a remedy that has led the students to also focus on world/global issues and contexts within which English is used as a universal skill. As reflected in the interviews, this 'global' mindset is quite remarkable for university and high school students for whom English is an international language belonging to the whole world, not only the British and Americans. Their awareness of the 'global-ness' of English has transcended their local concerns and ideologies about 'self' and 'English'. The 'individual self' (+global perspective) involved in learning English is more salient than the traditional 'collective self'. In the case study, while retaining their sense of Chinese identity and exhibiting loyalty to Chinese culture, university students demonstrably also had developed an internationalist perspective. Seeing the researcher's experience as a template - a Chinese educated and resident overseas, they desire to live as a Chinese in foreign countries, as they are not satisfied with experiencing the 'world' from home. From this, it appears that it is not so much the western culture which undermines their Chinese affinity but their global mindset and perspective.

While the official discourse perceives the co-existence of modern development and ancient cultural traditions as desirable, as manifested in the Beijing Olympics discussed in Chapter One, many Chinese respondents perceived the co-existence of traditional and global perspective as a sign of 'hybridity'. This hybridity discourse is an attempt that Chinese people, especially from the younger generation, make towards an ideal 'bilingual' environment. English is a means for them to perform the modern, multicultural and "cosmopolitan Chinese" identity (Rofel 2007). Just as Pennycook (2010) examines, practice involving English is now an everyday social activity integrated with other social practices that constitute the meanings of 'modern Chinese life'. English is necessary for access to information, TV games and English popular culture. It has become/is becoming part of the local and provides a place where people can engage with the global world. The younger generation is more adaptable to the global world which is multilingual and multicultural. English not only leads them to reflect on their Chinese identity, but it also provides a space for exploring their other identity/identities. Contrary to the official monolingual ideology, there are clearly trends of being multilingual and multicultural. Chinese people have the "symbolic competence" (Kramsch 2011:359) to choose their identity in different contexts among their multiple identities. The many 'local' aspects of Chinese identity and society are covered up by the promoted homogeneity.

According to Chun (1996:121), when the Chinese diaspora identify themselves as 'Chinese', it is more to their 'ethnicity' than 'identity' that they are referring. Chun also quotes in his paper Wang Gungwu's remark: "the Chinese have never had a concept of identity, only a concept of Chineseness, of being Chinese and of becoming un-Chinese" (Wang, cited in Chun 1996, p. 122). The concept of Chinese identity is treated as a sense of belonging to the "ethnic homeland" rather than to a group that shares the same

traditions and culture (Chun 1996:122). An ethnicity is constituted by the "beliefs and practices of everyday people" but the cultural traits and traditions that shape those beliefs and practices may vary with the core culture (Chun 1996:125). In this context, one's language ability is not necessarily reflected in his/her nationality and ethnicity. However, the promotion of Putonghua and Confucianism both inside and outside China as representation of being Chinese is a means by which the Chinese whole is constructed, and by which all ethnicities are forced into the centralised idea of 'being Chinese' (Barmè 8 June 2010). The present research has shown that the idealised nativeness of speaker of Putonghua which assumes a direct "one-nation-one-language-one-culture-one-self view" (Train 2002:3) does not work. There is not one rigid way of being Chinese, and English currently provides a culture-free space for exploration and imagination. The idea of 'homeland' applies not only to the Chinese diaspora, but it also applies to Chinese people on the mainland. As this research has shown, while people keep their Chinese ethnicity, they also develop multiple identities including the hometown identity.

The present research has explored the knowledge and thinking that guide the Chinese people's activity involving the entity called 'English', which is transforming under the influence of both local, national and global forces. While China's relations with the world may demand significant use of Chinese identity, they also call for scrutiny of the identity. As this research has shown, Chinese have an affinity with the nation but they also have affections for the outside world. The West for some Chinese people provides access to 'another world'. It is clearly still the case that Chinese's contacts with the outside world produce the perception that, as illustrated in Chapter One, there are other sources of knowledge and inspiration outside the country.

6.2 The roles of English in the quest for Chinese identity in the twenty-first century and the way forward

The position Chinese people take in learning English has been investigated using the 'ti-yong' principle as a reference point. Through a study of the mismatch between institutional and popular discourses about English, this study has problematised the 'ti' and 'yong' aspects of the 'ti-yong' principle. The nature of 'yong' has been shown to be changing among learners whose sense of identity changes and diversifies as triggered by their exposure to the world associated with English. As a result, the integrity of 'ti' has become questionable.

The major differences between the official and popular discourses, as reflected in the case study, lie in their views on the rigidity of Chinese identity. In the light of the 'ti-yong' principle, the table below summarises the differences between the official and popular discourses about the role of Putonghua as one of the elements of 'ti' in defining Chinese identity.

Nature of 'ti' (Chinese essence)

Perspectives	Institutional	Popular
Role of Putonghua	Putonghua is the 'mother tongue' of all Chinese	Dialect, Putonghua is/are mother tongue(s)

As this thesis has shown, Putonghua is a core element of 'ti' of the Chinese whole from both the institutional and popular perspectives. The high school students in this study seem to retain more strongly a sense of national identity. They probably do not have such a strong sense of the 'localness', as they were born and/or raised in Beijing as a

national ethnic centre. Even though the monolingual identity Chinese people are expected to have developed is somewhat implied in the mother tongue ideology and standard language ideology examined in Chapter One, the respondents' identification with their hometowns, and their dialects as mother tongues show that "native place identity" (Goodman 1995:389), which is very much concealed by the monoglot ideology, is still significant among Chinese people. As Chen (2003) mentions, non-local people feel they are 'wairen' ('outsider') when treated in 'waidi' ('outsider/other-place').

The participants' responses demonstrate that for Chinese people, the Chinese identity is much more diverse and multifaceted. The status of Putonghua still appears unquestionable but the language is not the only language significant for Chinese people. The regional differences of 'ti' seem to inherently make the formation of a unified 'ti' difficult.

The table below summarises the differences between the institutional and popular discourses about the utility of English which can demonstrate the ways in which English learning has influenced Chinese identity.

Nature of 'yong' (English utility)

Perspectives	Institutional	Popular
Differences between Putonghua and English	Putonghua is a representation of Chinese identity. English is a tool for communication and a means to promote China.	English is as important as Putonghua, each important for different areas. Therefore, they are not comparable. For some learners, English and Putonghua are both tools.
Motivation of English learning	Community-oriented	Trend of individually-oriented

Role of English	A 'group tool'	Not just a 'tool' but also a culture

From the official perspective, the motivation to learn English should be community-oriented and English is a 'group tool'. The distinction between Putonghua as a more important national identity symbol and English as a tool is made. In the interviews, Chinese respondents were asked about the relative importance of English and Chinese. While the majority claimed that English was just a tool and Chinese an identity marker, the two languages for some participants were "incomparable" and non-contradictory as they could be used in different life domains. For example, English is used in business and technology, while Chinese is an everyday language.

The official discourse expects English to bring complementary individual and national benefits. The need to compose a statement about individual benefits for the study (see Chapter Three) has already indicated the strong official views of learning English for national benefits. However, there is a trend of individually-oriented motivation such as for better jobs and further study especially among the younger learners. For the people, English is not just a tool, but it also embodies different cultural values. While English can bring them success in work, which in turn, can provide them with better living conditions, most participants contended that cultural learning needs to be incorporated into English learning, as it would make learning English easier and facilitate effective communication with foreigners. Some respondents were simply interested in the culture(s) associated with English.

This research has further illustrated that 'native speaker', 'native language', and 'mother tongue' are more social and political products in China. The discrepancies between the official and learner perspectives on English learning and Chinese identity can be

attributed to the tensions created by the expectations from the standard language culture and the embedded 'standard' version of identity. While the official discourse bridges homogeneity, the people define what is Chinese themselves, reintroducing the diversity and the vision they have towards China. They can still have a strong sense of 'being Chinese' and English does not make them less Chinese.

The present study has demonstrated that official China has attempted to construct and maintain 'modern pure Chineseness' in the face of modernisation and globalisation. It nevertheless has also shown that 'pure Chineseness' is only a socio-political product of the 'one-language-one-culture-one-identity' ideology which is part of the official discourse on Chinese identity and serves government's interests. This official discourse has not taken into account people's aspirations in defining what being Chinese means in modern/global China. It does not match the imagination of Chinese people for whom identity is not contained and homogenous but is dynamic and multi-faceted. Research on English and Chinese identity, therefore, cannot simply view Chinese identity as rigid and fixed, because within China, English can further expand the already multiple Chinese identities by opening up Chinese people to other knowledge and values with which they also identify. It is currently a stage when both 'ti' and 'yong' are changing and developing among English learners and users, but it is likely that neither of them will be 'pure' Chinese.

This research has provided an avenue for future research on the viability of the 'ti-yong' principle. In particular, future research could, for example, look into the translingual practices involving Putonghua, local dialects and English and other foreign languages in the Chinese community. As this research has focused on the views of Chinese residing in Beijing as a national and international capital, future research could also be

conducted in other Chinese provinces and cities to reveal more 'local' (and diverse) perspectives of 'being Chinese'.

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Appendix 1

Development of 'ti-yong'

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	Popular	Official	Popular
18th century	English for "barbarians" (Adamson 2002; 2004; Gelber 2007)		English needed for technology, military and science (Adamson 2002; 2004)	Limited contacts between Chinese people and foreigners
	Absence of a concept of a Chinese nation (Gelber 2007)	Linguistic diversity prevailed	A Chinese pidgin form of English used for trade with foreigners (Bolton 2003)	
	Foreigners forbidden to learn Chinese because they were not allowed to have contact with ordinary Chinese people except government officials (Bolton 2003); Chinese only for Chinese			No equal access to English schooling

| | 'Ti' | | 'Yong' | |
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
19th century	'ti-yong' principle introduced by Chinese government officials		'yong' - separating English from its culture English only as a tool for technological advancement	
	To improve literacy and interdialectical communication, the National Language Movement (Chen 1999:15) began with the attempt to encode standard Chinese in a phonetic script in the late nineteenth century	High illiteracy rate; Linguistic diversity continued although dialects were mutually unintelligible	English teaching restricted to Tongwenguan with the aim to train experts in science, technology and military. To learn from the West to protect China against it after the Opium wars.	Access to English schooling limited to selected intellectuals
20th century	'Guoyu' ('nation's language') developed;	Chinese dialects affiliated with one's hometown as shown in the distinction of 'wairen' and 'zijiren' based on town of origin (e.g. Ye 2004); Chinese culture defined by Confucianism all along	In 1902, Tongwenguan became Beijing University training interpreters in science and military Many similar schools of Tongwenguan established offering courses in foreign languages English learnt to protect China against the West	A 'mixture' of the best elements from Chinese and the West for cultural evolvement advocated by some intellectuals ('neutralists')

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
		As called for by western-trained intellectuals, the classical literary language, wenyan, was replaced with baihua ('plain language')	In the early twentieth century, a means to align with the Western powers to strengthen international position Followed US education system but English education still of a piecemeal in the 1940s	Total replacement of Chinese culture by western culture advocated by extremists Radicals called for replacement of Chinese by a world language e.g. Spanish, English Limited number of students chosen to study in foreign language schools
	Putonghua developed in the mid-twentieth century Putonghua was declared the official language and lingua franca of China Standardisation of Putonghua continued	Some people are affiliated with their dialects as mother tongue (Dai and He 1997)	In the mid-twentieth century, foreign language policies advocated in major cities with the aim to train foreign language talents for building a modern China	
	The Chinese Communist Party and by extension, the country has been referred to as 'mother' since the May Fourth Movement period in the early-twentieth century. Therefore the country's language is called 'mother tongue'.		English with a connotation of capitalism during the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s;	

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
	The Chinese people (Zhonghua minzu 中华民族) is one ethnicity of the world	Ambivalence about respect for the state but not family, parents and teachers (Fong 2004); disruption of traditional values and cultural spirits were lost (Cha 2003)	English served the revolution, for promoting political ideas and Maoist thoughts (Adamson 2002; Ji 2004)	
	Foreigners portrayed as coming to China to learn and speak Chinese to Chinese (Ji 2004)		Reform and opening up emphasised the importance of English as a tool for modernisation and for communication with foreigners Political English replaced by basic science and technology knowledge and foreign heritage in textbooks (Ji 2004)	English schooling only accessible in some major cities; students were sent to study overseas
			Resistance to corrosion by ideas from abroad emphasised by Deng Xiaoping (Adamson 2002:240); Culture associated with English undesirable	Reform and opening up improved the status of English and increased people's contacts with English speakers although still limited

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	Popular	Official	Popular
			English only as a tool to acquire global knowledge about facts and history of the West (Orton 2007) English used by Chinese with other Chinese to express and access Chinese viewpoints and facts (Orton 2007)	
			A draft English ELT syllabus for primary and secondary schools English included in national primary school curricula and restricted to some key urban primary schools (Adamson 2002; 2004)	Development of international trade and tourism increased the need for English
			Two College English syllabuses introduced and College English Test – Band 4 and Band 6 as the key to personal and institutional success (Feng 2009)	

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
			In the 1990s, English syllabus for the secondary school curriculum set out the official role of foreign languages as an "important tool for making contact with other countries and … promoting the development of the national and world economy, science and culture" (Adamson 2002:240)	Strong demand from the general public and parents for teaching English in primary schools in the absence of a uniform policy (Wang 1999a)
			In the late 1990s, 'composite' majors, that is, English skills plus knowledge in specific fields (Gao 2009) introduced New models and curriculum encourage knowledge of other specialities for English majors to nurture all-round English majors (Hu 2007)	

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	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
21st century	Standardisation of Putonghua very much emphasised		English for globalisation and integration into the global community	
	Putonghua remains the dominant language in education, government institutions and media		English incorporated into basic quality ('suzhi') education reform	
	"law on the standard language of China": the language taught overseas to foreigners should be standard Chinese and simplified characters which are said to facilitate intercultural communication and spread Chinese culture		English as a compulsory subject since Grade 3 in both urban and rural schools (Hu 2007)	English secures entrance to university English knowledge secures well-paid jobs and leads to opportunities
	Overseas learners take the HSK exam, while in China, Chinese people also need to take the exams for jobs that require Putonghua proficiency.		"English has become an important tool in international interactions as a result of globalization makes the knowledge of English a basic requirement that citizens of the twenty-first century should fulfil"(Hu 2007:361)	
	Confucius Institutes established worldwide to promote Putonghua as a Chinese identity symbol		English-as-the-medium in undergraduate teaching introduced in 2001	

	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
	Putonghua assumes a direct "one-nation-one-language-one-culture-one-self view" (Train 2002:3), which confers "privileged native-speakership" on the users of the standard language (Train 2002:3)		In response to globalization and internationalisation, English-Standard Chinese bilingualism for Han people promoted (Feng 2005);	Bilingual education policy implemented in tertiary institutions was well received by the public, as evidenced by the growing rate of bilingual nurseries and schools (Feng 2005).
	'Modern Chinese' with Putonghua as an identity symbol Chinese people as a participant and stakeholder of the international community and English is a universal means of communication	Chinese people as "modern hybrids" taking part in intercultural communication using English as an international language (Orton 2009:152)	English-as-the-medium of instruction is contradictory to the language law but the experimental bilingual schools initiated in the society did not receive any official response (Feng 2009)	In the absence of a central government policy, large-scale experiments with bilingual primary and secondary schooling emerged in metropolitan areas in economically advanced cities (Feng 2005). Strong support for English and Chinese bilingual schooling and for studying English is very strong in the public.

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	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
	Putonghua has become a symbol of Chinese nationality and identity to the outside world The Chinese people (Zhonghua minzu 中华民族) is promoted to the world		English became a compulsory subject from primary to doctorate classes; English for interacting and communicating with native English speakers in daily life; "Chinese English" to "International English" (Orton 2009)	In two years, 45,000 pupils in some 260 primary and second schools participated in an experiment using English as the medium of instruction for most school subjects including science, mathematics, music and art (Feng 2005:537).
	Putonghua as a measure of quality; Ethnic minority languages acknowledged		Articles in the People's Daily have constantly linked individuals' high English proficiency to success and admiration.	English teaching has become a business. Many English teaching enterprises founded
			English needed for technology import and capital, cultural exchange and tourism. Growing number of foreign-invested and multinational corporations (Xiao 2001).	Parents seek extra English tuition for their children. Many more parents also send their children to study abroad English provides access to symbolic capital (Feng 2005)

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	'Ti'		'Yong'	
	Official	**Popular**	**Official**	**Popular**
	The 'New China's' language development exhibition seems to only acknowledge the last 60 years of evolvement, leaving the classical period and reforms before the 1950s unacknowledged.	English changes self-identity (ti) (Gao et al. 2005; 2007; Zhou and Gao 2009); mother tongue learning undermined by English learning; higher-year students more affiliated with English identity (Chen 2008)	English as a universal modern skill (Fong 2009) English is an accommodation to the world; appropriated to introduce China to the world Culture embodied in English remains undesirable; English considered a 'neutral' language	More contacts with foreigners as facilitated by the opening up, China's entry into the WTO and the Beijing Olympics
			English associated with poverty alleviation and life improvement	Not knowing English is a disadvantage and it provides access to personal benefits English creates a social divide (Zhang 2007)

Appendix 2

Q methodology procedures and Phase One preliminary study

This Appendix explains in more detail the Q methodology procedures as used in Phase One Q sort questionnaires.

A2.1 The Q methodology procedures

Q methodology follows a standardised set of research procedures. Chapter Three has provided a brief overview of the procedures. The following subsections discuss in more detail each of the six steps outlined in 3.1.2.2.

A2.1.1 Step 1 and 2: Sampling and developing the Q sample

Step 1 and Step 2 are interrelated. The first step of Q is the collection of statements, called Q statements, used to elicit attitudes and opinions. A Q sample is a collection of stimulus items presented to respondents for ranking in a Q-sort (McKeown and Thomas 1988). In a Q study, the ideal number of Q samples would be 40-60 (ibid.). In the fieldwork, 54 statements were used.

In Q, Q samples can be structured or unstructured. For structured samples, either a deductive or inductive approach is taken by the researcher. A deductive approach is based on a priori hypothetical or theoretical considerations, while inductive designs emerge from the patterns that are observed as statements are collected (McKeown and Thomas 1988). The present study was based on an inductive design whereby Q sample statements were assigned to conditions induced from the statements themselves. The

dimensions that guided the final selection of statements were not obvious prior to statement collection. Regardless of the design method, the principle is to ensure a reasonably comprehensive and representative selection of a particular population of stimulus elements (McKeown and Thomas 1988).

The English Language concourse

Q methodology research seeks to enable respondents to model his or her viewpoints on an issue. This modelling is accomplished by a respondent systematically rank-ordering Q samples according to a specific condition of instruction. The stimuli making up the Q-sample named by Stephenson as "communication concourse" (1978:12) are constrained only by the domain of subjectivity in which the researcher is interested.

"Communication concourse" (ibid.) can be derived from a number of sources including focus group and interviews (Nitcavic and Dowling 1990; Ives 2008) and 'ready-made' materials such as textbooks/literatures (for example, Paradice 2001), newspaper articles, magazines, political statements and televisions (for example, Dryzek 1994), or a combination of these sources. The statements collected will then be categorised in a matrix. The categories, that is, levels and factors in the matrix used to select a representative statement sample can be designed based on literatures. For example, Davis's (1997) 3x2 Fisherian factorial design was informed by the social-psychological literature on national identity that hypothesise three different types of identity: affective, goal and ego (three factors); which are then grouped with 'committed' and 'alienated' (two levels).

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In the present study, the Q samples were drawn from a "concourse of communication" (Stephenson 1978; 1986) vis-à-vis the discourses of English. The statements were drawn from a Chinese newspaper, *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* between 2000 and 2008. In order to systematically reduce a concourse to a manageable size for ranking, a matrix based on Fisher's variance design as shown in Table A1, which was common to Q studies (for example, Brown 1980; Dryzek and Berejikian 1993; Dryzek 1994), was used for selecting the statements. There are three categories, a-c, which are called factors and three kinds of attitudes, 1-3, which are called levels. These factors and levels were derived from my reading of *People's Daily* articles and reports using grounded theory, a process mentioned in Chapter Three. As Brown (1980) states, the dimensions or criteria built into the matrix design can reflect issues occurring in the public debate. The categories derived from *People's Daily* have thus revealed the diverse views about English existing in the wider context.

The matrix below was used to expand the concourse of the pilot study. When the statements began repeating what had already been collected, the expansion of the concourse was complete. In the end, the matrix created a concourse of 326 statements about English. In finalising the Q sample for the fieldwork, I ended up having nine groups in my Q-sample, and for each group, I then randomly chose six statements making up a Q-sample of 54 statements. This is shown in Table A1 below. Both the Chinese and English versions of the statements are presented in Table A2. The statements were translated into English as close to the original Chinese version as possible.

Table A1: The final Q statements: balance, clarity and comprehensiveness

	1. Positive	2. Negative	3. Neutral
a. Roles of English	Positive roles (1a)	Negative roles (2a)	Neutral roles (3a)
b. Impacts of English	Positive impacts (1b)	Negative impacts (2b)	Neutral impacts (3b)
c. Chinese vs. English	Chinese dominates (1c)	English dominates (2c)	Chinese and English are not contradictory (3c)

Table A2: Q statements

1. 不管是什么专业的学生，都需要学习英语。
Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.

2. 学习英语人数的增加，一定程度上代表了我国开放水平的不断提高。
The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.

3. 英语是当今世界最重要的交流工具。
English is the most important communication tool of the world today

4. 对中国人来说，英语就是开启西方文明的一把钥匙。
For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.

5.我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达国家吸收先进的东西，捍卫祖国和人民的利益！
We learn English to acquire the advancement of the West so as to protect the benefits of the country and people!

6. 应该让外语成为我们了解世界的一种方法和渠道。
Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.

7. 我们的外语学习仅仅为了考试、升学，考而不用，或用非其所。
We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.

8. 英语学习对许多人来说用处不大。
For many people, there is no use of learning English.

9.外语的重要性自然毋庸置疑，但外语重要并不等于对每个人都重要，也不是说时时都重要。
The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.

10. 许多人花了大量的时间和金钱学习外语，真要用时，仍然捉襟见肘。

Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.

11. 学了没用，学了不能用，已成为外语学习的普遍现象。

It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.

12. 很多情况下，人们是为了需要而学习英语的。从这个角度看，它使人们感到了一种语言上的不平等。

In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.

13. 随着英、美实力的提升，英语的影响力越来越大，尤其是在经济全球化和互联网国际化时代，使用英语的人越来越多，英语的主导作用无所不在。

The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the US Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.

14. 英语教育是基础教育的一项重要内容，因此，也肩负着实施素质教育的责任。

English education is an important part of foundation education; therefore, it has the responsibility for improving personal quality and advancement.

15. 英语教学要提高教师自身素质，全面掌握英语基本知识和基本技能，熟悉英语国家的文化传统、风俗习惯

English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.

16. 英语已经不仅是英国人的，也是全人类的共同财富和主要的交流手段。

English no longer belongs to the British alone, but it is the asset and major communication tool of all humans.

17. 我们若不想自外于这个世界，只能用英语与外界沟通。

If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.

18. 二十一世纪的中国人需要的不仅仅是外语，更是一种开放的眼界和思维。

Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.

19. 如果没有公共英语等级证书，孩子们是基本没有竞争力的。

If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.

20. 长期以来，英语教育体系占用了巨大的人力、物力和财力资源，在推动经济和社会进步中也发挥着不可替代的作用。

For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.

21. 看着自己英语水平不断提高，我似乎找回了一点信心。

I become more confident when I see my improvement in English.

22. 学英语的人多了，对国家好啊。

More people are learning English. This is good for the country.

23. 学好英语，可以为家乡多作点贡献。

Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.

24. 对于我，学会英语可帮助找到更好的工作和改进生活条件及享受。

For me, English can help find a better job and improve life quality.

25. 近几年来，职称外语考试"一刀切"的做法饱受质疑。"学以致用"，"不拘一格降人才"，本是我们人才选拔的基本准则，但是，外语考试与职称晋升相捆绑，令相当多的人困扰，甚至在某种程度上助长了英语学习急功近利风气的蔓延。

People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.

26. 语言学习的目的在于沟通和应用。如果变成择校的功利手段，超越大部分孩子的认知程度，还让家长背上沉重的经济负担，除了一部分人从中渔利，不知还有什么实际意义？

The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?

27. 近几年，一些地方中小学生特别是小学生参加全国英语等级考试（ＰＥＴＳ）的人数有所增加，影响了学校正常的教学秩序，实际上加重了学生的课业负担

In recent years, a lot of students, especially primary school students, take part in the national English examination (PETS). This affects the normal operation of school teaching and actually adds burden to the students.

28. 一说起节约，大家立马想到的是节水、节电、节粮，可全民学英语等等，这些浪费却被人忽视了。

When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.

29. 世界上不说英语的人本是多数，现在在英语的主导下反而成为少数，他们的语言也成为"劣势语言"。

Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".

30.中学、大学里的外语考试更是五花八门，语法的正确与否几乎变成了技术性苛求。

There are different types of English examinations in high schools and universities. Grammatical accuracy has almost become a technical demand.

31.《大学英语》课程教学不仅是语言知识传授的课堂，还是各种文化思想直接传播和潜在争夺的"阵地"

<<Tertiary English>> is not only a language course, but it is also a "venue" for the transmission and competition of different cultures and thoughts.

32.要特别重视把爱国主义，人生观、价值观融入英语课堂教学，进行民族传统美德、社会主义荣辱观教育。

To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.

33. 在不久的将来，中国说英语的人数将大大超过全球英语国家人数的总和。

In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.

34. 英语已成为一种国际性语言。许多国家的人都在说和写英语。

English has become an international language. Many people can speak and write English.

35. 学英语，讲英语已成为广大市民的一大时尚。

Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.

36.随着中国加入 WTO 和成功申办 2008 年奥运会，掌握英语，增强对外交流能力，正越来越成为当今青年的迫切需求。

After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.

37. 学习外语很重要，但"ABC"永远代替不了《三字经》。

It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>

38.在中国综合国力逐步增强、国际地位日益提高、国际影响日益扩大的今天，我们更应当以自己悠久独特的母语为自豪，甚至应该立下一个志向：让我们的汉语像英语那样走向世界。

China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.

39.现在英语教学比重有加大的情势，从幼儿园就开始抓英语，英语几乎成了"霸权话语"，该到了为母语教学呐喊的时候了。

There seems to be greater emphasis on English education. English is taught from pre-school and has almost become an "imperialist language". It is the time to advocate for mother-tongue education.

40.由于历史的原因，世界上有不少英语国家。既要"走向世界"并"与世界接轨"，学英语自也无可厚非。然而，在每一个国家之中，主要使用的应当是本国的语言；每一个国家的国民，首先学习的也应当是本国的语言。

For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.

41. 对中国人而言，作为母语的汉语的重要性当然大大高于英语。

For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.

42.汉语在表达上的自由度和创造性可以和任何一种语言媲美，我们不要片面地认为英语是"准世界语"就盲目地加以崇拜，其实中文在许多方面都有英语难以企及的地方。

The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.

43. 沉重的英语负担使学生们无暇顾及汉语的学习。

The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.

44.有的小学语文课，开始尝试用英语教学，英语是学会了，但唐诗宋词的意境呢？或许早已被消融于 26 个字母之中了。

Some primary schools have started to use English as a medium of instruction. It is true that student's English is improved, but how about the Chinese literary studies and poems? Perhaps they have already been covered up by the 26 letter alphabet.

45. 中国人在中国学英语比学国语更受重视。

English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.

46.从社会到个人都被淹没在英语的洪流中了。拿学位，评职称，选人才，英语似乎成了首选的硬条件。一方面是母语的被忽视和玷污，另一方面则是英语的"一统天下"。

The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.

47.当代中国的教育，小学生就学习英语，有的甚至幼儿园就开始教英语或别的外语，长大了却连普通话都说不好，这是一件很可怕的事情。
In modern China's education system, primary school students are already learning English. In some pre-schools, English or other foreign languages are even taught. It would be terrible if children can't speak good Putonghua when they grow up.
48.大家都为外语忙，惟有母语全忘了。
We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.
49.学习英语和汉语本身并不存在矛盾。
There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.
50.用英语未必就是不爱国的表现，问题在于不能重外轻内，厚此薄彼，弱化了母语的地位。
Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.
51.随着中国近年来经济的迅猛发展，以及各国对华经济活动的不断增长，在世界范围内，掀起了一股"汉语热"。有人甚至认为，汉语将成为与英语并驾齐驱的新"世界语"。
In recent years, China's economic growth has been accelerating and many countries have also increased their economic dealings with China. This has led to the rise of "Chinese fever". Some people even think that the Chinese language will become the new "world language" alongside English.
52.强调母语写作并非就是否定外来语，更不是简单地排斥英语，拒绝外来文化，搞文化封闭主义，而是强调语言与文化的平等和互补。
Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.
53.汉语是灵魂的语言，英语是工具的语言。
Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.
54.如果说英语是对外交流的一种工具，那么汉语则是我们安身立命的根基，前者为末后者为本，前者为术后者为道。
If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.

The sample of 54 statements was selected after a process which involved removal of duplicates and selection of clearest and most comprehensive statements. According to Brown (1980), Q sample must be representative, simple, clear and unambiguous. A

factorial design of statements selection such as Table A1 helps ensure an appropriately wide range of statement types in the concourse, and hence uncovers the areas in which people genuinely agree and disagree. The matrix also acted as a filtering device for reducing the number of statements in the concourse, choosing statements and therefore minimising researcher's bias. In the pilot study, some participants pointed out that some statements contained more than one piece of information and they felt rather ambivalent when they agreed to one piece of information but disagreed with another. Based on these comments, changes and revisions were made to the final Q statements which were finally checked by a native Mandarin Chinese PhD student in Translation Studies. Considering that each participant would take about 45 minutes to complete the ranking, followed by a 15-minute interview, the concentration span required of each participant was also taken into account and 54 statements would be the maximum.

The Q statements concerned the roles of English, impacts of English and the status of Chinese and English (Chinese vs. English). Three different types of attitudes towards the three issues were found and named as positive, negative and neutral attitudes. In relation to the status of Chinese and English, there were statements about Chinese dominating in the society and statements about English dominating. Neutral statements were those which pointed out the non-conflicting relations between the two languages. As mentioned in Chapter Two, investigating Chinese identity including the embodied collective and individual selves has been the aim of this research. However, as the readings of *People's Daily* articles did not locate any statements pertaining to individual benefits of learning English, a statement was made up by the researcher: "24. 对于我，学会英语可帮助找到更好的工作和改进生活条件及享受 (For me, learning English can help find a better job and improve living conditions and enjoyment)." This statement was included in the final Q sample to look into the individual aspects of the

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participants. In the Q sample, statements of facts are not necessarily precluded since the acceptance of facts and their sequencing involves reasoning, and hence subjectivity. As Brown (1980) states, facts of a certain variety may produce emotional reactions. It is thus important to find out how and why a seemingly apparent fact is accepted or denied.

A2.1.2 Step 3: Participant recruitment

One concern of this study is the public attitudes towards English. To reveal the stakeholders' viewpoints on English, Q methodology offers a systematic way to look into people's subjectivities in relation to the issue.

In Q, participants are chosen for comprehensiveness and diversity, rather than representativeness or quantity, as the focus is on 'person' not the correlation between variables. Q studies usually work with a small number of participants. In the current research, the sub-groups were fairly small. Because of this small sample of participants, the generalisability of Q-Methodology has raised some concerns. In response to criticisms, Brown (1980:36) offers this example to illustrate the intensity of the method: "It is more informative to study one subject for 1000 hours than 1000 subjects for one hour".

The purpose of Q-Methodology, as discussed in Chapter Three, is to study intensively the self-referent perspectives of particular individuals in order to understand the nature of human behaviour. All that is required therefore are enough subjects to establish the existence of a factor for purposes of comparing one factor with another (Brown 1980). Using Benedict's example, Brown (Benedict 1946, cited in Brown 1980, p.194) further

explains the efficacy of small participant sample with the law of diminishing returns in Economics:

Who bows to whom and when, for instance, needs no statistical study of all Japan; the approved and customary circumstances can be reported by almost anyone and after a few confirmations it is not necessary to get the same information from a million Japanese.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, Q researchers cannot say how many people in the larger population are likely to load highly on each factor but they can say with confidence that the factor actually exists in the larger population. Therefore, Q studies do not make generalisation to the larger population but generalisations are expected to be valid for other persons of the same type i.e. for those persons whose views would lead them to load highly on a particular factor (Brown 1980). To produce highly reliable factor scores, six persons loaded significantly on a factor are normally sufficient and increasing the number of persons on a factor merely fills up factor space and has very little impact on the scores (Brown 1980). It should be noted that Q technique provides no guarantees that all factors have been located. There may be additional factors representing different attitudes but they will have no influence on existing factors as they will be orthogonal to the existing factors (Brown 1980).

A2.1.3 Step 4: Interviews

Phase One Q-sorting

After Q-statement sampling and participants recruitment, the next core technique of Q-Methodology is Q-sorting. Q-sorting is a process whereby respondents rank order a set of Q statements on a scale, for example, -4 to +4, according to a set of procedures called a *condition of instruction* (McKeown and Thomas 1988:30). The procedure for ranking the statements is premised on concepts in psychology. As Brown (1980:198-199) states, the Q-sorting situation is guided by the "psychological significance" of respondents. Statements at the extremes of the distribution are most salient (significant) for a person operating under a specific condition of instruction. As Q sort is dependent upon self-reference, the dynamics of subjectivity begin to assert themselves virtually the moment the sorting begins. The poles of the opinion continuum represent a common unit of measurement in that items under +4 and -4 are assumed to hold "greater importance to me" than items elsewhere in the Q-sort. What is of "greater importance to me" is not an artefact of an a priori designation by the researcher. It is the opinion of the sorter what they hold positive or negative salience vis-à-vis other items. The middle score (0) is a point neutral in meaning and without psychological significance.

The table below illustrates the distribution pattern of the 54 statements in the Q-sort. It is essentially a visual translation of the condition of instruction which is used by the researcher to record participants' Q-sorting. The number of statements placed under each heading is restricted, for example, only 3 statements under -/+ 4, and 5 statements under -/+ 3.
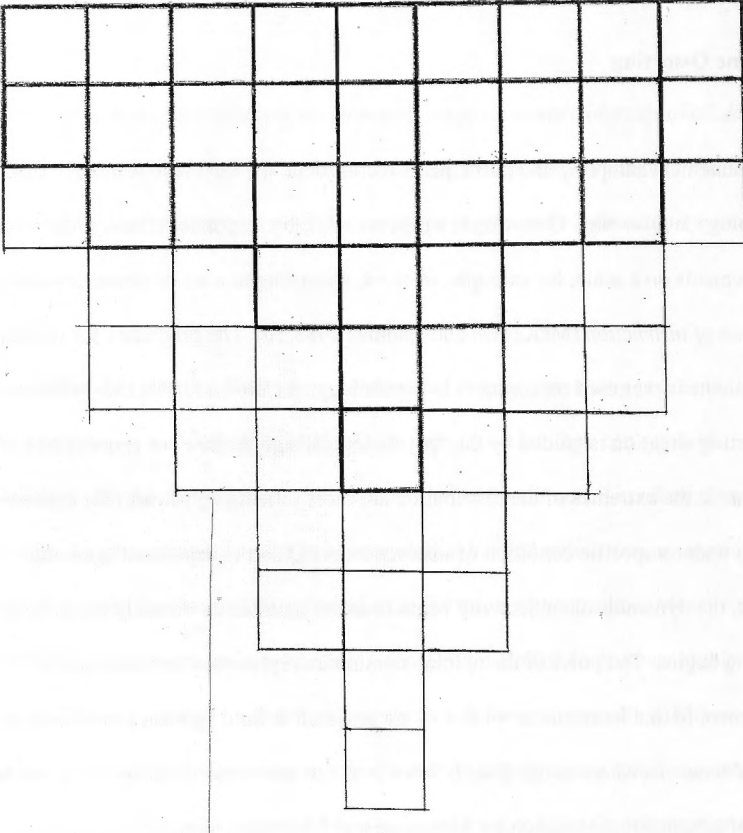
This forced distribution pattern allows participants to consider their attitudes more carefully and rank each statement contextually with the others. According to McKeown and Thomas (1988), the spreading out of statements under the degree headings facilitates the reading of the statements contextually and the making of comparisons. More importantly, the headings are nominal rather than ordinal. They are not distinct categories but rather constitute an opinion continuum. Performing a Q-sort is therefore a matter of ranking items on the basis of "more or less" rather than "either/or".

In the fieldwork, each participant was presented with a survey pack which consisted of 54 Q statements numbered from 1 to 54, nine heading strips (from -4 to +4), an information sheet detailing the purpose of the interview, an instruction sheet (conditions of instructions), and a consent form. The statements, information sheet, instructions and consent form were all written in Chinese. Before Q-sorting began, participants were asked to sign the consent form. In Q studies, including the present study, the instructions and procedures researchers use with respondents are also rather standardised.

The 54 statements were shuffled and offered to the participants. To begin with, participants were asked to read the statements on the accompanying deck of cards to familiarise themselves with them. With the nine heading strips lined up on a table horizontally with -4 to the far left, +4 to the far right and 0 between the two extremes, (as illustrated in the Q-sort table above), each participant was asked to first sort the statements into three piles, placing to the left those they disagreed, middle those they were neutral or unclear about, and to the right those they agreed.

Working from the three piles, participants were instructed to choose three statements from those they had agreed to place them vertically under +4. After this, they were asked to turn to the statements they had disagreed with and choose three that they most strongly disagreed with and put them under -3. Turning back to the cards on the left side, those they had disagreed with, participants were asked to choose four with which they still disagreed quite strongly and place them under -3, but not as significant as the three already placed under -4. Participants then were asked to work back and forth and repeat the same procedures until the statements that they were neutral and ambivalent about were set out under 0 and all of the statements had been ordered. Working back and forth,

as McKeown and Thomas (1988) mention, was intended to provide the participants the opportunity to think anew the significance of each item in relation to the others.

At some point, normally around + and − 2, the respondents exhausted the characteristic and uncharacteristic items, and so had to begin making subtle distinctions among the neutral items, placing those that were only "slightly characteristic" under +1, and those that were only "slightly uncharacteristic" under -1; the remaining go in the 0 column. In the course of Q-sorting, participants were told that they could adjust the ratings of any of the statements at any point. There were a few instances when the researcher was asked to define terms in the statements. To observe the idea of operant subjectivity as the core value of Q, the meanings of the terms were left for the participants themselves to define. Before the sorting was completed, respondents were requested to have a final check of their ranking to ensure it was representative of their personal opinions and make any changes as they wished. The Q sort produced by each participant was recorded on the Q sort table and kept for statistical analysis. During recording, the participants were given the interview questions for Phase Two.

Phase Two face-to-face interviews

After the Q-sorting in Phase One, Phase Two was face-to-face interviews. The follow-up interview gives the respondent opportunity to expound on his/her reasoning for ranking the statements (Brown 1980). On some occasions, when a rank-ordering seemed contradictory, clarification was sought in the follow-up interviews. By way of example, the following rating occurred in a Q-sort and the participant's explanations were requested. The number in parathesis was the score assigned to the statement.

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8. 英语学习对许多人来说用处不大

For many people, there is no use of learning English. (-3)

19. 如果没有公共英语等级证书，孩子们是基本没有竞争力的。

If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness. (-3)

Contradiction seems to emerge when the participant strongly disagreed that there was no use of learning English for many people but at the same time perceived that there was also not a need for children to obtain English exam certificate to maintain their competitiveness. The participant, in this case, was asked to expound on her reasoning.

The completed Q sorts constitute the conceptual images of respondents' views of the issues in question and coupled with the additional comments made in follow-up interviews, provide very rich data on their subjectivity to the research. It should however be noted that for the present research, Phase Two interview data serves as the primary data while Phase One Q sorts are supplementary data.

A2.1.4 Step 5: Statistical analysis

As commonly a Step 5 of Q, the completed Q-sorts constitute the raw data for statistical analysis through a software program called PQMethod (Schmolck 2002). As a program specifically tailored to the analysis of Q studies data, PQMethod is an updated version of QMethod developed by Atkinson (1992) at Kent State University. The program allows the raw data to be entered in the way it was recorded on the Q sort scoring table and groups participants who share a particular viewpoint into different factors. PQMethod generates reports and provides various outputs to aid interpretation such as

correlations among Q-sorts, factor loadings, statement factor scores, factor arrays, distinguishing statements for each factor and consensus statements across factors.

Factor analysis is fundamental to Q data analysis. Unlike R analysis which is commonly used in statistical package such as SPSS, variables in Q studies are the people performing the Q-sorts, not the Q-sample statements. While the results generated by R factor analysis only show the correlations of variables, Q helps find out the clusters of people sharing particular traits, and the number of underlying dimensions on which the traits cluster together (ibid.). Factors that do emerge in Q are themselves generalisations of attitudes held by persons defining a given factor (McKeown and Thomas 1988:37).

Through factor analysis, opinions are aggregated and categorised by reducing opinions to a limited number of types. Persons significantly associated with a given factor are thus assumed to share a common perspective and grouped into one same factor. Q sorts, that is, persons that correlate highly with a particular factor are designated as the 'defining' Q sorts. As several factors with eigenvalues in excess of 1.00 might be extracted even from random data, an interpretable Q methodological factor must ordinarily have at least two Q sorts that load significantly upon it alone. The presence of several independent factors is evidence of different points of view in the person-sample. An individual's positive loading on a factor indicates his or her shared subjectivity with others on that factor; negative loadings, on the other hand, are signs of rejection of the factor's perspective (McKeown and Thomas 1988).

The constructs of 'contextuality' and 'operant subjectivity', as discussed in Chapter Three, apply throughout the whole procedure of Q even at this stage of statistical analysis. The meanings attached to the ratings of statements are not read in isolation

from the rest of the statements, but rather, the rating of one statement can explain the

rating of another (Brown 1986). The differences between factors are revealed

contextually and in this sense, each factor has its own structure and form. It is the task

of Q-technique to make this form manifest for purposes of study (Brown 1986). Q

technique can show the areas of consensus and opposition, as things are not always

opposite ends of the same polar spectrum at all (Brown 1986).

A2.1.5 Step 6: Results interpretation

The final stage of a Q study is to interpret the resulting factors. The resulting patterns

are analysed to produce a set of shared views about the issue. For each factor, an "ideal"

Q sort can be extracted, which represents how a hypothetical individual loading 1.0 on

that factor and 0 on every other factor would order the statements. This idealised Q sort

forms the basis for interpretation of each factor. One needs to look at how the

statements are placed relative to one another and compare and contrast the positions of

the statements in the reconstructed Q sorts representing each factor. In doing so,

researcher needs to look at factor arrays which show how a Factor 1 and Factor 2

participant typically rates.

A statement such as 'English is more valued than the Chinese language in China' is

confirmed but such confirmation says little about the meaning of 'Chinese', nor does it

tell how English is valued. The statement contains a condensation of potential

information which Q methodology can uncover in relation to other statements. The

definitions of 'Chinese language', for instance, are not predetermined but can be

explored through an analysis of the statement in relation to the other statements in the

concourse. In the results' reports generated by the software, factor scores are computed

as z-scores but are converted into whole numbers to facilitate comparisons between factor arrays. These scores can be compared to determine what Q-sample items are placed significantly differently and thus are distinguishing any two factors (Brown 1980).

The Q statistical analysis shows the similarities and differences in the attitudes and beliefs about English among the participants. Results are always presented in the form of a narrative for each factor, which can be treated as discourse. The narrative about each discourse can be built according to the average score for each statement for the defining Q sorts and the obvious place to begin explicating is at the two poles (strongly agree and strongly disagree) (Watts and Stenner 2005).

Appendix 3

Phase One Q sort questionnaires results

In the case study, participants were asked to rate statements about English taken from *People's Daily* and Q methodology has been adopted to identify and reveal types or groups of persons who share similar attitudes towards English and its related issues. The completed Q sorts constitute the conceptual images of respondents' views of English and provide a wealth of individual subjectivity. The feelings, opinions and other elements of subjectivity of the participants are uncovered which facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the roles of English and their impacts in Chinese society.

In section A3.1, the results of the whole sample analysis of the 87 Q sorts in total are presented and discussed, followed by the findings of the subgroup analyses of the four participant groups in the education sector in A3.2. The whole sample analysis is aimed to reveal the general patterns of beliefs about English, while the subgroup analyses can uncover more the unique and diverse perspectives on English within particular subgroups.

A3.1 General discourses about English

Meaningful factors were extracted in the factor analysis of the 87 participants' Q sorts. The results inform the reconstruction of discourses, that is, the different ways to conceptualise the roles of English and its related issues. For each factor, an idealised Q-sort is computed. This represents how a hypothetical participant belonging to that factor with a 1.0 (100%) loading would have ordered the 54 statements. This idealised Q sort

forms the basis for interpretation of each factor which represents a discourse of English. As the statements were rated contextually with others, the relative significance of statements for participants can be revealed, and thus the discourses/perspectives can be presented in the form of a narrative (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993). In reconstructing the discourse, special attention was paid to the most salient statements and the discriminating items.

In the analysis of the whole sample, six separate factors about English were discovered which inform the reconstruction of six different discourses. They were: *Distinctive Chinese-English advocates*, *'English neutral' Chinese advocate*, *'English-as-a-tool-for-some' advocate*, *'Chinese-English equality' advocate*, *'English-positivist' non-contradictory advocate* and *'English-is-useful' Chinese language and culture conservationist*.

The correlation between discourses A and E is the lowest on any of the factors. Factor 5, that is, Discourse E, has the lowest correlation with the other factors. Below are the consensus statements that do not distinguish between the factors:

Discourses

	A	B	C	D	E	F
5 We learn English to acquire the advancement of the West so as to protect the benefits of the country and people!	-1	0	-2	-1	0	0
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
21 I become more confident when I see my improvement in English.	0	1	0	0	0	-1
30 There are different types of English examinations in high schools and universities. Grammatical accuracy has almost become a technical demand.	0	-1	0	1	1	0

36 After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.	1	2	0	2	1	1

Regardless of their perspectives, the university students, high school students, teachers and parents all tended to believe that Chinese people need to be open-minded in addition to learning foreign languages. With varying levels of agreement and neutrality, the four groups were rather neutral or agreed that mastering English has now become a demand for young people after entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the Beijing Olympics. The benefits of increasing children's competitiveness that English could bring were significantly objected across all the discourses, while the role of English as improving self-confidence received rather neutral rating. Across the six discourses, participants were either opposed or neutral about the aim of learning English and western knowledge to protect the country. As an issue relating to English education, the statement that the many varieties of English exams in high schools have made grammatical competence a default demand also had low significance.

Although the groups agreed on many aspects of English, there were some important differences in their emphasis and in the ways the six discourses conceptualise English and its roles in China.

Discourse A: *Distinctive Chinese-English advocates*

1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-4	0	-1	-4	0	1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-2	-1	3	-4
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-3	0	3	0	4	-3
12 In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.	-3	1	-1	-2	-3	-2

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17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-3	-3	1	-1	-4	-1
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-3	-2	-3	-3	0	-2
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	4	2	2	1	-1	2
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	3	3	1	1	-2	1
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	4	0	0	4	-1	1
50 Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.	3	0	1	1	4	3
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	3	-1	1	4	2	3
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	3	-2	2	-4	-1	0
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	4	-2	2	-3	-1	3

Participants who adopted the *'Distinctive Chinese-English' advocates* perspective exhibited a deeper commitment to the separation of Chinese and English as two non-intervening languages, each with distinctive and important roles. For instance, they thought that English is a tool and supplementary whereas Chinese is a personal and identity foundation and that Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool. Like some other perspectives, 'Distinctive Chinese-English' advocates after all thought that

Chinese is the most important. This can be reflected by the ratings of the statements 41 and 40. For Chinese people, Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely more important although it is important to learn English to contact the world. Discourse A participants advocate for mother tongue writing, but they are not opposed to learning English. They also strongly felt that Chinese is comparable to other languages in terms of its creativeness.

The 'Distinctive Chinese-English' advocates differed from other discourses, except 'English-is-useful' Chinese language and culture conservationists. They were rather strongly objected to the idea that it is very common that people still cannot use English after they learn it. This group therefore similarly disagreed with the idea that English for all is a waste, and that learning English is for exams without actual application. However, the participants did not think that all students need to learn English and one would be left behind without English knowledge. They also rather strongly disagreed that English created inequality.

Discourse B: *'English-neutral' Chinese advocates*

2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	1	4	1	-1	-1	1
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	1	3	2	3	0	3
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-2	-1	3	-4
13 The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the United States. Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.	-1	3	0	0	2	-1
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	2	3	3	1	3	1
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4

28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-3	-3	1	-1	-4	-1
34 English has become an international language. Many people can speak and write English.	0	3	0	2	2	0
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	2	4	-1	2	-2	4
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	3	3	1	1	-2	1
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	0	-3	-1	-2	-4	-1
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	0	-3	-1	0	1	-4
46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.	1	-3	0	0	-2	-2
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-1	-4	0	-1	0	-3

The second perspective, which is called *'English-neutral' Chinese advocate,* is less concerned about the impacts of English on Chinese society and the Chinese language, and as compared to other perspectives, it is concerned with 'enhancing' Chinese language and people.

Participants adopting this perspective stressed that more people learning English represents the openness of the country. Similar to the *'English-is-useful' Chinese language and culture conservationists*, they put higher emphasis on making Chinese as dominant as English. While the negative impact of English as facilitative of the desire for immediate success was (rather) strongly significant for the other discourses, they remain rather neutral. They are also neutral about the impacts of creating English inequality, while the other discourses disagree. 'English-neutral' Chinese advocates formed the only discourse that was neutral about the statement that advocacy for mother tongue writing does not mean opposition to English. In China, English is not more valued than Chinese and the mother tongue has not been forgotten or polluted. English

has not monopolised the study and career markets, and has not taken up the time of students to learn Chinese. One would not be left behind without English.

With regards to the impacts of English on Chinese, the participants also tended to be rather neutral on the idea that advocacy for mother tongue writing does not mean opposition to foreign language. At P <.05, they were also rather inclined to disagree with the statement that there is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese, and that using English does not mean not loving the country but the problem is Chinese should be more important.

'English-neutral' Chinese advocates were more concerned with the 'facts', that is, the neutral roles and impacts of English as compared to other groups. They believed that the power of English has increased with the power of the US and the UK, and English has become an international language which many people can speak and write. Foreign language therefore should be a channel to understand the world. In terms of education, English education should aim to enhance teacher quality and knowledge of culture. As English has become an international language, English for all is not a waste. People learn English not only for exams: it is useful.

As mentioned previously, the majority of respondents loaded heavily on Discourse B ('English neutral' Chinese advocate) are students (both high school and university), with one high school and one university teacher, and one parent.

Discourse C: *'English-as-a-tool-for-some' advocates*

3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	-2	2	3	-2	1	-1
4 For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.	-1	2	4	-1	2	2
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	-1	1	4	3	0	-3
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	2	3	3	1	3	1
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	-2	0	-4	-2	2	1
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	0	1	3	3	-1	2
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-3	-2	-3	-3	0	-2
31 <<Tertiary English>> is not only a language course, but it is also a "venue" for the transmission and competition of different cultures and thoughts.	-1	0	-3	-2	0	0
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	0	1	-3	0	-2	4
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1	-4	-1	-3	-1
35 Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.	0	-1	-3	1	-2	-2

The third perspective, *'English-as-a- tool-for-some'* *advocates*, thought English was the most important communication tool of the world, but other than that, English does not bring any particular benefits but some negative impacts. Although English is important, participants holding this perspective most strongly disagreed that learning and speaking English has become a trend of the Chinese public and that China will have the largest English-speaking population. The understanding of this group of the situation of China, including the fact that "time and money is spent on language learning while one doesn't

actually need the language", led them to reject the widespread learning of English in China in general. This can explain the participants' neutrality about statement "28 the waste produced by 'English for all' is neglected" as a significant characterising statement of the perspective.

As English is not really a widespread language, non-English speakers will not become a minority and their languages will not be inferior. Without English certificates, children will still be competitive and will not be left behind without English. Foreign language exams facilitate the desire for immediate success. One distinguishing statement for this third perspective is "23 learning English well can contribute to the hometown". Participants adopting this perspective particularly rejected the benefits of English for the hometown. They also differed from 'English-neutral' Chinese advocates in the particulars about the significance of Chinese language in China and the negative impacts of English on the Chinese language. '*English-as-a-tool-for-some*' advocates were more concerned about the 'facts' associated with English, and the negative impacts of English. They did not particularly advocate for the Chinese language.

The '*English-as-a-tool-for-some*' *advocates* emphasised the pure communicative role of English and therefore they most strongly disagreed that traditional views and socialism should be incorporated into the English classrooms and "College English" be a competition venue of different languages and cultures. Instead, English education should aim to enhance teacher quality and knowledge of the culture associated with English to facilitate mutual understanding and communication between Chinese and foreigners.

Discourse D: *"Chinese-English equality" advocates*

Statement						
1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-4	0	-1	-4	0	1
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	1	3	2	3	0	3
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	-1	1	4	3	0	-3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
22 More people are learning English. This is good for the country.	-2	0	-2	-3	1	-1
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	0	1	3	3	-1	2
26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	-2	-2	2	3	1	2
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-3	-2	-3	-3	0	-2
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	2	1	1	3	-2	3
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	4	0	0	4	-1	1
51 In recent years, China's economic growth has been accelerating and many countries have also increased their economic dealings with China. This has led to the rise of "Chinese fever". Some people even think that the Chinese language will become the new "world language" alongside English.	2	-1	-2	-3	0	0
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	3	-1	1	4	2	3
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	3	-2	2	-4	-1	0

54 If we say English is a tool for international communication,   4   -2   2   -3   -1   3
then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The
former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation
and guide.

The fourth perspective is called '*Chinese-English equality' advocates*. Participants

holding this perspective stressed that the roles of Chinese and English cannot be

separated, with an emphasis on the higher importance of the mother tongue Chinese.

The statements characterising this perspective are "53 Chinese is a language of soul and

English is a tool" and "54 English is a tool & addition and Chinese is a personal &

identity foundation". Among all the six perspectives, 'Chinese-English equality'

advocates disagreed most strongly with the distinctions between Chinese as a language

of soul and identity foundation and English as a tool. In a sense, the participants

believed in 'language equality'.

For the participants, Chinese language was beautiful and comparable to other languages.

Advocacy for mother tongue writing did not mean opposition to English, but we need to

advocate for our origin language first. Foreign language should be a channel to

understand the world. Their 'language equality' view can be explained by their stronger

view that "Chinese fever" will not develop with the economy of the country.

The 'Chinese-English equality' advocates agreed with some of the negative impacts of

English on Chinese society. For instance, having more people learning English is not

good for the country as language learning causes academic and financial burdens and

only benefits a small number of people. Foreign language exams also facilitate desire

for immediate success.

Participants thought that not all students need to learn English, and for some people, time and money is spent on learning the language when they do not really need the language. Despite the high status of English, non-English speakers would not become a minority and their languages will not become inferior. English will not replace literary Chinese even though foreign language learning is important. Without English, people will not be left behind. English would not create any negative impacts on the Chinese language.

Discourse E: *'English-positivist' non-contradictory Chinese-English relations advocates*

7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-2	-1	3	-4
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-2	0	-1	-4	-3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	1	2	3	2	-3	-2
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-3	0	3	0	4	-3
12 In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.	-3	1	-1	-2	-3	-2
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	2	3	3	1	3	1
16 English no longer belongs to the British alone, but it is the asset and major communication tool of all humans.	1	1	0	0	3	0
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
27 In recent years, a lot of students, especially primary school students, take part in the national English examination (PETS). This affects the normal operation of school teaching and actually adds burden to the students.	-1	-1	2	0	-3	2
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-3	-3	1	-1	-4	-1
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1	-4	-1	-3	-1

43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	0	-3	-1	-2	-4	-1
49 There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.	1	-1	1	2	4	0
50 Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.	3	0	1	1	4	3

The fifth perspective, which is called '*English –positivist' non-contradictory Chinese-English relations advocates*, placed the highest emphasis on the positive roles of English as well as the non-contradictory relations between Chinese and English among the six perspectives. Participants who adopted this perspective thought that using English does not mean not loving the country, but what is important is foreign language cannot be more valued than Chinese. There is definitely no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.

Despite the emphasis on the harmonious relations, out of the six discourses, these participants were the only group that had a rather high level of agreement that people learn English for no use, or they learn it and cannot really use it because there is a tendency to learn it just for exams without actual application and because of inefficient learning. However, English is at the same time of use and important for many people. English for all, therefore, is not a waste. The non-contradictory advocates were also the only group that rather strongly believed that one would be left behind without English knowledge. Despite the need for English for all, China will not have the largest English-speaking population in the world.

'*English –positivist' non-contradictory advocates* were the only group that agreed rather strongly with the idea that English no longer belongs to the British alone, but to the whole world. English therefore does not create language inequality. This group was actually most opposed to the negative impacts of English on Chinese society and the

Chinese language. For example, participants believed that national English exams do not affect the normal operation of education system and the burden of English study does not take up the time of students to learn Chinese. Differing also from other perspectives to a large extent, 'English-positivist' disagreed with the following statements:

40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	4 1.64	2 1.15	2 0.89	1 0.61	-1 -0.56*	2 1.10
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	2 1.10	1 0.41	1 0.32	3 1.38	-2 -0.85*	3 1.37
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	3 1.35	3 1.18	1 0.77	1 0.27	-2 -0.86*	1 0.58

They tended to disagree that English would not replace Chinese literary works and that for Chinese people, Chinese was definitely the most important language. Participants adopting this discourse were rather 'pro-English'. Like some other perspectives, they also thought that English education should aim to enhance teacher quality and knowledge of culture.

Discourse F: '*English-is-useful*' *Chinese language and culture conservationists*

6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	1	3	2	3	0	3
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-2	-1	3	-4
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-2	0	-1	-4	-3

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Statement						
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	-1	1	4	3	0	-3
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-3	0	3	0	4	-3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	-4	3	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	4	4	3	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	0	1	-3	0	-2	4
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	2	1	1	3	-2	3
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	2	4	-1	2	-2	4
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	0	-3	-1	0	1	-4
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-1	-4	0	-1	0	-3
50 Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.	3	0	1	1	4	3
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	3	-1	1	4	2	3
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	4	-2	2	-3	-1	3

With higher emphasis on the Chinese language and culture, the final perspective found in the whole sample analysis is advocating for Chinese but it differs from the other 'Chinese advocate' perspectives in terms of the higher significance of the distinctive roles of Chinese and English and the important place of Chinese traditional values in English classrooms. The statements that most characterise this perspective are "32 it is important to incorporate traditional views and socialism into English classrooms" which was positively rated, and "10 people spend time and money on learning English when they actually do not need it" which was negatively rated. This perspective is called

'English-is-useful' Chinese language and culture conservationists.

Participants believed that, as Chinese, people should be proud of their long tradition and determined to make Chinese as dominant as English. It is also important to incorporate traditional views and socialism into the English classrooms. The mother tongue will not be forgotten and the ABC could never replace literary Chinese. English is a tool while Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. English is not more valued than Mandarin in China.

Despite the values of Chinese language and culture, these *'English-is-useful' Chinese language and culture conservationists* did not reject English at all. Instead, they believed foreign language should be a channel to understand the world. Advocacy for mother tongue writing does not mean opposition to English, but the Chinese language should be more important. By the same token, using English does not mean not loving the country. What is important is foreign language cannot be more important than mother tongue.

Without English, one will not be left behind. However, English learning is not only for exams but also for actual application. In contrast to the other perspectives, conservationists disagreed rather strongly that people do not need English when time and money is spent on learning it. For them, English is of use for many people and if one learns it, it will be of some use anyway.

A3.2 Subgroup discourses about English

The whole sample analysis revealed six discourses, each of which is characterised by its particular issues of concerns. By way of the subgroup analyses of each of the four participant groups in the education sector, more similar and diverse views and patterns of beliefs about issues relating to English can be identified and revealed. The following sub-sections present and discuss the diversity of perspectives on English among university students, high school students, teachers and parents as subgroups.

A3.2.1 Diversity within subgroups

The Q factor analysis has reconstructed the Q sorts of university students. Four factors were discovered among the group.

University students

Among the university students, no bipolar[1] factors were found. This suggests the presence of consensus on several issues among the discourses. Below are some noticeable viewpoints shared among the university students:

	Discourses			
	A	B	C	D
35 Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.	-2	-2	-1	-1
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	0	-1	-1	0

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[1] Bipolar factors refer to two factors that hold completely opposite ratings of statements and therefore contrastive viewpoints.

4 For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.	1	1	0	1
21 I become more confident when I see my improvement in English.	1	1	-1	0
49 There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.	0	1	2	1
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	3	3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-2	-3	-4	-4
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	3	4	2	4
20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.	0	0	0	0

It is agreed across the four discourses that in the twenty-first century, Chinese people not only need foreign languages which serve as a channel to understand the world, but also need to be open-minded. However, participants all disagreed that, if we do not want to be left behind by the world, we can only use English to communicate with the outside. English might be a key to western civilisation for Chinese people. In terms of the impacts of English, the four discourses rated rather neutrally or slightly significant on statements 20, 21 and 23, indicate that English is not significant for the economic and social development of the country and it also does not contribute to hometown development. The language's impact on improving self-confidence is also not salient for the university students. As learning and speaking English have not really become a trend for the Chinese public, the contradiction between learning English and Chinese did not seem to be an issue of concern.

There were also very clear differences between the four discourses in the ways the university students conceptualised English and its related issues. What follows are the four discourses:

Discourse A: *'English-neutral' Chinese advocates*

7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-3	-2	-4	1
13 The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the United States. Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.	3	-2	-2	2
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	3	3
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	3	1	2	4
26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	-3	1	0	3
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-3	2	-1	-1
30 There are different types of English examinations in high schools and universities. Grammatical accuracy has almost become a technical demand.	-3	0	-1	2
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-4	-4	0	0
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	3	1	-3
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	0	2	-1
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	3	1	4	3
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	4	1	3	-2
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-1	-1	-3
46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.	-4	2	1	-4
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-4	-1	-2	-3

The *'English-neutral' Chinese advocates* believed that English is a useful channel to

understand the world. Chinese and English did not interfere with each other in terms of

language structures and social functions, but the mother tongue Chinese remains the most important for Chinese people and Chinese people should be determined to make Chinese as strong as English is. Chinese people also needed to be open-minded. Everyone still speaks the mother tongue and China will not have the largest population who will be able to speak English.

The strong rankings of statements 37, 38, 40 and 41 clearly show that participants holding this perspective advocated for the Chinese language in the encounter of the dominance of English. As compared to other discourses, these students agreed more that English is 'everywhere' playing a role in economic globalisation and communication, so English is useful and not a waste (statements 7 and 8) and will not only be learnt for exams. They believed that as a foreign language was a useful channel for them to understand the world, English education should aim to enhance the quality and knowledge of the language and culture of teachers (statement 15).

These *'English-neutral' advocates* were the group that was most significantly and negatively associated with the negative impacts of English, for example, English has not impacted on the time of students to learn Chinese; English has not monopolized the markets; no academic and financial burden caused by learning English and English learning did not only benefit a few people. They also believed that the dominance of English has not interfered with the learning, 'preservation' and status of the mother tongue Chinese as revealed by the rankings of statements 43, 46 and 48.

Discourse B: *'English is useful for some' language neutralists*

	-1	-4	-3	0
1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-1	-4	-3	0
3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	1	3	-2	0
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	3	4	2	4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	3	3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	2	3	1	4
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	1	4	0	3
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-2	3	-2	2
14 English education is an important part of foundation education; therefore, it has the responsibility for improving personal quality and advancement.	1	-3	1	1
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-1	-3	-3	0
31 <<Tertiary English>> is not only a language course, but it is also a "venue" for the transmission and competition of different cultures and thoughts.	-1	-4	-2	-1
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	-2	-3	1	1
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-4	-4	0	0
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	3	1	-3
47 In modern China's education system, primary school students are already learning English. In some pre-schools, English or other foreign languages are even taught. It would be terrible if children can't speak good Putonghua when they grow up.	0	3	1	-2
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	0	-3	1	-1

Relative to the impacts of English and the status of Chinese and English, this perspective emphasises the necessity and 'neutral' role of English. It stresses how English should be acquired more significantly than other perspectives, without advocating for any of the languages. English is the most important communication tool of the world but it is not needed and important for everyone. Discourse B students were

the only group that agreed that 'English for all' was a waste. They felt there were negative impacts of English education, for instance, children unable to speak Putonghua properly as English was taught too early. They also disagreed rather strongly that Chinese and English could not be said to be a language of soul and a tool respectively.

This group of university students stressed that foreign language should be a channel to understand the world but not all students need to learn English. In addition to foreign language, Chinese people also need to be open-minded, and language classrooms should not be a battlefield of different cultures and languages. They believed that many people still could not use English even though they had spent time and money, and many people and students did not really need the language while they still learnt it. For this reason, China would not have the largest English-speaking population. Without English, one would not be left behind. When there are negative impacts of English on Chinese learning, literary Chinese is important and it would not be replaced.

Due to their open-minded advocacy, the students stressed that one should not make an oppositional relation between Chinese and English as they cannot be compared and distinguished. This also explained the relatively neutral ratings of the 'Chinese dominance' and 'English dominance' statements.

As one Discourse B student stated "*[Chinese and English] are important for different people. English is also a language of soul for other countries*" ("英语也是其他国家的灵魂"). Other languages will not become inferior. Chinese ideas could not be incorporated into English classes, and English education should not become a part of quality education.

Discourse C: *'Non-contradictory Chinese-English relations' advocates*

1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-1	-4	-3	0
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-3	-2	-4	1
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-1	0	-3	2
12 In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.	-1	-1	-3	0
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-2	-3	-4	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	3	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	0	-1	-4	-4
22 More people are learning English. This is good for the country.	0	-1	-3	-2
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-1	-3	-3	0
36 After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.	2	0	3	-1
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	3	1	4	3
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	4	1	3	-2
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	2	0	4	2
50 Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.	1	2	3	-2
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	-1	2	3	0
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	-1	0	4	-2

What is distinctive about this account is its emphasis on the 'equal' status and distinctions between the roles of English and Chinese. It displayed less concerns about the positive and negative impacts of English. Although English is important for connecting with the world as a tool, the mother tongue Chinese is still the most

important identity foundation and it can compete with English in terms of its creativity. English is useful not just for exam purposes, but it is not important to the extent that children need English certificates to be competitive and that one would need English to avoid being left behind.

Non-contradictory relations advocates perceived that, although it is necessary to learn English to communicate with the world, using English does not mean not loving the country and Chinese is still the most important language. Chinese people should also be determined to promote Chinese (statement 38 rated +2). These students were the only group that agreed with the "Chinese fever" developing with the economy of the country (statement 51 rated +2). There was no language inequality. In a sense, the university students agreed rather strongly that Chinese people need to be open-minded. The students emphasised language and culture equality in general and not blindly rejecting foreign things. They were not opposed to English even though national issues were more important than foreign things. After the entry into the WTO and the Beijing Olympics, it was now a demand for youth to be able to communicate with the outside. However, not all students needed to learn English because more people learning English was not necessarily good for the country.

Discourse D: *English as a communication channel for some, with social harms education-enhancement advocates*

6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	3	4	2	4
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	2	3	1	4
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	1	4	0	3
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	3	1	2	4

17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-2	-3	-4	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	3	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	0	-1	-4	-4
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	0	2	0	3
26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	-3	1	0	3
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	3	1	-3
39 There seems to be greater emphasis on English education. English is taught from pre-school and has almost become an "imperialist language". It is the time to advocate for mother-tongue education.	1	1	0	-3
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	3	1	4	3
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-1	-1	-3
46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.	-4	2	1	-4
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-4	-1	-2	-3
51 In recent years, China's economic growth has been accelerating and many countries have also increased their economic dealings with China. This has led to the rise of "Chinese fever". Some people even think that the Chinese language will become the new "world language" alongside English.	-2	-2	2	-3

This discourse placed higher emphasis on the neutral roles and negative impacts of English on the society. It displayed concerns about the usefulness and social and linguistic impacts of English. Participants stressed that foreign language should be a channel to understand the world, but it was not important for everyone and all the time. There is no use learning English for many people (statement 8). Therefore without English, one would not be left behind and children did not need English certificates to

compete. English had some negative impacts on the society, but it did not affect the Chinese language and people's ability to speak it. While English has not polluted the mother tongue and monopolized the markets and students still had time to learn the mother tongue, English learning caused academic and financial burdens and facilitated desire for immediate success. Discourse D students were the only group that agreed that national English exams had affected the normal operation of the education system (statement 27) and that there were too many varieties of English exams which emphasized grammatical competence (statement 30). Many people learnt English but English education was not effective. Therefore teacher quality and basic knowledge about English and culture should be enhanced.

In addition to learning foreign language, Chinese people also needed to be open-minded. Chinese was still more important while English was necessary for connecting with the world (statement 40). It was not necessary to advocate for an oppositional status between English and Chinese. However, there is a possibility of English replacing literary Chinese work and there is a tendency for Chinese not to be the most important for Chinese people (statement 41). As explained by the students, that was because literary Chinese work was not valued as it was not "useful" to the modern day.

As the university students stated, without mother tongue education, children could still speak mother tongue well because they lived in China. This explained their thought that there was no need to advocate for mother tongue education (statement 39).

High school students

Five factors and therefore discourses about English were found among the high school student participants. There were no bipolar factors among the high school students which meant that they had agreement on some issues. Discourse D had the lowest correlation with the other four discourses. Below are some similarities:

	Discourses				
	A	B	C	D	E
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1	-2	-2	-1
4 For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.	1	0	1	2	1
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	1	0	1	1	1
36 After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.	1	3	2	1	2
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	2	1	0	2	1
31 <<Tertiary English>> is not only a language course, but it is also a "venue" for the transmission and competition of different cultures and thoughts.	0	-1	-1	-1	-2
22 More people are learning English. This is good for the country.	-1	0	-1	1	0
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-4	-3	-3	-3
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-2	-2	-2	-2	-4
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	3	1	2	0	1
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-2	-4	-4	-2
20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.	-1	1	0	1	0
14 English education is an important part of foundation education; therefore, it has the responsibility for improving personal quality and advancement.	1	1	0	1	-1

Generally, high school students perceived that English was of use for many people and English was rather a key to western civilisation. Whether English was responsible for improving personal quality was not an issue of concern, but it was true that English education should focus on improving the quality and knowledge of English culture of teachers. When learning English culture was necessary for better English proficiency, "College English" classroom should not be a venue of competitions of different languages and cultures. After China's entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the Beijing Olympics, there was a demand for young people to master English and communication skills with the outside. However, China would probably not have the largest English-speaking population in the world. English had a minor role in facilitating economic and social development and thus more people learning English did not really affect the country. Foreign language exams might facilitate the desire for immediate success, but learning English does not take up the time of students learning Chinese and non-English speakers will not become a minority group. Chinese is comparable to other languages including English with its creativity and beauty.

There were also very clear differences between the five discourses which are outlined below.

Discourse A: *'English as a communication channel' Chinese advocates*

6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	4	0	3	0	-1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-2	-3	3	0
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	1	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	1	1	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-1	-4	-3
24 For me, English can help find a better job and improve life quality.	-3	0	1	0	2

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35 Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.	-3	-1	2	-3	-2
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	0	4	-2	2
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	4	3	-2	4
39 There seems to be greater emphasis on English education. English is taught from pre-school and has almost become an "imperialist language". It is the time to advocate for mother-tongue education.	3	2	0	-1	1
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	3	2	0	-1	3
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	3	1	2	0	1
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-2	-4	-4	-2
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	-4	-3	-1	3	-3
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-3	-4	-1	0	0
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	3	-3	-2	0	-1

This perspective is characterised by its emphasis on the importance of the mother tongue Chinese and the 'practical' nature of English as a tool without bringing any particular benefits. For the participants, Chinese people should be determined to make the Chinese language strong while foreign language should be a channel to understand the world. Discourse A high school students were the only group that agreed with the "Chinese fever" developing with the economy of China, like English (statement 51). At the same time, Chinese people also needed to be open-minded. High school students holding this perspective disagreed strongly that Chinese people valued English more than Chinese and that children needed English certificates to compete. Without English, children were still competitive and would not be left behind. However, if one learnt English, it would be useful in some ways. English was not learnt purely for exams.

Learning and speaking English has not become a trend of the Chinese public. It does not bring benefits such as better job and improving living conditions.

The strong rankings of 37, 38, 39, 40 and 42 indicate the advocacy for Chinese of students who adopted this perspective. Chinese was a beautiful language and could thus compete with other languages. Literary Chinese could never be replaced. Although English was important for connecting with the world, Chinese was still the most important language for Chinese people. There is a distinction between English and Chinese in that English is a tool and Chinese is the identity foundation. English did not harm the Chinese language and people could still speak mother tongue. Nevertheless, mother tongue education is needed at least in pre-school.

Discourse B: *'Chinese-English equality' 'hybrid' advocates*

Statement					
1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	2	3	-4	-1	-4
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	0	3	4	-2	-3
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-4	-3	-3	-3
12 In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.	0	3	-2	-4	-1
13 The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the United States. Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.	-2	4	0	4	-2
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	1	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	1	1	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-1	-4	-3
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-2	-3	0	-3	-3
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	1	3	0	0	3
36 After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.	1	3	2	1	2

Statement					
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	4	3	-2	4
44 Some primary schools have started to use English as a medium of instruction. It is true that student's English is improved, but how about the Chinese literary studies and poems? Perhaps they have already been covered up by the 26 letter alphabet.	2	-3	2	-1	1
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	-4	-3	-1	3	-3
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-3	-4	-1	0	0
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	3	-3	-2	0	-1

Like other discourses, participants holding Discourse B stressed that Chinese people should be determined to make Chinese language as dominant as English because the need for English, which was widely used because of the power of the US and UK, has somehow created language inequality. Discourse B students were the only group that agreed (rather strongly) the need to learn English to communicate had created inequality (statement 12). In addition to foreign language, Chinese people need to be open-minded. English is useful for many people, although one would not be left behind without it and children do not need English certificates to be competitive. As English is now widely used, it is now a demand for youth to learn English as the country is opening up more after entry into the WTO and the winning of the bid to host the Beijing Olympics. All students need to learn English and English for all is not a waste as English is a sign of openness. They were the only group that disagreed with the emphasis on grammatical competence of the existing exam system (statement 30).

This perspective, as well as Discourse E illustrated later, stood out because of the view of the hybridity of Chinese and English in the language classroom. High school students holding this perspective believed that it was also important to incorporate traditional Chinese ideas and socialism into English classes, but at the same time, they believed

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that one cannot make such a distinction between Chinese as a foundation and English as a tool. As one student loaded on Discourse B explained, Chinese and English are equally important. Chinese is the country's language, while English is important for communication.

The other statements in the 'non-contradictory' category also received rather neutral ratings very possibly for the reason that Chinese and English cannot be compared. While the negative rating of statement 54 is indicative of their viewpoints of the 'equality' between the two languages as both important for instrumental and integrative reasons, the strong agreement with incorporating traditions into English classrooms demonstrates the 'imagined' hybridity of the high school students. This is further supported by the need to learn the culture associated with English that all high school students in the sample expressed. As one high school student in Discourse B pointed out, "我觉得还是有必要的 因为语言是要与他人沟通 所以你首先要去了解别人 如果你不知道 别人是如何生活 他们的文化是什么的话 也许你就没有办法很好的去与他们交流". Although English creates language inequality, there is no damage to the Chinese language. People still value learning Chinese more, and speak Chinese well, and English has not replaced literary Chinese studies.

Discourse C: *'Universal English as a symbol of openness for self-strengthening'*
Chinese advocates

1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	2	3	-4	-1	-4
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	0	3	4	-2	-3
3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	-1	2	-3	2	0
5 We learn English to acquire the advancement of the West so as to protect the benefits of the country and people!	0	-2	4	0	0
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	4	0	3	0	-1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-2	-3	3	0

8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-4	-3	-3	-3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	-2	1	3	-3	0
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-1	1	-3	3	-1
16 English no longer belongs to the British alone, but it is the asset and major communication tool of all humans.	0	0	3	3	0
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	1	-4
34 English has become an international language. Many people can speak and write English.	-1	1	3	2	2
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	0	4	-2	2
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	4	3	-2	4
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-2	-4	-4	-2
46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.	-1	-1	-4	-2	0

What is distinctive about this account is its 'English for self-strengthening' views similar to those embedded within the 'ti-yong' principle. English as an international language belonging to the whole world was advocated for being used to learn from the West to protect the country. For the high school students holding this perspective, English represented the openness of the country and was learnt to protect the benefits of the country and the people. Nevertheless, this discourse displayed the strongest positive rating on statement 9 that it was not important for all students and everyone to learn English. If people learnt it, it would be useful in some ways, not just for exams.

These students' opinions were also distinctive from the other discourses due to their 'recognition' of the 'universality' of the English language both in the world and China. These 'self-strengthening' advocates were the only group that tended to agree with

learning and speaking English having become a trend of the Chinese public (statement 35). Statements 34 and 16 were most significant to Discourse C students among the five perspectives of high school students. The students were also the only group that tended to be neutral about statement 13 that English is used widely nowadays because of the power of the UK and US.

The students also believed that English had not affected the Chinese language. Students still had time to learn Chinese and literary Chinese could never be replaced by English. English had not monopolised the job markets and polluted the mother tongue. At the same time, the students also advocated for the Chinese language which needed to be made as dominant as English. English, as a universal language, was useful for understanding the world but it was not the most important communication tool of the world. Therefore, one would not be left behind without it.

Discourse D: *'English is universal, 'Non-contradictory Chinese-English relations' advocates*

Statement					
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-2	-3	3	0
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-4	-3	-3	-3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	-2	1	3	-3	0
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	-1	1	-3	3	-1
12 In many situations, people learn English as a necessity. From this perspective, it creates language inequality.	0	3	-2	-4	-1
13 The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the United States. Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.	-2	4	0	4	-2
16 English no longer belongs to the British alone, but it is the asset and major communication tool of all humans.	0	0	3	3	0
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-1	-4	-3

Statement					
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-2	-3	0	-3	-3
30 There are different types of English examinations in high schools and universities. Grammatical accuracy has almost become a technical demand.	0	-2	2	4	0
35 Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.	-3	-1	2	-3	-2
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	0	2	0	-3	1
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	-2	-4	-4	-2
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	-4	-3	-1	3	-3
49 There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.	1	-1	1	4	-1
50 Using English does not necessarily mean you don't love the country. The problem is we can't encourage foreign language at the expense of mother-tongue.	2	0	-1	3	0

Students adopting this perspective placed higher emphasis on the spread and usefulness of English and the relations between Chinese and English.

English is now used widely because of the power of UK and US. English is now a universal language. For this reason, Discourse D students were the only group that was neutral about statement 17 that one would need English if one did not want to be left behind.

There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese, and so there is no language inequality English has created. Discourse D students were the group that most strongly agreed that the Chinese and English were not contradictory. Learning English does not mean not loving the country and we should always value mother tongue more. There are many different English exams which make grammatical competence a technical demand. In which case, people just learn it for exams without actual application, and there is no use of the knowledge after learning. Because of this, speaking and writing English has not become a trend in China. However, English for all

is not a waste and is useful for many people. The problem is too much emphasis had been put on exams. Children do not need English certificates to be competitive.

Interestingly, this group of students were the only group that rated most significantly and positively statement 45 that English was more valued than Chinese in China, and significantly and negatively statement 41 that for Chinese people, Chinese language is more important. Although learning English did not really bring any harms to the Chinese language as students still had time to learn Chinese, and the two languages were not contradictory. One student loaded significantly on this discourse pointed out, *"there are a few impacts but not that serious. Some people emphasise more English, say, in our school, there are exams on English, Maths and Commerce, but there is more emphasis on the results of English and Maths. It feels like it's okay to just do well with Chinese"* ("就是也是有一些人 就是更重视英语 就譬如我们学校现在学习 一些学校考试的时候 是考英语跟数学或者是商科都考 但是更重视英语跟数学的成绩 语文就是好像考得好就成那种感觉了"). What is happening in China, for the students holding this perspective, is that English is more valued than Chinese, and the Chinese language is not more important than English for Chinese people in the current period.

Discourse E: *'English with negative impacts but useful' Chinese advocates*

1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	2	3	-4	-1	-4
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	0	3	4	-2	-3
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	-4	-3	-3	-3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-4	-3	1	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	4	4	1	1	4
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-1	-4	-3
21 I become more confident when I see my improvement in English.	0	2	2	0	3
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	1	1	0	2	-3

26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	1	-2	1	-1	4
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-2	-3	0	-3	-3
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-2	-2	-2	-2	-4
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	1	3	0	0	3
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	4	3	-2	4
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	3	2	0	-1	3
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	-4	-3	-1	3	-3
47 In modern China's education system, primary school students are already learning English. In some pre-schools, English or other foreign languages are even taught. It would be terrible if children can't speak good Putonghua when they grow up.	ˉ0	0	-1	0	3
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	2	-1	1	2	3

This perspective is characteristic of its stress on the negative impacts of English on the society as well as the Chinese language while English was useful for some people. In addition to foreign language, Chinese people should be open-minded and, at the same time, be determined to make Chinese as strong as English. Languages other than English are not inferior and advocacy for mother tongue does not mean opposition to foreign languages. English does nevertheless create some social problems such as causing financial and academic burdens for students and parents. As the only group that showed agreement, these Discourse E high school students agreed with the negative

impacts of national English exams on the normal operation of education (statement 27). Although English is of use for many people and English for all is not a waste, not all students need to learn it. Without English, one would definitely not be left behind and children will still be competitive without English certificates. Chinese language is still the most important for Chinese people even though we need English to connect with the world.

However, English does not symbolise the increasing openness of the country and has some damage to the Chinese language. Although Chinese people do not value learning English more, in today's education in China, children start learning English at an early age, even in pre-school. When they grow up, they cannot speak Putonghua properly. It is necessary to incorporate traditional values into the English classes. English has harms in the society but it also has brought some personal benefits such as enhanced confidence. The students were the only group that disagreed (rather strongly) that English did not contribute to hometown development.

Teachers

Four discourses about English were extracted from the Q sorts of teachers. Discourse C had the lowest correlation with the other three discourses, and within Discourse C, there was one bipolar case among the teacher participants, meaning that two of the teacher participants had quite contrasting viewpoints. This bipolarity implies that two diametrically opposed viewpoints are being expressed by the participants who load on such a factor. If the positive loaders agree with the item rankings and overall item configuration for that factor, the negative loaders are agreeing with an entirely reversed

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configuration and hence they are advocating an opposed viewpoint. If the positive

loaders have ranked an item at +4, the negative loaders have ranked the same item at -4.

The four discourses share some commonalities as stated below:

	Discourses			
	A	B	C	D
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-3	-4
21 I become more confident when I see my improvement in English.	-1	-1	-2	0
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	-1	0	-2	-1
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-1	-1	1	0

Teacher participants seemed to have more consensus on issues related to English than

the student groups. They disagreed strongly that learning foreign language is only for

exam purposes without actual application. Learning English does not improve self-

confidence and it also does not contribute to hometown development. Whether non-

English speakers and languages other than English would become a minority was not an

issue of concern for the teachers.

Below are the differences between the four teacher discourses:

Discourse A: 'English with harms' Chinese advocates

1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-4	-1	-1	2
5 We learn English to acquire the advancement of the West so as to protect the benefits of the country and people!	-3	0	0	-1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-3	-4
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	-1	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-4	-1	-3

20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.	-3	0	-3	1
22 More people are learning English. This is good for the country.	-3	-1	1	-1
24 For me, English can help find a better job and improve life quality.	-3	1	-4	-2
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	3	1	-3	0
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	1	1	3
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	4	0	-1	2
39 There seems to be greater emphasis on English education. English is taught from pre-school and has almost become an "imperialist language". It is the time to advocate for mother-tongue education.	3	-1	1	1
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	4	3	0	1
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	4	3	0	-1
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	3	2	0	-2

The strong ratings of statements 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 indicate that the teachers adopting this perspective are Chinese advocates. The mother tongue Chinese is still the most important although English is necessary to connect with the world and yet not needed to protect the country. Chinese people should promote Chinese as strongly as English. English is useful, but not all students and not everyone need to learn it. We still live without English, and children will not lack competitiveness without English certificates. These teachers were the only group that tended to disagree with statement 3 that English was the most important communication tool of the world.

Although it is not a necessity for everyone to learn English, if one learns it, it is still of use in some ways. In addition to learning foreign languages, on the part of Chinese, they also need to be open-minded. Teachers holding this 'English with harms' perspective all disagreed strongly or quite strongly with the positive impacts of English, for example, not good for the country, no personal development reasons. As just a communication tool, English education was not responsible for improving personal quality (statement 14). But there are negative impacts, for instance, English facilitates the desire for immediate success. They were also the only group that agreed with the impacts of English exams on the normal operation of schools (statement 27). With regards to the impacts of English on Chinese, Discourse A teachers were also the only group that was neutral about the negative impacts of English learning on Chinese (statement 43, 46).

Discourse B: *'Chinese-English equality' education-enhancement advocates*

Statement				
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	-1	3	-1	4
6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	0	4	0	-1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-4	-4	-3	-4
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	1	4	0	3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-3	1	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	-1	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-4	-1	-3
36 After entry into the WTO and winning the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics, mastering English and strengthening communication with the outside is becoming a demand for the youth.	1	3	-2	-1
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	4	3	0	1
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	4	3	0	-1

43	Burden of English taking up the time to learn Chinese	0	-3	-2	-4
45	English is more valued than Mandarin in China	-2	-3	3	-3
48	Everyone is busy with foreign language and forget MT	-1	-3	2	-4
52	Advocacy for MT writing not mean opposition to English,	2	3	3	0
53	Chinese a language of soul and English a tool	2	-4	0	0
54	English a tool & addition and Chinese a personal & identity foundation	2	-3	-2	-2

The second perspective found among teachers is 'Chinese-English equality' education-enhancement advocates. Apart from foreign language as a channel for them to understand the world, the teachers believed that Chinese people also need to be open-minded in the twenty-first century. Therefore, Chinese people should accept more 'foreign things' and cannot make the distinction between the roles of Chinese and English. They cannot make such a distinction as between English as a tool and Chinese as soul as the languages are equal.

Teachers holding this perspective emphasised that English education should aim to enhance teacher quality and knowledge of English and culture. However, English is not everything. Without English, one would not be left behind and children would still be competitive. If one learns English, it would be of some use, not only for exams. Foreign language is a symbol of openness. Discourse B teachers were the group that most significantly agreed that as the country is more open, there is a demand for youth to learn English (statement 36) but they tended to disagree that China would have the largest number of English speakers in the world (statement 33).

For Discourse B teachers, Chinese is still the most important language and knowing English does not mean not loving the country (statement 40, 41, 52). There is harm from learning English to the Chinese language (statement 43, 45, 48).

Discourse C: *'English-negativist'*

10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language. | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1

11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it. | -2 | 1 | 4 | 1

20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable. | -3 | 0 | -3 | 1

24 For me, English can help find a better job and improve life quality. | -3 | 1 | -4 | -2

25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success. | 3 | 1 | -3 | 0

28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected. | 0 | -2 | 3 | 1

30 There are different types of English examinations in high schools and universities. Grammatical accuracy has almost become a technical demand. | 1 | -1 | 3 | 0

32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes. | 1 | -2 | -4 | 2

33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world. | 0 | -2 | -4 | 2

45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China. | -2 | -3 | 3 | -3

46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world. | 0 | -2 | 4 | -2

49 There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese. | 1 | 1 | -3 | -1

51 In recent years, China's economic growth has been accelerating and many countries have also increased their economic dealings with China. This has led to the rise of "Chinese fever". Some people even think that the Chinese language will become the new "world language" alongside English. | 0 | -1 | -3 | -2

52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement. | 2 | 3 | 3 | 0

This discourse is characterised by its views of English as harmful and 'English for all' as a waste. Teachers holding this perspective believed that people spend too much time and money on learning English while there was not such a need to learn. They also tended to believe that there was no use of learning English for many people (statement

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8). There were therefore no benefits of English for self and the society. In China, there will not be many people who can speak English even though learning English has become a trend of the Chinese public (statement 35). While there are no positive impacts, English monopolises the study and job markets and does harms to the Chinese language and some parts of the society as it is more valued than Chinese. Children cannot speak good Putonghua. These 'English negativists' were the only group that thought that everyone was busy learning foreign language and forgot the mother tongue (statement 48) and that literary Chinese teaching was affected (statement 44). They were the only group that agreed (rather strongly) that English was more valued than Chinese. There is therefore contradiction between learning English and Chinese (statement 49). Although harmful to the Chinese language, it is not necessary to incorporate nationalism and cultural values into English classrooms (statement 32).

Although it is harmful to learn English, it is still useful and not just for exams. Discourse C teachers however were also the only group that tended to be neutral or agree that, if one did not want to be left behind, one could only use English (statement 17), and that more people learning English was good for the country (statement 22). There are still too many varieties of English exams while not everyone needs the language (statement 10, 11, 30). But it has not facilitated immediate success (statement 25). We should emphasise language and cultural equality not blindly rejecting foreign things (statement 52) and Chinese will not become a world language along with English (statement 51).

As mentioned previously, Participant 13 and Participant18 both loaded heavily on F3 as bipolar cases, with Participant 13 loaded negatively and Participant 18 positively. This means that while Participant 13 shared only some viewpoints with F1, F2 and F4, s/he

differed considerably from Participant 18 in discourse C. Participant 13 was strongly

opposed to this 'English-negativist' perspective.

Discourse D: *English is a symbol of openness important for some, with no harms*

Statement				
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	-1	3	-1	4
4 For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.	0	2	0	3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	1	1	2	4
14 English education is an important part of foundation education; therefore, it has the responsibility for improving personal quality and advancement.	-2	0	1	3
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	1	4	0	3
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	-3	-3	1	-3
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	4	-1	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-4	-1	-3
34 English has become an international language. Many people can speak and write English.	0	2	-1	3
35 Learning and speaking English has become a trend of the public.	-1	-2	2	-3
37 It is important to learn foreign language but "ABC" can never replace <<Three Character Classic>>	3	1	1	3
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	0	-3	-2	-4
44 Some primary schools have started to use English as a medium of instruction. It is true that student's English is improved, but how about the Chinese literary studies and poems? Perhaps they have already been covered up by the 26 letter alphabet.	0	0	2	-4
45 English learning is more valued than Mandarin learning for the Chinese in China.	-2	-3	3	-3
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-1	-3	2	-4

Teachers adopting this discourse strongly believed that English is an international

language that represents the openness of the country and is a key to western civilisation.

They were the only group that agreed that English was the most important

communication tool of the world (statement 3) and that all students needed to learn it

(statement 1) but it is not important for everyone. English is useful and it is not just

learnt for exams, but without English, we are still able to communicate with the outside world, and children can still compete (statement 7, 17, 19).

More relevant to the teachers, English education should also be responsible for improving personal quality and English education should aim to enhance teacher quality and knowledge. Chinese also need to be open-minded. English has not even become a trend (statement 35) in China but they believed that in the future China would have the largest English-speaking population in the world (statement 33). English has no negative impacts on the Chinese language. The mother tongue Chinese has not been affected. Students still have time to learn Chinese and literary Chinese is still important. These teachers disagreed with statement 44 because they do not know any schools that use English to teach literary Chinese and were the only group that disagreed with statement 42 that Chinese is comparable to other languages. The 'non-contradictory' statements were all of low significance (neutrality and some disagreement) for Discourse D teachers.

Parents

Among the parent participants, there were five factors with eigenvalues above 1.0. Four factors were finally extracted to reform the parental discourses about English because there was only one Q sort loaded heavily on Factor 5 which weakened the validity of this factor. Discourse B and C had rather low correlations with one another and with the other two discourses. Among the parent participants, no bipolar cases were found. Some commonalities could be found across the four discourses:

Discourses

	A		B		C		D	
16 English no longer belongs to the British alone, but it is the asset and major communication tool of all humans.	1	0.45	1	0.56	0	0.37	0	0.00
22 More people are learning English. This is good for the country.	0	-0.10	0	0.00	0	-0.14	-2	-0.87
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	-1	-0.26	-1	-0.52	-2	-0.98	-3	-1.21
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1.17	-1	-0.65	-3	-1.24	-3	-1.41
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	1	0.71	3	1.27	1	0.46	2	0.93

Even though all parent participants were generally neutral about the ownership of English as belonging to the whole world, they did not think that China would have the largest English-speaking population in the world. With varying levels of agreement, they believed that mother tongue Chinese was the most important for Chinese people. The parent participants were not concerned about the collective benefits of English. They were rather neutral or disagreed with the benefits English could bring to the country and the hometown.

Apart from the similarities the parents shared, diversity can also be found. The four discourses of parents about English are as follows.

Discourse A: *'English as an important self-strengthening communication channel'* *'Chinese-English equality' advocates*

	A	B	C	D
1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-3	-4	1	-1
2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	3	-1	2	4
3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	4	-2	3	3
4 For Chinese, English is a key to open up western civilisation.	4	-1	1	0
5 We learn English to acquire the advancement of the West so as to protect the benefits of the country and people!	3	-2	0	0

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6 Foreign language should become a channel for us to understand the world.	4	0	2	0
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	1	4	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-4
20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.	-3	-1	-2	-4
25 People's talents and abilities have been our criteria of employment. However, career promotion is now tied up closely with foreign language examination which has caused much frustration and to a certain extent, facilitated the desire for immediate success.	3	-1	0	2
38 China has become stronger and is rising internationally. Under this circumstance, we should be proud of the long tradition of our mother-tongue and even become determined to make it 'walk towards' the world like the way English has.	3	2	0	1
43 The huge burden created by English has taken up the time of students to learn Chinese.	-3	0	-1	1
47 In modern China's education system, primary school students are already learning English. In some pre-schools, English or other foreign languages are even taught. It would be terrible if children can't speak good Putonghua when they grow up.	-3	4	0	1
48 We are all busy with foreign languages, and forget our mother-tongue.	-3	2	-1	-1
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	-4	3	3	3
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	-4	4	3	2

The strong rankings of statements 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 demonstrate agreement with the

positive necessity for English in this discourse. English is the most important channel to

communicate, to understand the world today and to learn from western civilisation to

protect the country. Although English is important, children will not need it to be

competitive and not all students need to learn it. English is a symbol of openness.

There are, however, some harms to the society in China but no harms to the Chinese

language. For instance, English facilitates the desire for immediate success, and causes

financial and academic burden (statement 26 rated +2). As compared to the other

parental discourses, these non-distinctive Chinese-English advocates objected less to the

idea that English was only learnt for taking exams without actual application (which

was rated -1). They also agreed that people learnt English when there was actually not the need (statement 10). English education has not facilitated social and economic development (statement 20). Students still have time to learn Chinese and still speak it well. Chinese people should be determined to make Chinese language as strong as English (statement 38). However, on the part of Chinese, they also need to be open-minded. (statement 18).

What stands out in this discourse from the other three discourses is its emphasis on the importance of both Chinese and English which could not be compared and distinguished. We cannot make such a distinction between Chinese as soul or identity foundation and English as a tool (statement 53, 54). This also explains the parents' insignificant ratings of the other 'non-contradictory' statements.

Discourse B: *'English useful for some' distinctive Chinese-English advocates*

Statement				
1 Students have to learn English regardless of their disciplines.	-3	-4	1	-1
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-1	-4	-4	-3
10 Many people have spent a lot of time and money on learning foreign language and, in the end, they don't really need to use the language.	2	-3	1	2
11 It has become a common phenomenon that people learn English when it is actually useless. They are also incapable of using it.	0	-3	0	1
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-4
26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	2	-3	2	4
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-1	-3	-2	3
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-2	-4	-4	-1

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40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	0	3	3	0
41 For Chinese people, the Chinese language as the mother tongue is definitely much more important than English.	1	3	1	2
42 The creativeness of the Chinese language is comparable to any languages in the world. We can't blindly adore English as "to-be world language". There are many aspects that English cannot compete with Chinese.	-1	3	0	-1
44 Some primary schools have started to use English as a medium of instruction. It is true that student's English is improved, but how about the Chinese literary studies and poems? Perhaps they have already been covered up by the 26 letter alphabet.	0	3	-3	2
47 In modern China's education system, primary school students are already learning English. In some pre-schools, English or other foreign languages are even taught. It would be terrible if children can't speak good Putonghua when they grow up.	-3	4	0	1
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	1	4	4	-2
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	-4	3	3	3
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	-4	4	3	2

This perspective is characterised by the higher significance of the issue of necessity of English and the distinctions between Chinese and English for the parents. Not all students need to learn English, but when students learn the language, they do benefit from it (statement 1,7, 11). It is not a waste of time and resources to learn (statement 28) and they did not learn English only for exam purposes. English does some harms to the Chinese language.

Although English is important for connecting the world, the mother tongue Chinese is more important for Chinese people. Chinese is a beautiful language. There are many aspects where English cannot compete with Chinese. Therefore languages other than English are not inferior. Children will still be competitive without English certificates (statement 19). Those who cannot speak English are not a minority (statement 29).

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These distinctive Chinese-English advocates were the only group which perceived that English is not the most important communication tool of the world (statement 3).

Statements 52, 53 and 54 received strong or rather strong positive ratings indicating that parents who adopted this discourse advocate distinctive and non-contradictory roles of Chinese and English. There is a clear distinction between the roles of English and Chinese that Chinese is soul and foundation while English is a tool.

Distinctive Chinese-English advocates thought that English had harm on children's ability to speak Putonghua (statement 47) and the learning of literary Chinese (statement 44). They were the only group that agreed that everyone was busy learning English and forgot the mother tongue Chinese (statement 48). Participants holding this 'non-contradictory' perspective were also the only group who disagreed (rather strongly) that English did not only benefit a small amount of people and cause financial and academic burden (statement 26).

Discourse C: *Distinctive Chinese-English education-enhancement advocates*

Statement				
3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	4	-2	3	3
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-1	-4	-4	-3
8 For many people, there is no use of learning English.	-2	0	-3	0
15 English education should aim to improve teachers' personal quality and knowledge of the culture and customs of English-speaking countries.	1	1	4	1
18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	1	4	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-4
29 Non-English speakers originally made up the majority of the world's population. But under the current dominance of English, non-English speakers have become a minority. Their language has also become "inferior language".	-2	-4	-4	-1
32 To train students to ethnic traditions, national morality and socialism, it is especially important to incorporate nationalism and views and values of life into English classes.	0	1	-3	-2

33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1	-3	-3
40 For historical reason, there are many English-speaking countries in the world. If we want to "face the world" and "contact with the world", it is essential to learn English. However, in every country, the native language should be used more dominantly. The citizens of every country should first learn the native language.	0	3	3	0
44 Some primary schools have started to use English as a medium of instruction. It is true that student's English is improved, but how about the Chinese literary studies and poems? Perhaps they have already been covered up by the 26 letter alphabet.	0	3	-3	2
46 The society and people are all immersed in English. English seems to have become a firm prerequisite of getting a degree, career promotion and a criterion of talents selection. On one hand, the mother-tongue has been polluted and on the other, English has monopolised the world.	-2	2	-3	1
49 There is no contradiction between learning English and Chinese.	2	1	3	-1
52 Advocacy for writing in mother tongue does not mean opposition to English and resistance to outside culture. Rather it emphasises language and cultural equality and complement.	1	4	4	-2
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	-4	3	3	3
54 If we say English is a tool for international communication, then Chinese is our personal and identity foundation. The former is an addition and a tool and the latter is a foundation and guide.	-4	4	3	2

Distinctive Chinese-English education-enhancement advocates believed most strongly among the discourses that Chinese people needed to be open-minded. Chinese is still the most important language although English is important for contacting the world. All languages are equal and we should not blindly reject foreign things. That is why languages other than English are not inferior. If people learn English, it will be useful in some ways and people will not learn it only for exam purposes.

Among the four parent groups, these distinctive Chinese-English education advocates were the only group that was rather neutral about the need of all students to learn English (statement 1). However, they believed that children did not need English to be competitive.

They were 'distinctive Chinese-English' education advocates' because of their emphasis on separating Chinese traditional values and on improving the quality of teachers.

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Teachers need to be more well-trained, have more skills and understand more about western culture. Chinese traditional values should not be incorporated into English classrooms.

Participants holding this perspective thought that English had no harm on the Chinese language. They considered the roles of English and Chinese and their cultures as distinctive and non-contradictory as indicated by the rather strong ratings of statements 49, 52, 53, and 54.

There is the distinction between Chinese and English as foundation and tool but there is no contradiction between learning the two languages. Although English is the most important communication tool (statement 3) and important for connecting with the world, Chinese is still the most important language (statement 40). English is useful for many people (statement 7, 8) but China will not have the largest population who can speak English (statement 33).

Discourse D: *English as a symbol of openness and important communication tool for some with social harms*

2 The number of people learning English increases. This represents the increasing openness of my country.	3	-1	2	4
3 English is the most important communication tool of the world today	4	-2	3	3
7 We learn foreign language only for exams and without actual application.	-1	-4	-4	-3
9 The importance of foreign language is unquestionable. However, it doesn't mean that it is important to everyone and anytime.	1	0	0	4
13 The impacts of English are enormous following the rise of Britain and the United States. Especially in this era of economic globalisation and information technology, English is used more widely and everywhere.	0	0	1	-3
14 English education is an important part of foundation education; therefore, it has the responsibility for improving personal quality and advancement.	0	-2	1	-4
17 If we want to be a part of the world, we can only use English for international communication.	0	-2	-1	-4

18 Chinese in the 21st century not only need foreign language, but also need to be open-minded.	3	1	4	3
19 If children do not have the certificate of public English examination, they essentially have no competitiveness.	-4	-3	-4	-4
20 For a long time, English education has taken up a lot of human, material and financial resources. Its role in facilitating economic and social development is irreplaceable.	-3	-1	-2	-4
23 Learning English well can contribute to the hometown.	-1	-1	-2	-3
26 The main purpose of language learning is communication and application. If it becomes a criterion of school admission, exceeds the ability of children and causes huge financial burden for the parents, what is then the real benefit of language learning, except that it will be beneficial for only a small portion of the population?	2	-3	2	4
28 When speaking of 'saving', everyone will immediately think of saving water, saving electricity, saving food. But the waste produced by English-for-all and so on is neglected.	-1	-3	-2	3
33 In the near future, the number of people who can speak English in China will exceed the population of all English-speaking countries in the world.	-2	-1	-3	-3
53 Chinese is a language of soul and English is a tool.	-4	3	3	3

Participants holding this perspective most strongly associated English with the openness of the country. In the twenty-first century, they need to be more open-minded (statement 18) in addition to learning English which, however, is not important to everyone. Some people learnt it when there was actually not a need. After all, English is still not used widely because of the power of the UK and US. Its power is not growing and China will not have the largest population who can speak English (statement 33). Children do not need it to compete and one would not be left behind without English knowledge.

At the same time, English does not facilitate economic and social development and only some people would be able to benefit from it. English learning caused academic and financial burdens. The hometown will not benefit from English. It is useful to learn English for some people but it does not help improve personal quality as it is just a tool. There are no positive impacts of English but rather it creates burdens for parents and students.

Although English is useful in some ways when one learns it (statement 7), Discourse D parents were the only group that agreed (rather strongly) that English for all is a waste (statement 28). Some people do not need the language but still spend time and money on learning it (statement 10 and 11 rated +2 and +1 respectively). Discourse D parents were the group that did not rate significantly (and either positively or negatively) on the 'non-contradictory relations between Chinese and English', but for them, Chinese is a language of soul and English is just a tool.

"Li Yang"

2004.07.10第8版 副刊 作者：黄福高

2004.07.10 (Page 8 Supplement) Author: Wang fugao

永远不让祖国失望（与文明同行）

"Never let the motherland down" (walking with civilisation)

……三千多名中学生云集于大剧院内，在"疯狂英语"创始人李阳的感召下，颗颗纯净的心灵荡漾着澎湃的激情，跟着李阳一起疯狂地用英语高喊："我爱祖国，振兴中华！""努力学习，报效祖国！""我为我是一个中国人而感到无比自豪！"而场外众多的成年观众和家长，同样被现场感动得流下热泪……

李阳像阳光，像烈火，他用燃烧的激情拂去这些中学生们心灵中的胆怯、羞赧、骄逸、猥琐的阴霾与尘埃，从而鼓满他们心房中那些美好的理想与未来。整整两个小时，李阳全都以爱祖国、爱共产党、爱人民的主题用英语与他们对话，教他们把这种崇高的"爱"用激情之声释放出来！这种无比壮观，情真意切的场面令人为之动容。中学生罗菲的母亲对我说："李阳的演讲，让我明白了树立孩子正确的自信心是何等重要！这个自信心主要是成材，爱自己的祖国和人民……"

活动结束后，我问李阳："在认识您之前，我一直被你的那句：'永远不让祖国失望'而感动。我相信这句话同时也在感动着莘莘学子和亿万人民群众。可以说，它已成了一句当代名言，牢牢地记在人们的心中。这句话是在什么样的背景下喊出的？"李阳接过话茬激动地说："'永远不让祖国失望'的确是我的肺腑之声！祖国永远期待她的每一个儿女有所作为！这句话是我当年在兰州大学的烈士亭前第一次用疯狂英语口语大声喊出来的……"

故事要追溯到1987年冬，那次李阳意外地发现"疯狂"高喊英语口语给学习带来了巨大的收获：四个月坚持下来，舌头不再僵硬、耳朵不再失灵、反应不再迟钝。在当年的英语四级考试中，李阳只用五十分钟，就答完了试卷，成绩高居全校第二，轰动了兰州大学。

1992年，李阳以优异的成绩考入广东省电台外语台，开始了职业英语播音生涯。1993年底，美国众议院外交委员会首席顾问理查德·布什到广州发表演讲，李阳作为美国大使馆的特邀翻译为布什作翻译，标准流利敏捷的翻译水平受到了布什的热情赞扬。随后，美国总统特使、商业部长布朗访问广州时，李阳又是主控室的唯一中国翻译。此外，李阳还成功完成了1994年世界移动通讯国际会议二十七位发言人的同声翻译……他被人们誉为"英语万能机"。李阳说："什么是成功？成功就是为祖国的利益达到了正当的目的。"……

热血与激情永远来自对祖国历史的深沉了解和反思。这些年，李阳的激情之声响彻了祖国大地上的每一个角落。在卢沟桥，他高喊："对民族仇恨最好的洗雪就是强大自己的祖国！"在百色革命老区，他高喊："让贫困成为永远的过去！"在韶山毛泽东主席故居，他高喊："强国梦想一定要在我们这一代人实现！"在北京万里长城上，他用英语引领中国人民解放军官兵高喊："铸就钢铁长城，维护世界和平！"后来，每当见到李阳时，我首先会从他期待的明亮的眸子里读到一种真挚的、急迫的、燃烧着的爱……

他的办公楼离黄花岗烈士陵园只有百米之遥，有一次我到办公室看望他，还未等我落座，他就拉着我来到窗前，望着庄严肃穆的黄花岗烈士纪念碑，以他那特有的钟声般的声音对我说："你知道吗？奥运会的播音员用英语公开诬蔑中国运动员服用兴奋剂，但我们的运动员因不懂英语而仍微笑着进场……"他努力调整自己激动的情绪，用右手拍胸向前做了一个大幅的动作："在今天全球化国际化的时代，不懂英语就会造成新时期的丧权辱国！这决不是耸人听闻……"

在无数次的演讲中，李阳总是情不自禁地向观众"疯狂"疾呼："我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达

国家吸收先进的东西，捍卫祖国和人民的利益！""我理解的爱国就是自强，就是把自己锻造成材，因为从此祖国多了一个人才，少了一个蠢才！"……

李阳的杰出贡献与爱国精神得到了社会的承认。他被公认为英语口语教育专家，被誉为"英语播种机"、"教英语口语的魔术师"、"爱国演说家"。2000年，李阳名列"全国十大新锐人物"榜首；2002年，被韩日世界杯组委会评为"世界杯荣誉特使"。

李阳并没沉浸在荣誉与鲜花中，他梦想着更辉煌的事业。他向世人透露，他将继续向三亿中国人传播"疯狂英语"快速突破法；在祖国一千个城市和地区举办大规模英语素质教育巡回演讲；在中国贫困地区援建一百所李阳·克立兹国际英语希望小学（目前已援建了十五所）；带领志愿者一个村庄、一个城镇地普及英语；在美国、日本、英国等一百个国家推广中文和中国文化，进行中国文化和投资巡回演讲，在世界著名城市和大学开设中文和中国文化培训中心，全面推介中国文化，让中国成为世界向往的旅游和居住的乐园……

李阳认为，"疯狂"是一种精神，是人生态度，是世界观。"疯狂"的梦想源于对祖国深沉的爱。凡是成就伟大事业的人都是"疯狂"的人！一次他对我痛心疾首地说："中国已经加入WTO，我们面临最大的问题之一就是英语必须过关。在国际竞争谈判中，我们面对着外国人拼命盘算压低中国产品的价格，而我们自己却绞尽脑汁思考怎么造句，这种反差警醒着每一个中国人……""现在，世界互联网95%以上的信息用英语发布，而中文信息只占0．14%，如果语言障碍不解决，那互联网全球通的意义何在？中国几千万网民，除了少数懂英语，大多数人能看到什么？因此，为了改变这个现状，我要继续战斗在普及英语和中文的战场上！"

古巴民族英雄何塞·马蒂说过一句名言："虚荣的人注视着自己的名字，光荣的人注视着祖国的事业。"而当代中国青年的楷模李阳却喊出了"永远不让祖国失望"这样的警句——
这是心灵深处的呐喊，这是闪亮而永恒的诗句，这是亿万中华儿女从祖国大江南北集合起来的最壮丽的时代强音！

1. …Over three thousand students gathered at the Grand Theatre and with much passion, followed Li
2. Yang, the founder of "Crazy English" and use English to shout crazily: "I love the motherland,
3. Rejuvenating the Chinese nation! "" study hard and serve the motherland! "" I'm so much proud
4. because I am a Chinese I" The adult audience and parents outside the stadium were also moved to
5. shed tears ……

6. Li Yang is like the sun and fire. He brushed with burning passion the hearts of these students who are
7. timid, embarrassed, arrogant, and with darkness and dust, and filled in their hearts wishes and the
8. future. For two hours, Li Yang's English dialogues with them are centered around the themes of love
9. the motherland, love the Communist Party and love the people, teaching them to release lofty "love"
10. by their voice of passion! This is a very spectacular, very sincere and very moving scene. The mother
11. of a high school student, Luo Fei, said to me: "Li Yang's speech lets me understand the importance of
12. building the child's correct self-confidence! This is mainly self-confidence to become useful, love
13. [their] motherland and the people … … "

14. After the event, I asked Li Yang: "before I knew you, I have been touched by your phrase: 'Never let
15. the motherland down'. I believe it is also touching the students and hundreds of millions of people. It
16. can be said that it has become a famous contemporary motto sitting firmly in people's mind and
17. hearts. In what context was this phrase shouted?"Li Yang took over the conversation and excitedly
18. said: "'Never let the motherland down ' is really the voice from the bottom of my heart! The
19. motherland will always look forward and set hopes on each of her sons and daughters! This phrase
20. was yelled out with Crazy English for the first time when I was in front of the Martyrs Pavilion in
21. Lanzhou University… … "

22. The Story goes back to the winter of 1987 when Li Yang accidentally discovered that "crazy" English

23. could bring great benefits: four months away, the tongue is no longer rigid, ears no longer fail,
24. response no longer slow. In the Grade 4 English Test that year, Li Yang finished the paper in only fifty
25. minutes, and scored the second highest in school, which surprised the whole Lanzhou University.

26. In 1992, Li was admitted to the foreign language radio station in Guangdong Province with [his]
27. excellent result of the English test, and began [his] broadcasting career in professional English. The
28. end of 1993, in the speech of the U.S. Foreign Affairs Committee Head, Richard Bush in Guangzhou, Li
29. Yang was invited by the U.S. Embassy to provide translation for Bush. [His] standard, fluent and swift
30. translation was warmly praised by Bush. Subsequently, when the U.S. president special envoy,
31. Minister of Commerce, Brown, visited Guangzhou, Li Yang was the only Chinese interpreter in the
32. main control room. In addition, Li also successfully interpreted for the 27th spokesperson in the 1994
33. World Mobile International Conference ...... he was regarded as an "English multi-purpose machine."
34. Li Yang said: "What is success? Success is achieve the appropriate aim for the interests of the
35. motherland." ......

36. Enthusiasm and passion always come from a deep understanding and reflection of the history of the
37. motherland. Over the years, Li's voice of passion for the motherland resonates in every corner of the
38. earth of the motherland. In the Marco Polo Bridge, he shouted: "The best means to wipe out ethnic
39. hatred is to strengthen [our] self motherland!" In the old revolutionary district, he shouted: "make
40. poverty the past forever!" In the former residence of Chairman Mao Zedong in Shaoshan, he shouted:
41. "the dream of strengthening the country must be achieved by our generation!" On the Great Wall in
42. Beijing, he led the officers of the People's Liberation Army to use English to shout: "cast steel wall,
43. and safeguard world peace!" Later, every time when [I] see Li Yang, I can see from his bright eyes a
44. kind of sincere, urgent, burning love ......

45. His office is only meters away from the Huang Hua Gang Martyrs Monument, and once when I went
46. to the office to see him, he took me to the window before I took a seat, to watch the solemn
47. Huanghuagang Martyrs Monument. He said to me in his unique bell-like voice: "You know what? The
48. Olympics announcers openly slandered China saying Chinese athletes had doped in English, but
49. because our athletes did not know English, [they] still smiled when entering the stadium ... ..." He
50. adjusted his emotion with much effort and made a significant forward movement with [his] right
51. hand in front of the chest: "In this era of globalization and internationalization today, not knowing
52. English will result in new humiliations in the new era! This is not sensational ... ..."

53. In numerous speeches, Li always cannot withhold "crazily" appealing to the audience: "Our aim of
54. learning English is to absorb from the advancement of the developed Western countries and defend
55. the interests of the motherland and the people!" "My understanding of patriotism is to strengthen
56. oneself, forge oneself to become useful, because this will create one more genius to the motherland
57. and one less fool! " ......

58. Li Yang's outstanding contribution and patriotism are recognised by the society. He is recognized as
59. an English education expert, known as "English planter, ""the magician oral English teacher, ""speaker
60. of nationalism. " In 2000, Li was listed in the "top ten cutting-edge figures "; in 2002, he was
61. appointed by the World Cup organizing committee of Korea and Japan as "Honorary Special Envoy for
62. the World Cup.

63. Li Yang was not immersed in honors and flowers, he dreamed of a more glorious career. He revealed
64. to people of the world, he will continue to spread to three hundred million Chinese people "Crazy
65. English"; hold a large-scale quality English education tour in the thousand cities and regions of the
66. motherland; build one hundred Li Yang- Pulitzer International English Primary School in poverty-
67. stricken areas in China (15 schools so far); led volunteers to popularize English in villages and towns
68. one-by-one; in the United States, Japan, Britain and other countries, to promote Chinese and Chinese
69. culture, to give speeches on Chinese culture and investment; to set up Chinese language and cultural
70. training centers in world-famous cities and universities to promote Chinese culture, making China a

71. paradise of travel and residence desired by the world ......

72. Li Yang believes that "crazy" is a spirit, is an attitude towards life, is a viewpoint about the world. The
73. "Crazy" dreams originated from the love for the motherland. Everyone who works towards big
74. achievement is "crazy"! Once he said to me bitterly: "China has joined the WTO, the biggest problem
75. we face is that of English. In international competitions and negotiations, when we are confronted
76. with foreigners' desperate plan to cut down the price of Chinese products, we are brainstorming how
77. to make sentences, such a contrast alerts every Chinese person ...... "" Now, more than 95% of the
78. world's Internet information is published in English, and Chinese information only 0.14%, if the
79. language barrier is not resolved, then what is the significance and purpose of global Internet? There
80. are tens of millions of Internet users in China, except for a few who understand English, what can
81. most people see? Therefore, in order to change the status quo, I need to continue to fight for the
82. popularity of English and Chinese on the battlefield! "

83. The Cuban national hero, Jose Marti, has once said: "People with vanity watch his name, people with
84. glory watch the motherland." As for Li Yang, a role model of Chinese youth today, [he] has shouted
85. this epigram: "Never let the motherland down". This is a cry from the bottom of the heart, this is a
86. shining and eternal verse, this is the most magnificent tone of the times of hundreds of millions of
87. Chinese sons and daughters from the north and south of the country!

"Motherland"

2002.09.30 第4版要闻 作者：彭俐

2002.09.30 (Page 4 News) Author: Pang Li

祖国，我能为你做什么？（人民论坛）

Motherland, what can I do for you? (People's discussion)

一句话埋在心里，只是一个想法。把它说出来，就会变成一种力量。二十多年前，从能够看懂世界地图、能读懂鲁迅"我以我血荐轩辕"的诗句时起，这个想法就一直萦绕在心中。无论做什么，无论走到哪里，它都在我的心头挥之不去。我时时刻刻问自己：祖国，我能为你做什么？[D]

作为一个中国人应当经常这样问自己。有的人能为家庭出力，有的人能为城市增色，有的人能为国家争光。古人把最后一种人称作国士。作为常人，我们不可能去当各个领域的顶尖人物，却完全应该有一颗拳拳报国心。顾炎武说，"天下兴亡，匹夫有责。"人民对国家的那份忠诚和热爱，是固有的也是高尚的。法国都德的短篇小说《最后一课》讲的就是这样的故事。

祖国，我能为你做什么？十五岁，这样问自己；二十五岁，还这样问自己；三十五岁、四十五岁，再这样问自己……有没有这一问，区别可大了。生存的意义、生命的价值，都系于这一未了的悬念。有了这一问，虽然只是普通的记者，下笔就感到具有千钧分量；虽然只是普通的教师，教室就变成庄严的圣殿；虽然只是普通建筑工人，脚手架就成为有血有肉的脊梁……至今，还清楚地记得白发苍苍的中学英语老师对我们说："你们要记住，将来做对国家有用的人。"当时，一本《英语九百句》都很难买到，可六十多岁的老师竟然用复写纸手抄全书，送给好学者。我知道，他是在为祖国教书，是在教祖国的孩子。

上个世纪初叶，年轻人"为中华崛起而读书"，曾经造就一代把为国家服务作为最高原则的读书人，这种伟大的爱国情怀至今依然震撼人心。一百多年前，因禁鸦片被革职、充军新疆的林则徐，当时写了两句诗："苟利国家生死以，岂因祸福避趋之。"这句诗动人心魄，历久而不泯。一位在软件方面做出重大贡献的科学家，在荣获国家最高科学技术奖时说："为了心中的梦想，十八年我没有休息过节假日。对我来说，科研本身带来的愉快是最大的报酬，科学奉献祖国是最大的幸福。"
朋友们，我们为中国数千年灿烂文化而骄傲，为改革开放发生的巨大变化而自豪。每当国庆节的时候，都禁不住问自己：祖国，我能为你做什么？只要时常这样提醒自己，我们的生活将因此而充实，我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。

88. When a saying is hidden in mind, [it] is only an idea. If it is said, [it] then becomes a source of power. Over
89. 20 years ago since [I] learnt to read the world map and Lu Xu's "I shed my blood for the good", this idea
90. had lived in [my] heart all along. Whatever [I] did and wherever [I] went, it sat solidly in my heart. I ask
91. myself every moment and every minute: motherland, what can I do for you?

92. As a Chinese, one should always ask oneself the question. Some people can work for the benefits of the
93. family, some for development of the city, and some for glorifying the country. In ancient times, those who
94. contributed to glorify the country were called by ancient people 'nation's defender'. As ordinary people,
95. we cannot possibly be the most outstanding in different fields, but [we] should definitely be dedicated to
96. paying back to the country. Ku yanwu (an ancient Chinese scholar and official) says, "Every ordinary man
97. shall hold [himself] responsible for [his] nation's success and failure". The loyalty and affection of people to
98. the country is definite and highly regarded. The novel "Last Lesson" of the French writer, Alphonse Daudet,

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99. promotes the same message.

100. Motherland, what can I do for you? At 15 years old, ask self the question; at 25, still ask self the
101. question; at 35, 45, ask again. Whether or not the question has been asked does matter. The meanings
102. and value of life are related to this. With the question asked, an ordinary reporter will feel energetic
103. when writing; being an ordinary teacher, the classroom will then become a solemn palace; being an
104. ordinary construction worker, the rack will become a supporter......Until the current period, [I] still
105. remember clearly the white-haired high school English teacher told us: "you all have to remember to be
106. useful people for the country in the future. " At that time, [it] was very hard to find and buy a "English
107. 900" book, but the teacher who was already over 60 copied the whole book by hand and gave to anyone
108. who was keen to learn. I know, he was a teacher for the country, [he] was teaching the children for the
109. country.

110. In the early 20th century, young people "studied for the rise of China" which created a generation of
111. scholars who treated serving the country as the purpose of life. This kind of patriotism still impresses lots
112. of people. A hundred years ago, Lin Zexu, who was exiled to Xinjiang for destroying opium, wrote two
113. verses at that time: "[He] who is ready to sacrifice [his] life for the lightest interest of [his] country will
114. not consider [his] fortune or misfortune" These verses touch the hearts of many people and are always
115. true. A scientist who is highly regarded for [his] work on software development says when [he] was
116. awarded the highest prize for [his] research, "in the past 18 years, I have never stopped working even on
117. holidays and special occasions because of [my] dream. For me, the happiness [my] research brings [to
118. me] is the most precious reward, the contribution the scientific research makes to the country brings
119. most happiness". Friends, we are proud of the thousands years of cultural richness of Chinese, [we] take
120. pride in the enormous changes the open door policy has brought. On every nation's birthday, one cannot
121. help asking oneself: "motherland, what can I do for you?" If [we] keep asking and reminding ourselves,
122. our life will be more enriched. Our hard work will then have extraordinary meanings.

"Power of communication"

2008.08.07 第7版奥运特刊 作者：张志峰

2008.08.07 (Page 7 Olympics) Author: Zhang Zhifeng

语言交流的力量（心有所动）

The power of language communication

　　奥运来了，北京城里的外国人多了。在大街小巷，学英语、用英语的人也多了。目前北京市讲外语人口达500万，占常住人口的35%，6年增加近200万——
这皆缘于奥运的光临。一位外国导演拍的纪录片《我为英语狂》说,中国人明显患上"英语狂热症"。

其实，我们狂热的不是英语本身。中华民族百年期盼，奥运终于来到华夏古都。热情的人们渴望敞开心扉，释放激情，向世界诠释五千年的东方文明，用微笑迎接八方宾朋。这才是"热源"所在。

交流的力量是无穷的。东西文化有各自的特色和优势，不存在天然的鸿沟，需要的只是沟通。缺少交流会产生误会，导致隔阂。社会学家有这样的试验：一些语言不通的人被困孤岛，没过几天这些人崩溃了——
不是因为饥饿和恐惧，而是因为无法交流；相反，把几个语言相通的人放在同一个孤岛，他们互相交流，彼此鼓励，一直坚持到生命的极限。这只是一个试验，但从中我们可以看到交流的力量。

文化需要在交流中展示。日晷是中国古老的计时工具，日晷用英语怎么说？爆肚是北京传统小吃，如何向外宾推荐？北京的胡同、四合院等看似普通，一砖一瓦背后都有讲究。这些千年的沉淀，"你不说别人永远不知道"。七旬老人杨景瑞是《我为英语狂》一片的主角之一，他把学英语当成生活的一部分，目标非常明确：不为考试，不拿文凭，只为交流。通过严格的英语面试，他成了故宫博物院志愿者，在钟表馆用英语讲解。他四处查资料，研究日晷、铜壶滴漏等100多件钟表文物，向外国游客侃侃而谈，让他们感叹不已。

疯狂的是英语，开放的是心态。不必讳言，30年前人们在街上看到外国人会很好奇，甚至围观。今天胡同里的老人、小孩用英语和老外打招呼时，展示的是热情好客，更是源自内心的开放和自信——
这是中国社会的一个缩影。发音未必标准，表达未必流畅——
但这是东方向世界发出的声音。国际奥委会主席罗格来到北京后说：2008年奥运会让东西方文化在奥林匹克五环旗下相聚，也必将让世人领略到中国这个东方古国的独特文化和魅力。

　　　奥运有闭幕的时候，对英语的"狂热"也可能会降温，但是奥运后的中国将更加自信

123. The Olympic Games have come, there were many foreigners in Beijing. In the main street and small alley,
124. people who learn and use English increase. In Beijing, people who can speak foreign language reach
125. 5,000,000, accounting for 35% of resident population. Within 6 years, there has been an increase of
126. nearly 2,000,000 - - this all is attributed to the coming of the Olympic Games. A foreign director who
127. made the documentary film "Mad about English!" says that the Chinese suffers from "English fever"
128. obviously.

129. In fact, we are not mad about English itself. As a Chinese's dream for over a hundred year, Olympic
130. Games have finally arrived at the China's ancient capital. The passionate people long for opening [their]
131. hearts and releasing [their] passion, show to the world Eastern civilisation of five millenniums, and
132. welcome the guests and friends from all over the world with smiles. This is where the "fever" comes

133. from.

134. The power of communication is indefinite. Eastern and Western cultures have different characteristics
135. and strong points. There is no natural contradiction and all needed is only communication. The lack of
136. communication will lead to misunderstanding and alienation. Sociologists have had the following
137. experiment: when people without a common language were trapped in an isolated island, [they]
138. collapsed after a few days –not because of hunger and fear, but because of communication difficulty. On
139. the contrary, when people with a common language were trapped, they communicated and encouraged
140. each other and could tolerate in most extreme situations. This is only an experiment but from this we can
141. see the power of communication.

142. Culture needs to be demonstrated in the course of communication. Sundial is an ancient Chinese timer,
143. but what is its name in English? Baodu is a traditional Beijing snack, how can it be recommended to
144. foreign guests? The hutongs and siheyuans in Beijing look very ordinary, but there are many meanings
145. behind [them]. These stories of thousands of years, "if you don't tell, others will never find out". The 70-
146. year-old Yang Jingxiu is one of the characters in "Mad About English". He takes learning English as a part
147. of [his] life, and [his] goals are clear: not for exams, not for diplomas, only for communication. Having
148. passed very hard English exams, he has become a volunteer at the Forbidden City Museum, using English
149. to give introductions at the Time Museum. He looked up information about sundial, the copper clepsydra
150. and over 100 ancient goods everywhere to explain to foreign visitors and let them be very much
151. impressed.

152. Crazy is [our] dedication to learning English, open is [our] attitude. 30 years ago, people felt very curious
153. seeing foreigners in the streets. Today, the elderly and children in Hutongs greet foreigners in English,
154. showing [their] hospitality, and more importantly, [their] openness and self-confidence originating from
155. the hearts – this is a microcosm of the Chinese society. The pronunciation is not necessarily standard, and
156. expression not necessarily smooth - - but this is the voice of the East to the world. After the IOC President
157. Rogge came to Beijing, he said: the 2008 Olympic Games let the Eastern and Western cultures gather
158. under the Olympics flag, and also certainly let people in the world understand China and the unique
159. culture and charm of this ancient Eastern country.

160. The Olympics will conclude, and the "fever" for English will also drop, but China will be more self-
161. confident after the Olympics.

2001.08.10 第4版要闻 作者：范敬宜

2001.08.10 (Page 4 News) Author: Fan Jiyi

"雏凤清于老凤声"（人民论坛）

The new generation is more excellent than the old (People's forum)

不久前，中央电视台播出了一个由英文《中国日报》举办的"21世纪全国英语演讲比赛"节目。参赛的大学生们个个语言流利、思维敏捷，令人赞叹。其中一位身穿旗袍的女同学格外突出，不仅英语地道，而且从容不迫，挥洒自如。当她演讲结束时，一位外国评委当场向她提了一个难度较大的问题：

"在未来的25年内，中国肯定会以更快的速度发展。我想知道，你希望中国有哪些需要保持不变的？有哪些是非常值得珍惜需要继续发扬的？"

我当时真为这位女同学捏了一把汗，不料她轻松活泼地用英语作了如下的回答：

"非常感谢您提的问题。我想用今天穿的这身衣服来回答您的问题。我穿着这身美丽的中国传统服装，不但不妨碍我用英语同您对话，而且也许更有助于我们之间的交流。我想，我们的国家也是如此，在走向'全球化'的过程中，我们肯定会向外国学习很多东西，在各方面赶上世界的先进水平；同时，也会和欧洲、美洲、非洲一样，保持很多本民族优秀、美好的传统，包括我的这件很特别的服装。在人们印象中，旗袍是一种很传统的东西，但我又是一个非常活跃的现代女孩子。这说明传统和现代是可以结合的，我们一定能够把两者结合好。中国人民是很聪明的，我们有能力处理好它们之间的关系……"

在事先毫无准备的情况下，能够只用一分钟左右的时间，以流畅的英语将这样一个相当不容易回答的问题答得如此恰当和得体，实在难得。难怪那位提问的外国评委也频频点头，热烈鼓掌。

……

事实上，在其他领域何独不然！学理的，学工的，学商的，学农的，学军事的，学社会科学的，……都有一大批的少年英才涌现。他们的见识，他们的才华，他们的技能，往往使我们这些老头子为之惊叹。梁启超当年在《少年中国说》一文中热切期望的"乳虎啸谷"、"鹰隼试翼"的局面，正在我们这个时代出现。这是国家兴旺发达的标志，也是改革开放的必然结果。"雏凤试鸣于老凤声"，既是自然规律，又是社会发展规律。作为饱经沧桑的"老凤"们，在听着"雏凤"一片清脆、快乐然而又稚嫩的鸣声时，最重要的是要抱着这样的心态：清心的喜悦，满腔的热情，满怀的希望，而不是满腹的忧虑。

162. Not long ago, China Central Television broadcast a program "National English Speaking Competition in the
163. 21st Century" organised by "China Daily ". All participating students had high verbal fluency, quick
164. thinking, which was very impressive. One female student wearing a cheongsam was particularly notable.
165. Not only did [she] speak authentic English, but [she] also spoke effortlessly. When she finished the
166. speech, a foreign judge asked her on the spot a difficult question:

167. "In the next 25 years, China will certainly develop at a faster pace. I want to know, what do you think are
168. the things that need to remain unchanged in China? What is very worth cherishing and needs to continue
169. to be carried forward? "

170. When I was getting nervous for the student, she suddenly used English to answer the question in a
171. relaxing way as such:

172. "Thank you very much for the question you raised. I would like to answer your question with reference to
173. [my] clothing. I am wearing this beautiful traditional Chinese costume. This not only does not prevent me

174. from using English to speak to you, but even facilitates our communication. I think, our country is also like
175. this. In the course of nearing towards globalisation, we will definitely learn a lot from foreign countries to
176. catch up with the advanced standard of the world in different aspects. Simultaneously, like Europe, North
177. American and Africa, [we] will also preserve the excellence of [our] own traditions and cultures including
178. this very special clothing I am wearing. In people's perceptions, this Chinese custom is very traditional,
179. but at the same time, I am very modern and energetic. This indicates the possibility of combining
180. traditions and modernity. We will be able to achieve a perfect hybridity of traditions and cultures. People
181. of China are very smart. We are able to deal with their relations ..."

182. Without prior preparation, [she] could in [her] fluent English answer properly this difficult question within
183. one minute. This is not easy. No wonder the foreign judge who asked this question nodded continually
184. and applauded......

185. In fact, in other areas, this is also the case! Among those who take science, commerce, agricultural
186. science, military, and social science, ... a large number of young talents has also emerged. Their
187. knowledge, their talent, their skills, tend to make us as old men marvel. Liang Qichao in the "Young
188. China" mentioned [his] wish upon the young generations who will be better than [their] old generations,
189. this is now happening at our time. This is a sign of country's prosperity, as well as the definite result of
190. reform and opening up. "One generation is better than the previous" is a natural law, and also the laws of
191. social development. As an experienced "old Phoenix," who, in listening to the crispy, tender and yet
192. happy sound of "Young Phoenix", the most important attitude is: full of joy, full of passion, full of hope,
193. rather than full of anxiety.

"Grandma"

阿妈用心学外语 （从身边看变化·今日谈）

Grandma dedicates to learning foreign language (seeing surrounding changes)

离家多年，阿妈每次来信都说家乡变化大，有多大呢？记忆中家乡是荒凉的山岭，低矮的吊脚楼，靠返销粮度日的父老乡亲……

今年清明节，我回到家乡，似乎走进了一个新的天地。到处侗歌耶舞，游人如织。家乡已被开辟为中国侗族民俗文化旅游区：独特的天然景观，浓郁的乡风民俗，吸引着众多的中外游客。阿妈在临街开了了杂货店，专卖侗族小工艺品，生意十分红火。

入夜，我躺在席梦思上无法入眠，突然听到隔壁念英语的声音，爬起来一看，老阿妈正有板有眼地跟上高中的妹妹学英语。阿妈每天要接待外国游客，懂几句外语，可以介绍侗族的小工艺品。阿妈白天忙，只能晚上学。望着头发斑白的老阿妈，我心潮起伏，从未出过山寨的阿妈，现在满口新词，天天做"外贸"，还用外语跟外国人"谈判"。家乡真的变了。

194. In the many years after leaving the home, grandma writes and says the changes in the hometown are
195. enormous every time. How enormous? In memory, the hometown is chilling and mountainous, [has] very
196. low buildings, and [is characterised by] reliance on simple local food trade of villagers to pass the day……

197. During Qinming Festival this year, when I returned to the hometown, [I] seemed to have gone to a new
198. place. [It] is prosperous, filled with tourists. The hometown has been developed to a tourist attraction of
199. 'Dong' tribe. The unique natural landscape, the rich customs and traditions attract plenty of Chinese and
200. foreign tourists. Grandma is running a souvenir shop which sells the crafts of 'Dong' tribe. Business is very
201. flourishing.

202. At night, I lied on the Simmons, not being able to get to sleep. Some noises of practising English were
203. heard from the room next door. [I] went and checked – old grandma was seriously learning English from
204. [my] sister who was in senior high school. Grandma deals with foreign tourists everyday, knows a bit of
205. foreign language, could introduce them the crafts of 'Dong' tribe. Grandma is therefore busy in daytime
206. and can only learn at night. Looking at the white-haired old grandma, I was emotional. Grandma, who has
207. remained in the village in [her] entire lifetime, now is filled with new words, does "foreign trade"
208. everyday, and even uses foreign language to "negotiate" with foreigners. The hometown has indeed
209. changed.

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"American tourist"

情牵古长城 梦圆四合院

————美国游客迈克再访山海关

Emotional attachment to Great Wall, Dreams come true at Siheyuan

--- American tourist Mike visiting Shanhaiguan

登临天下第一关、远眺海上老龙头，住住四合院、走走小胡同，听中国孩子讲一段英语，让美国学生说几句中文，4月20日至21日，美国游客迈克和他的学生在享誉国内外的古城山海关度过了两天美好的时光，从而再次续写了他在山海关的"美妙经历"。……

迈克"希望与中国学生交流"、希望"多了解中国文化"的愿望在山海关第一中学师生和山海关本地书法家的热情中得到了满足。在书法家的指导下，迈克的学生们提起毛笔，饱蘸浓墨，在一张张宣纸上写下了"中国"、"山海关"、"中美友好"等字样，并小心地收好自己在山海关完成的中文作业。在长城脚下具有仿古建筑风格的山一中校园里，迈克和他的学生观看了中国学生用英语表演的话剧《茶馆》片段，两国师生合唱了英文歌曲《茉莉花》，最后，校方请迈克走上讲台。在中美学生关注的目光里，迈克满怀深情地说："我这是第六次来中国了，每一次都很好。江泽民主席希望两国人民做朋友，中国人与美国人应该做朋友，我和我的学生都愿意为两国的友好作出努力。"

210.Climbing the Shanhaiguan, overlooking the Laolongtou, living in Siheyuan, walking along hutong, hearing
211.Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, letting American students speak a few sentences of
212.Chinese, a tourist from the U.S., Mike, and his students were travelling around the ancient Shanhaiguan
213.city famous within the country and overseas on the 20th and 21st April, to continue his "wonderful
214.journey" in Shanhaiguan.

215. Mike's wishes to communicate with Chinese students, hopes to learn more about Chinese culture are
216. fulfilled by some passionate Chinese high school students and a local calligrapher of Shanhaiguan. Under
217. the direction of the calligrapher, Mike's students write on every single paper words such as "China",
218. "Shanhaiguan" and "Chinese-American friendship" and carefully keep their Chinese assignments they
219. completed in Shanhaiguan. In the traditional-styled building of the Shanhaiguan High School under the
220. Great Wall, Mike and his students watch a drama "Tea house" performed by Chinese students in English.
221. The students and teachers of the two countries then sing together an English song. Finally, Mike was
222. invited to the stage. "This is my sixth visit to China. It was great every time. Premier Jiang hopes to see
223. the friendship of people of the two nations, Chinese and Americans should be friends, my students and I
224. are willing to take part in the making of the friendship between the two countries." Mike says to the
225. attentive Chinese and American audience.

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塞纳河上听解说

Listening to the interpretation over Seine

再度到巴黎，与前一次相比，真是不一样的时空，不一样的感受。这次到巴黎，给我留下印象最深刻的是塞纳河游船上的中文解说。

那天，结束了一天的国际书展，我们忙里偷闲，匆匆赶到游船码头，趁着这美丽的晚秋夕阳，登上塞纳河的游船，领略塞纳河两岸的绮丽风光，领略巴黎这座世界名城的神韵和风采。随着游船在河面上渐渐启动，船上开始为来自世界各地的游客进行讲解。当船开出一段里程后，我们几乎在同一时间突然听到游船的广播喇叭中传来的中文解说，而且这解说竟是那样的字正腔圆，那样的"很北京"。

对此，我们都不约而同地感到惊愕——

这，这怎么可能呢！这可是在法国巴黎！稍有常识的人都知道，法国人非常喜欢和尊崇他们自己的本国语言，因此，他们与人交谈也往往习惯于用法语，而不太喜欢用其他国家或其他民族和地区的语言。我们注意到，塞纳河游船上，共有三种语言解说，即法语、英语和汉语。这不能不说是一件既令我们鼓舞，又令我们深思的事。

塞纳河游船上的中文解说，其实只是一种现象，一种随着中国改革开放力度日益加大，中国经济高速发展，综合国力日益增强，国际交往日益扩大和国际交流日益密切而在国际社会所产生的一种积极反响。在法国乃至整个欧洲和世界，走出去的中国人已经愈来愈多，中国人关注世界，同时也引起了世界对中国的关注。这种国际社会的交往是一种良性的互动合作与交流。

法国巴黎塞纳河游船上之所以要用汉语解说，其主要原因就出于今天有大量的中国游客涌入法国和欧洲这一事实的考虑。正是因为有相当数量的中国游客去了欧洲，去了法国，去了巴黎，才有在塞纳河游船上出现中国游客人头攒动的场面。也正是这种大量的中国游客涌登塞纳河游船的可喜景象，给法国的旅游业带来巨大的生机和活力，也带来了塞纳河上的汉语解说。正是在这个意义上，我们说，汉语通过塞纳河游船走向了欧洲，走向了世界。作为身在异国的我，此时此刻，聆听着这些经过塞纳河柔水和法兰西微风漂洗过的我最熟悉又倍感亲切的北京之声，一种中华民族的自豪感顿然从心灵升起。因为，这不是一般的语言之声，这是在法兰西最繁华最名贵的地方飘扬的优美之声——东方之声。

在现今的全球经济一体化的发展进程中，中国经济在整个全球经济中扮演了极其重要的角色。东西方国家的发展具有很大的优势互补性。就拿巴黎著名的"老佛爷"来说，这座坐落于闹市中心的大型商城，不但在法国很有名，而且也是几乎所有初到巴黎的中国游客都要去光顾的地方。我们这次身临其中，只感觉到那里人山人海，热闹非凡。高旺的人气，巨大的客流量，给这座商城带来了无限商机。这一点，我们可以从其每一个忙碌不停，然而又喜笑颜开的员工的表情上找到答案。面对着如此繁荣的商业景象，员工的心情如此畅快，老板的感觉就更不用说了。在我们与法国有关人士的交谈中，他们普遍承认，中国游客的大量到来，给法国的经济注入了活力。

作为在法国作短暂停留的旅行者，此时此刻，听到这样的话语，我真是由衷地为中法两国人民都从梦魇般的非典疫情的肆虐中摆脱出来，并迅速恢复国际间交往交流的秩序而感到庆幸。无论是中国人民众志成城，抗击非典，并战而胜之，还是巴黎塞纳河游船上空汉语之声的飘扬回荡，昭示着改革开放的中国在国际舞台上所享有的地位、声誉。

226. Visiting again Paris, compared to the last visit, it is indeed a different era, different feeling. Visiting Paris
227. this time, giving me the most unforgettable impression is the Chinese interpretation over the Seine.

228. That day, after a one-day international book exhibition, we sneak out some free time rushing to the ferry
229. pier, with this beautiful sunset in autumn, board the cruise on Seine, experiencing the breathtaking
230. scenery, experiencing the atmosphere and spirit of this famous world city Paris. As the boat started
231. slowly in the river, [it] began to explain to the tourists from around the world. When the boat sailed
232. for some miles, we almost suddenly heard at the same time the Chinese interpretation coming from
233. the boat's loudspeakers, and this interpretation and pronunciation was actually very clear, "very
234. Beijing. "

235. In this regard, we are invariably amazed - this, how could this be possible! This happens in Paris, France!
236. People with some common sense would know that the French people like and respect their own native
237. language, so they are often used to talk with people in French, and dislike using the languages of other
238. countries and regions. We note on the cruise on the Seine a total of three languages for interpretation,
239. French, English and Chinese. This cannot not be said to be an inspiration for us and make us ponder
240. things.

241. The Chinese interpretation on the Cruise on Seine is in fact a phenomenon, one that reflects the
242. increasing progress of reform and opening up, the rapid development of Chinese economy, the
243. enhancing national strength, the expanding international communication and closeness of international
244. exchange. In France and throughout Europe and the world, more Chinese people have been going out,
245. Chinese people are concerned about the world, but at the same time also attract world attention on
246. China. The interaction of the international community is a benign cooperation and exchange.

247. The reason why the cruise on the Seine, Paris in France uses Chinese interpretation is mainly because of
248. the consideration of the fact that a lot of Chinese tourists rush to France and Europe today. Indeed
249. because a considerable amount of Chinese tourists go to Europe, go to France, go to Paris, there is this
250. scene of Chinese tourists crowd occurs on the cruise over the Seine. Also because of the happy scene of
251. this large amount of Chinese tourists rush to board the cruise on the Seine, [it] provides enormous
252. opportunities and vitality to France economy, and also brings the Chinese interpretation over the Seine.
253. Because of its meaning, we say, the Chinese language cruises through the Seine to Europe, to the world. In
254. a foreign country, I am listening to my most familiar and intimate voice of Beijing amidst the breeze and
255. water over the Seine and France, a sense of pride in the Chinese ethnicity suddenly arises in the heart.
256. Because, this is not the voice of an ordinary language, this is a beautiful voice that flutters over the most
257. prosperous and expensive France - the voice of the East.

258. Under today's progress towards economic globalisation, Chinese economy plays an important role in the
259. global economy. The development of the Eastern and Western countries each has advantages that can
260. complement each other. Take the famous "Galeries Lafayette" in Paris as an example, this large shopping
261. mall situated in the city centre not only is famous in France, but also a place almost all Chinese tourists in
262. Paris want to visit. We went there this time, and only felt the crowd and busy atmosphere. The high
263. fame, large amount of customers, brings this shopping mall many commercial opportunities. This point,
264. we could see from every single staff who was busy but smiling. Seeing this prosperous commercial
265. situation, the staff could feel so relaxed, let alone the boss. In our conversations with the French
266. people, they generally acknowledged that the large number of Chinese tourists in France has provided
267. injections of vitality into the economy.

268. As a short-term tourist in France, this time this moment, hearing this, I sincerely feel fortunate for the
269. people of China and France who could get away from the nightmare of SARS, and recover swiftly the
270. order of international communication and exchange. No matter it is the victory of the unity of the people
271. of China in fighting SARS, or the wave and echo of the voice of the Chinese language above the cruise
272. over the Seine, [they] illustrate the status and reputation of China who is undergoing reform and opening
273. up on the international stage.

"Chinese fever"

2005.05.23 第4版要闻 作者：张欣

2005.05.23 (Page 4 News) Author: Zhang Xin

喜看今日"汉语热"（人民论坛）

Glad to see today's "Chinese Fever" (People's Discussion Forum)

前不久，欧洲第一所孔子学院在斯德哥尔摩大学挂牌成立。这是中国在海外成立的第三所孔子学院。据了解，中国将陆续在世界各地开办100所中外合作的孔子学院，以推广汉语教学和中国文化。

100所孔子学院的背后，是海外三千万人学习和使用汉语的热潮。在中国邻邦韩国，多所大学设立了中国学或者汉语系，多所大专开设了汉语课程，学汉语的各类在校生有16万多人。在欧洲，曾被视为"难若天书"的汉语，正被越来越多大学生选修。在全球，参加中国设立的HSK（汉语水平考试）的人数，正以每年45%的速度增加。

一种语言超出本国或本民族范围向外辐射，称为语言"出超"。当然，语言的"出超"，有着比较复杂的历史原因；而今天海外兴起的学汉语热潮，是中国和平发展的结果，是中国文化魅力的吸引使然，是海外学习者的自愿选择。

"汉语热"折射出中国经济持续增长的巨大热力。面对中国提供的巨大商机，如同曾经"学英语"一样，许多海外人士开始"学中文"。较高的汉语水平，正成为跨国公司职场竞争的一大优势。在华投资的跨国企业有10多万名外籍高层主管，汉语水平高低影响着他们的业绩和发展。去年中国公民出境旅游超过2500万人次，精通汉语的海外导游，因此也可以有多几倍的薪水。

"汉语热"是中国国际地位提高的必然结果。与经济突飞猛进相伴随，中国在国际上正日益树立起负责任大国的形象。在不少重大国际问题上，人们愿意聆听中国的声音。从对中国外交政策的重视，到对中国国内问题的关注；从取消外语翻译的中国外交部新闻发布会，到每年的"两会"外国记者踊跃参加，越来越多海外人士通过学习汉语、使用汉语了解中国，也更加主动地和中国加强各方面的交流合作。

"汉语热"源自中国文化散发出的独特魅力。语言是文化的载体，学习一种语言，也必然接受其文化的浸润。中国有着五千年文明历史，文化遗产之丰厚举世公认。古代囿于交通和信息的不便，只有马可·波罗等少数西方人能一窥中华文化之美妙。改革开放后，中国敞开胸怀欢迎五湖四海的朋友，京剧有了洋票友、武术有了洋弟子、中国菜也有了洋厨师。持续一年多的"中法文化年"活动，令法国人也越来越青睐汉语和中国文化。法国总统希拉克说，他最爱中国的美食和宋词。

2005年北京《财富》全球论坛开幕，全球商界精英汇集中国首都，探讨中国和亚洲的新世纪。《财富》论坛第三次在中国召开，这使人们更加清楚地看到，中国的改革开放和现代化建设取得的巨大成功吸引了全球的目光，世界各国要求与中国加强经济技术合作与交流的愿望愈益强烈。在不少地方兴起的"汉语热"就是一个有力的证明。世界需要更多地了解中国，中国需要以更加开放的姿态走向世界。愿我们美丽的母语—

汉语，成为展示中华文化、促进合作交流的桥梁，也愿在全球多语共生的合唱中，听到汉语发出日益响亮的声音，增进各国人民的理解和友谊，共创幸福美好的生活。

274. Not long ago, the first Confucius Institute in Europe was established and opened at Stockholm University.
275. This is the third Confucius Institute China set up overseas. As understood, China will continually establish

276. 100 Confucius Institutes through the joint cooperation with overseas, to promote Chinese language
277. teaching and Chinese culture.

278. Behind the 100 Confucius Institutes is the fever of the study and use of Chinese of thirty millions people
279. overseas. In China's neighbourhood Korea, a lot of universities have set up China Studies or Chinese
280. language major. A lot of tertiary institutions have started Chinese language courses, about 160,000
281. people learn Chinese language in schools of different types. In Europe, the once regarded as difficult as
282. "the book of heaven" Chinese language, is becoming more an elective of many university students. In the
283. globe, people participating in the HSK (Chinese language proficiency exam) China holds is increasing by
284. 45% per year.

285. When one language radiate outside of the country or ethnicity, it is called language "outward spreading".
286. Of course, language "outward spreading" occurs for more complicated historical reasons; and the rise of
287. learning Chinese fever overseas today is an outcome of China's peaceful development. It is the attraction
288. of the charm of Chinese culture, it is a voluntary choice of overseas learners.

289. "Chinese fever" reflects the potential continual growth of China's economy. With the enormous
290. economic and commercial opportunities provided by China, like "learning English" in the past, many
291. people overseas start "learning Chinese". High Chinese proficiency is becoming a prerequisite of
292. employment in multinational corporations. There is over a hundred thousand of management personnel
293. with foreign nationalities in the multinational corporations in China. [Their] Chinese proficiency is
294. determining their development and success. Last year, there were over 250 millions of Chinese nationals
295. visiting overseas. Chinese-proficient guides can therefore earn more.

296. "Chinese fever" is a definite result of the rising international status of China. With the economic success
297. and growth, China is taking up the image of a responsible world power. China's voice is agreed to be
298. heard on international affairs. From the emphasis on China's foreign diplomacy to the concerns about
299. internal China's affairs; from the termination of interpretation service at the China's foreign affairs press
300. conference to the active participation in international press conferences, more people overseas
301. understand more about China and take more initiative to strengthen the cooperation and communication
302. with China through learning and using Chinese.

303. "Chinese fever" originated from the charm and uniqueness of Chinese culture. Language is the
304. foundation of a culture. Learning a language means accepting its culture. China has a 5000-year long
305. history of civilisation and the richness of cultural heritage is recognised worldwide. Due to inefficient
306. infrastructure and communication, only a few westerners like Marco Polo could have a glimpse of the
307. beauty of Chinese culture. After "reform and opening up", China opens up [its] heart to welcome friends
308. from five lakes and four seas. Foreigners watch Peking opera, foreign students learn Wushu, and foreign
309. chefs cook Chinese food. The 1-year "Year of Chinese-French Culture" led French people to admire more
310. Chinese language and culture. The French president Jacques Chirac said he liked Chinese food and poems
311. the most.

312. In 2005 the global discussion forum of "Fortune" opened in Beijing, business elites of the globe gathered
313. in China's capital, discussing the new century of China and Asia. The "Fortune" forum was launched for
314. the third time in China, this makes people clearly see the enormous success of China's reform and
315. opening up and modernisation has attracted the attention of the globe, the demand of different
316. countries of the world to strengthen the economic cooperation and exchange with China is getting
317. stronger. The "Chinese fever" emerging in some places is powerful evidence. The world needs to
318. understand more about China, China needs to open up more and walk towards the world. Wishing that
319. our beautiful mother tongue – Chinese becomes a channel for showcasing Chinese culture and facilitating
320. communication and cooperation, and that in the multilingual world, Chinese becomes a resonant sound.

"We are also ready!"

"我们也准备好了！"
——记活跃在北京的外国志愿者

"We are also ready!"

- Experiences of foreign volunteers in Beijing

志愿者被人们称为"现代奥林匹克运动的基石"、"奥运会真正的形象大使"，可以说奥运会既是运动员的盛会，也是志愿者的盛会。

北京奥运会吸引着前所未有的关注，众多国际志愿者满怀热情与梦想来到北京，倾情为奥运会服务。据北京奥组委介绍，为北京奥运会和残奥会服务的海外志愿者总共有近1000人，他们已于7月20日前抵京"上岗"。

"我的中文派上用场了！"

……莫瑞塞迪说："这次到北京来做奥运会的志愿者，可让我的中文派上了用场，而且我现在住在一户北京市民家里，与他们组成了'奥运家庭'，使我有机会走入中国人的日常生活，我心里别提有多兴奋了！""我与他们17岁的儿子已成了好朋友，每天我教他英语，他教我汉语，相互帮助，其乐融融。"

莫瑞塞迪说，自己的家乡在加拿大魁北克省的蒙特利尔，当地既讲英语又说法语，"我爸爸的母语就是法语，因此我的法语也没问题，这就又多了一项服务奥运会的工具！"他还告诉记者，加拿大温哥华将在2010年举办冬奥会，他想把自己在北京奥运会上学到的一些好经验带回国，让温哥华在举办冬奥会时受益。

……韦拉斯克斯今年28岁，正在攻读文学和写作专业的硕士学位，他说："我们被幸运地选为北京奥运会的志愿者后，学校特意为大家安排了东方文化的选修课。我在来北京之前已经看过许多北京和中国其他城市的风光照片，但北京的美是照片无法完全表现出来的，只有亲身来到这里，看到那些园林、宫殿以及街上来来往往的人群，你才能感受到这座城市的动人之处。"

韦拉斯克斯说，"我曾担心在北京会遇到语言障碍，但到这里后发现身边的中国志愿者都能讲英语，虽然不是每个人都讲得很好，但基本的沟通不成问题，我一下子就放心了，现在该是我学中文的时候了。"

"外国人在北京感到很方便"

今年19岁的戴维应当算是个"老北京"了。"我去年8月来到北京语言大学学习中文，今年暑假之后就要转到香港大学，学习商业和汉语双专业。"

这一年中，来自英国的戴维一直在学校附近租房子住。当记者问他，一个不到20岁的外国小伙子，自己

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居住在陌生的环境中，会不会感到不方便，他笑了笑说："我的邻居们都相当热情、友好，看到我一个外国人住在那里，经常向我嘘寒问暖，总是让我非常感动。"戴维说："北京是一个对外国人十分友善的城市，因为这里的市民不仅心地善良、待人热情，而且想得很周到，现在北京几乎所有的公共场所都有英文标识，这会使外国人感到很方便。"

戴维在主新闻中心的场馆运行部做志愿者，他介绍说，自己和这里的其他志愿者每天的工作是为新闻发布会准备姓名牌、安排新闻发布会的场次、调试扩音器等，都是一些需要耐心和细致的活儿，因此从来不敢放松。"我知道中国人民已为奥运会准备好了，我想说的是，我们这些志愿者也已经准备好了！"

……记者在采访中强烈地感到，在这些外国志愿者眼里，参与北京奥运会是一种享受，是学习交流的重要平台，也是了解真实中国的一次良机。这些外国志愿者淳朴的微笑、真诚的话语、认真的态度，再一次诠释了奥运会是全世界人民的盛大聚会，是全人类的共同节日。

321.Volunteers are called by people as "modern Olympics foundation", "real Olympics ambassador", it can be
322.said that Olympics is a great party of athletes, as well as a great party of volunteers.

323.Beijing Olympics attract unprecedented attention, a lot of international volunteers come to Beijing full of
324.passion and dreams, affectionately serve for the Olympics. According to the Beijing Olympics Committee,
325.overseas volunteers serving for the Beijing Olympics and Paralympics amount to almost 1000. They have
326.already arrived in Beijing on 20th July to "take up the position" (very Chinese, in Chinese version, used for
327.foreign volunteers)……

328.Massiah says" This time [I] come to Beijing to be a volunteer for the Beijing Olympics allows 我
329.Chinese to 更好的 I am now living in the home of local Beijing citizens forming with them a
330."Olympic family", which provides me an opportunity to enter the daily life of Chinese people. 'My
331.heart' feels very excited about this!" "Their 17-year-old friend and I have become good friends. I teach
332.him English everyday and he teaches me Chinese. [We] are very happy to help each other."

333.Massiah said, [his] own hometown is Montreal in the Quebec province in Canada, English as well as French
334.is spoken there, "my father's mother tongue is French, so my French is not a problem, there is then one
335.more tool to serve the Olympics!" He also told the reporter, Vancouver in Canada will hold the Winter
336.Olympics in 2010, he wants to bring back the good experience [he] learns in the Beijing Olympics to the
337.country, letting Vancouver benefit at the time when the Winter Olympics is held……

338.Shelakas is 28 years old, and is now studying a master degree in literature and writing, he said: "After we
339.were very fortunately chosen to serve as the volunteers for the Beijing Olympics, the school specially
340.arranged an elective of Eastern culture. Before I came to Beijing, [I] have seen a lot of scenery photos of
341.Beijing and other Chinese cities, but the beauty of Beijing can hardly be captured and shown in photos,
342.only by coming to experience, seeing the gardens, palaces and people walking in the streets, you can feel
343.the impressive things about this city."

344.Shelakas said, "I have worried about encountering language barrier in Beijing, but after arriving here [I]
345.discovered the Chinese volunteers around could all speak English, although not everyone could speak very
346.well, but basic communication is not a problem, I immediately felt relieved, now it should be my turn to
347.learn Chinese."

348."Foreigners feel very convenient in Beijing"

349.19-year-old David can be said to be an "old Beijing" (originally referring to Beijing in the past). "I came to
350.Beijing Languages University to learn Chinese in August last year, after the summer vacation next year [I]
351.will transfer to the University of Hong Kong, to study double majors in Commerce and Chinese."

352.During this year, David from the U.K. has been renting a place near the school. When the reporter asked
353.him, for a foreign young guy not even 20 years of age lives by [him]self in an unfamiliar environment,
354.would [he] feel inconvenient, He smiled and said: "my neighbours were all very compassionate, friendly.
355.Seeing me live there alone as a foreigner, [they] always are concerned about my well-being, always letting
356.me feel so touched." David said: "Beijing is a very friendly city for foreigners." Because the citizens here
357.are all very kind, hospitable, and thoughtful, in Beijing, there are English signs almost everywhere in public
358.spheres, this makes foreigners feel very convenient."

359.David is a volunteer at the main media centre of the stadium, he introduced and said, the job of [his] and
360.other volunteers involved preparation of name badges for Media release and press conferences, arranging
361.the sequences of the conferences, adjusting and checking speakers etc, all of which require patience and
362.attention to details, and so [he/they] cannot be relaxed. "I know that Chinese people are already ready for
363.the Olympics, what I want to say is, we as volunteers are also ready!" ......

364.During the interviews reporter can strongly feel that in the eyes of these foreign volunteers, participating
365.in Beijing Olympics is an enjoyment, is an important platform for learning and communication, as well as a
366.good opportunity to understand the real China. The kind and happy smiles of these volunteers, sincere
367.words, serious attitude, once again symbolise the belonging of this great party to people of the whole
368.world as well and communal, festival of all the human beings.

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"Taxi driver"

2008.07.22 第15版社会观察 作者：邓晓霞

2008.07.22 (Page 15 Social observation) Author: Deng Xiaoxia

的哥老孟怀揣的宝贝

The taxi driver, Lao Meng's cherishable treasure

"Welcome to Beijing. Welcome to the Olympics Games."首都国际机场，一位外国人刚上出租车，司机孟寒光的热情问候顿时让他倍感亲切。虽然老孟的英语带有很浓的中国味，语法有时也不那么准确，但这对于只有初中文化的老孟来说，已经相当不容易了，而这都得益于他怀揣的一张张小纸条。

46岁的老孟，在首汽集团开出租车已有23个年头。从北京申奥成功开始，老孟就下决心要好好学英语。他在出租车厢内贴了好多小纸条，写满了常用的英语单词、会话，比如"go shopping(购物)"、"You'd better go that way because of rush hour(现在是交通高峰期，最好走那条路线)。"还有一张纸条上写着奥运比赛项目"皮划艇"、"水球"的英文翻译。像这样的小纸条，老孟有厚厚一摞，这可是他学习英语的一大法宝。老孟天天把这些纸条揣在怀里，没事的时候就掏出来看一看，"能记住一句是一句"。

公司对奥运英语培训非常重视，给每个出租车司机发了两本教材，还聘请老师进行培训，老孟没有落过一节课。他的书已经被翻得有些发黑，怕记不住，很多地方他还用汉语标注了发音。他自己又打印出奥运项目的英文介绍，每天都背。"所有会英语的都是我的老师。"很多乘客看老孟这么大岁数还在学英语，都特别乐意教他。老孟最常听的是国际广播电台，他还把英语口语教材下载到车上的MP3里，有空就学两句。如今，老孟与老外的一些简单的基本交流已不成问题。老孟的英语和他热情爽朗的性格为他带来不少回头客，很多坐过他车的外国人，需要用车时会给他打电话。

老孟印象比较深的一次是，他拉一位美国客人去河北涿州，回来时路过京石高速，边上刚刚出土了一座精美的古老石桥，老孟特意放慢车速，用英文介绍说，"You see, old bridge, about 700 years。"客人很感兴趣，回答说下次来拍照。没想到，过了几天，这位客人真的特地又跑了一趟，去看了石桥。"最大的收获就是让外国人了解了咱们的文化。"老孟说。

369. "Welcome to Beijing. Welcome to the Olympics Games. At the Beijing international airport, a foreigner
370. just boarded a taxi. The passionate greetings of the driver, Meng, make him feel welcome and
371. familiar right away. Although Lao Meng's English carries a strong Chinese accent and grammar
372. sometimes not that accurate, this was not very easy indeed for Lao Meng who has only got junior high
373. school qualifications. The little memo notes he is cherishing have benefited [him] very much.

374. 46 year-old Lao Meng has been a taxi driver for the Capital Group for 23 years. Since winning the bid
375. to host the Beijing Olympics, Lao Meng has decided to learn English wholeheartedly. He put up many
376. small papers in the taxi compartment which have written on [them] the commonly used English words
377. and conversations, for instance, "go shopping (shopping)", "You'd better go that way because of rush
378. hour (it is now the peak hour. We should better take that route)."Also on some papers is written the
379. Olympic Games event "the raft", "the water polo" English translation. Lao Meng has a thick pile of
380. such little memo notes, which is a treasure his studying English. Lao Meng has these papers handy
381. daily. When [he] is free, [he] pulls out and looks, "It's one sentence by one sentence that [I] study and
382. remember".

383. The company takes seriously English training for the Olympics. Two thick teaching materials were
384. sent to each taxi driver, but [it] also invites teacher to carry on training. Lao Meng has not missed a

385.single class. His book was already somewhat rote as a result of [his] hard work. [He] fears that [he]
386.cannot remember and he has also used Chinese to label the pronunciation. He has [him]self printed
387.off the English Introduction to the Olympic Games which [he] recites everyday. "Anyone who knows
388.English is my teacher." Seeing that Lao Meng is studying English at this age, many passengers are very
389.glad to teach him. Lao Meng always listens to the international Broadcasting station. He also
390.downloads spoken English teaching materials onto the MP3 in the vehicle and studies 'two sentences'
391.at [his] free time. Now, some simple basic exchanges between Lao Meng and Laowai have not been a
392.problem. Lao Meng's English and his passionate and frank dispositions bring many customers back to
393.him. Those foreigners who have been taken by him before call him when [they] need a ride.

394.Lao Meng was most impressed once. He pulled an American passenger to Hebei Zhuozhou. On the way
395.back, [they] passed by the Beijing stone highway where a fine ancient stone bridge had just been
396.unearthed. Lao Meng slowed down on purpose and used English to introduce, "You see, old bridge,
397.about 700 years." The passenger is interested very much, saying that [s/he] would photograph next
398.time. Several days later, this passenger indeed returned to specifically look at the stone bridge. "The
399.biggest harvest was to let foreigners understand our culture." Lao Meng said.

"Changing sound of the hometown"

2007.02.06 第16版副刊 作者：徐国良

2007. 02.06 (Page 16 Supplement) Author: Zhu Guoliang

乡音已改（走进新农村）

Changing sound of the hometown (Entering the new farm village)

我入伍离家的那天，母亲特地把我拉到灶边贴紧耳根说，到了部队千万莫忘说家乡话，要是南腔北调回家，别人会看不起你的。她怕我对说家乡话的认识达不到那个高度，还举了一个例子：上世纪６０年代我们村有个在外地工作３年的青年回乡探亲，与乡亲们扯谈时，偶尔冒出几句"官腔"（故乡人把普通话称作"官腔"），乡亲们都在背后指责他是"出了几天门，就忘记了老祖宗，不知道自己是喝啥地方的水长大的"。

我牢记着母亲的叮嘱，在３０多年的军旅生涯中，无论在天涯还是在塞外，在金陵还是在羊城，在桂林山水边还是在五指山下，不但没有丢失一口乡音，而且每当听到熟悉的乡音，亲切得怀疑自己是不是回到了故乡，总把乡音当乡亲。有时还情不自禁、"厚颜有耻"地主动朝着乡音走去，搭讪、攀谈，居然无一拒绝，聊上一阵就貌似知心朋友。

千百年来，任何一个民族的任何一种传统习俗，都没有乡音这么根深蒂固。

记得我第一次回家探亲时，乡亲们见我还是一口原汁原味的家乡话，无不竖起大拇指："国良这伢子，出门这么多年，家乡的话一点都没改，跟过去一样实在，有出息！"

然而，近几年我回乡探家，强烈地感觉到乡音也在改革的大潮中嬗变了。变得不再固步自封，不再坚守清纯。它被越来越多的异乡异域之音渗透、融合，形成了杂交的语系。最早融进乡音的是京腔、粤语和英语。

那天，我刚走下汽车，就听到人群中传出"广式乡音"。转身一瞧，那不是强妹子吗，他的乡音中怎么夹带着这么多粤味、港味呢？战友老张说，这些年家乡改革种植结构，大部分劳动力从黄土地上解放出来了，有了剩余时间，剩余劳力，就去沿海打工。几年回来，全是新潮、新词、新口音、新观念、新思维。强妹子还算好的，有的人讲话全是南腔北调，办事全是新法新招。

强妹子其实不是女孩子，我们家乡习惯把男孩叫成女孩名，把女孩叫成男孩名。强妹子是老张的小学同学，我与他不是同学，但从小认得。冬天，他常穿一件没有纽扣的破棉衣，腰间系一根草绳。因为交不起每学期３块钱的学费，六年级没读完就辍学了。以后修水利、修铁路，很早就开始在外面做工。

我为了表示对他的亲热和自己"没忘本"，就主动上前打招呼："强妹子，你这个鬼崽子，３０多年没见面，你还像红花伢子一样呀！"他愣了一下，立马认出是我来，却说着一口标准普通话："老同学，你当了这么多年官，说话还是这么土冒，没人笑你耍官腔呀！禀报你吧，我现在是个不大不小的董事长，外国人叫我张先生，乡亲们叫我张老板，公司里叫我张总裁。我们公司正准备申请上市哩——"

我们正说着话，突然有辆桑塔纳"嘎"地一声停在他身边。强妹子——

不，强董事长连忙双手合在胸前朝我鞠了一躬："对不起，公司有急事先走了，明晚为你设宴洗尘。"说着一溜烟就走了。我问那开车的漂亮女子是谁，老张说是强妹子的妹妹，比他还牛。

强妹子的妹妹小名叫菊伢子，在家时是个跟男孩子说话都怕羞的姑娘。大学毕业后去深圳打了几年工，变魔术似地弄回了一个养殖公司，当起了老板。还搞什么资产重组、资源优化组合，把村办企业也"吃"

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掉了。

她伯父原在村办企业当头，现在没官做了，请求她安排在公司里吃碗松活饭，她却通知他去饲料加工厂当工人，把伯父气得直骂娘。她两手一摊，很硬气地说："这是董事会的决定，我没法搞掂。"

接着，她瞪眼睛一摘，说着批评伯父解释：如果把一个现代化企业搞成了家族式的体制，家长制的管理，就无法严格遵守制度，提高经济效益了。你有困难，可以向我申请救济。你不服从分配，只好请你走人。"后来，她伯父还是乖乖地上班去了，只是偶尔发几句牢骚。

面对我曾经引以自豪的至今未改的乡音，此刻我却有了丝丝惭愧。我低估了改革开放的神奇力量，我漠视了改革大潮中家乡人民思想观念的进化。
　　而从乡音的嬗变中，我看到了古老土地上一个新故乡的崛起。

400.The day when I joined troops, [my] mother pulled me aside the stove in the kitchen and asked [me]
401.not to forget the native dialect. If [I] spoke with different accents when [I] returned home, others
402.would look down on me. She was worried about my knowledge of the native dialect and therefore
403.[she] cited an example: In the 60s of the last century, a teenager in our village who had worked for 3
404.years away from home returned to visit relatives. When [he] spoke with the villagers, [he]
405.occasionally used a few sentences of the "bureaucratic" language (hometown people referred to
406.Mandarin as "bureaucratic"), the relatives accused him at [his] back "only away for a few days and
407.already forgot [his] ancestors and the water [he] drank came from."

408.I remember [my] mother's exhortations, and in the 30 years of military service, regardless of whether
409.[I] was in the border or beyond the Great Wall, or in Guangzhou or in Nanjing, in Guilin or buried
410.beneath a mountain side, not only did [I] not lose [my] accent, but every time when [I] heard the
411.familiar accent, [I] suspected whether [I] was back home, regarding the accent as [my] relatives.
412.Sometimes, without a shame, [I] took the initiative to approach and chat with people with the accent.
413.No one had ever actually refused to talk, only for a while, [we] felt like [we] were intimate friends.
414.For thousands of years, no single one of a tradition of any nations is more deeply-rooted than native
415.accent.

416.[I] remember when I first went home to visit relative, villagers all had [their] thumbs up when [they]
417.heard me still speak an authentic native dialect: "This Guoliang has left for so many years but still has
418.not changed [his] hometown dialect. [It]'s still as concrete as [it] was in the past, excellent!"

419.However, when I returned home in recent years to visit [my] family, [I] felt very deeply about the
420.'hometown language' which was changing with the tide of reform. [It] no longer stands still and stays
421.protected, no longer guards its purity. It is becoming more exotic with the penetration and fusion of
422.foreign languages and accents of different places and different regions, and turning into a hybrid
423.language. Melt into the local accent is firstly the Beijing accent, then Cantonese and English.

424.That day when I just got off the car, [I] heard the "Cantonese accent" among the crowd. "[I] turned to
425.look and was wondering if that was Qiang Sister. How come his native accent was mixed with so
426.much Canton and Hong Kong flavour? Comrade Zhang said that because of reforms in the years,
427.most of the labour force was liberated from the yellow ground, and therefore had the time remaining
428.and surplus labor to work along the coast. A few years later, [they] brought back all the new language,
429.new words, new accents, new ideas, new thinking. Qiang Sister is not the worst. Some people have
430.come back with all new accents and tactics.

431.Qiang was in fact not a girl. [We] used to call a boy as a girl in our hometown. Qiang sister was the
432.primary schoolmate of Comrade Zhang. He and I weren't schoolmates but [we] knew each other at a
433.young age. In winter, he often wore an old jacket with no buttons with a rope tied around [his] waist.
434.Because of the difficulty in affording the tuition fee of 3 dollars per semester, [he] did not finish the

435.sixth grade and dropped out. [He] started to work at a very young age, repairing water pipes and
436.railways.

437.I wished to express [my] affection and "sense of belonging" to him, and so [I] took the initiative to say
438.hello (in the local dialect): "Qiang sister, you son of the X, it's been 30 years since [I] last met [you] but
439.[you] still look like a kid" He was shocked for a moment, and then recognised me right away, but [he]
440.spoke in fluent Mandarin: "old schoolmate, you have been a government official for so many years,
441.but still speak in an old-fashioned way, no one would laugh at you playing bureaucratic! [I] report to
442.you, I am now sort of a Chairman, foreigners call me Mr. Zhang, folks call me boss Zhang, in the
443.company, [they] call me Chairman Zhang. Our company is preparing to apply to be listed in the stock
444.market -"While we were talking, a Santana suddenly stopped beside him. Qiang sister - no, Chairman
445.Zhang quickly bowed toward me with [his] hands held in the chest: "[I]'m sorry, there is an urgency
446.in the company so [I] have to go. [I] will host a banquet to welcome you home tomorrow." Then [he]
447.left in a flash. I asked who the beautiful woman who was driving was. Comrade Zhang said [she] was the
448.sister of Qiang Sister. [She] was even more well-off than him.

449.The little sister of Qiang Sister is named Daisy. At home [she] was a shy girl when talking with boys.
450.After graduation, [she] went to work in Shenzhen for a few years. Like playing magic, [she] started a
451.breeding company and became a boss. What was more is [she] also engaged in the reorganization of
452.assets and resources, and 'ate out' the village-run enterprises.

453.Her uncle originally was a leader of the village enterprises. [He] lost [his] job and begged her to give
454.[him] a job, but she asked him to be a worker in the breeding company which made the uncle very
455.angry. She insisted as if [she] had no decision-making power: "This is the board's decision, I cannot
456.fix it up." Then she took off [her] glasses and explained patiently to the uncle: "If a modern enterprise
457.becomes a family business and patriarchal system of management, the economic efficiency of the
458.company cannot be improved. If you have difficulty, [you] can report and apply for aid with me. But if
459.you do not obey, [I] have to ask you to leave." Her uncle still obediently went to work, with only a few
460.occasional complaints. I used to feel proud of [my] ability to keep [my] local accent. But at this
461.moment, I feel ashamed. I underestimated the magical power of the reform, and I overlooked the
462.evolvement of the thinking of [my] hometown fellows in the tides of reform.

463.From the changes of the local accent, I can see the rising of a new hometown on the ancient land.

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(Lao) Meng	16
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change	11
learn (Chinese)	11
me (Chinese)	11
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Appendix 6

Schematic Figures

Figure 1 Li Yang
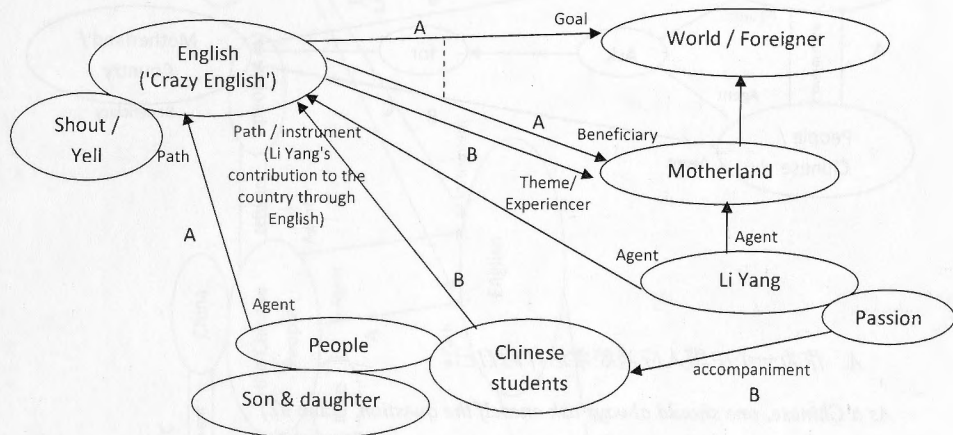
A. *"我们学好英语的目的就是要向西方发达国家吸收先进的东西,捍卫祖国和人民的利益..."*

"Our aim of learning English is to learn from the advancement of the developed Western countries and defend the interests of the motherland and the people!..." (Line 53-55)

B. *"三千多名中学生云集于大剧院内,在"疯狂英语"创始人李阳的感召下,颗颗纯净的心灵荡漾着澎湃的**激情**,跟着李阳一起疯狂地用英语高喊:"我爱祖国,振兴中华!""努力学习,报效祖国!""*

*"....Over three thousand students gathered at the Grand Theatre and with much **passion**, followed Li Yang, the founder of "Crazy English" and use English to shout crazily: "I love the motherland, Rejuvenating the Chinese nation! "* (Line 1-3)

Figure 2 Motherland
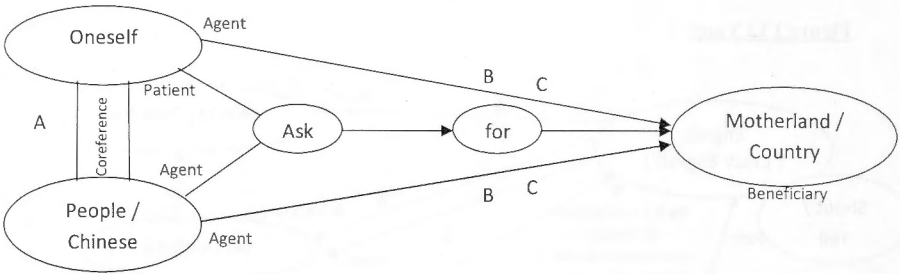
A. 作为一个中国人应当经常这样问自己。

As a Chinese, one should always ask oneself the question. (Line 92)

B. 每当国庆节的时候，都禁不住问自己：祖国，我能为你做什么？只要时常这样
提醒自己，我们的生活将因此而充实，我们的奋斗就有了不同寻常的意义。

*On every nation's birthday, one cannot help asking oneself: "home country, what can I do
for you?" If we keep asking and reminding ourselves, our life will be more enriched. Our
hard work will then have extraordinary meanings.* (Line 120-122)

C. 作为一个中国人应当经常这样问自己。有的人能为家庭出力，有的人能为城市
增色，有的人能为国家争光。

*As a Chinese, one should always ask oneself the question. Some people can work for the
benefits of the family, some for development of the city, and some for glorifying the country.*
(Line 92-93)

Figure 3 Power of Communication

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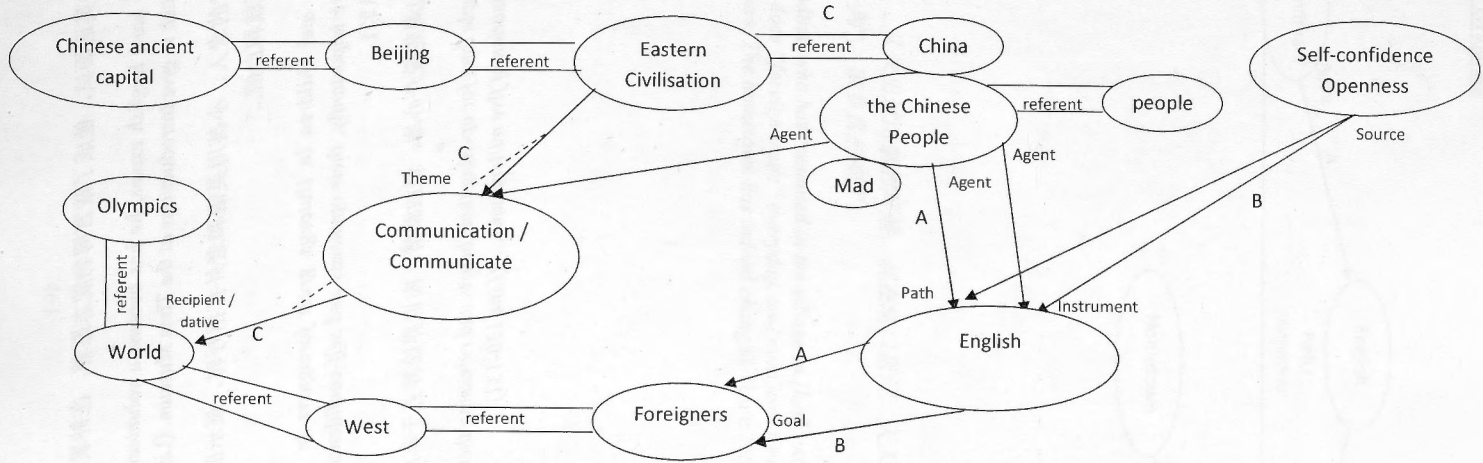
A. 通过严格的英语面试，他成了故宫博物院志愿者，在钟表馆用英语讲解。

Having passed very hard English exams, he has become a volunteer at the Forbidden City Museum, using English to give introductions at the Time Museum. (Line 147-149)

B. 今天胡同里的老人、小孩用英语和老外打招呼时，展示的是热情好客，更是源自内心的开放和自信...

Today, the elderly and children in Hutongs greet foreigners in English, showing their hospitality, and more importantly, their openness and self-confidence originating from their hearts... (Line 153-155)

C. 热情的人们渴望敞开心扉，释放激情，向世界诠释五千年的东方文明...

The passionate people long for opening their hearts and releasing their passion, show to the world Eastern civilisation of five millenniums... (Line 130-131)

Figure 4 Grandma
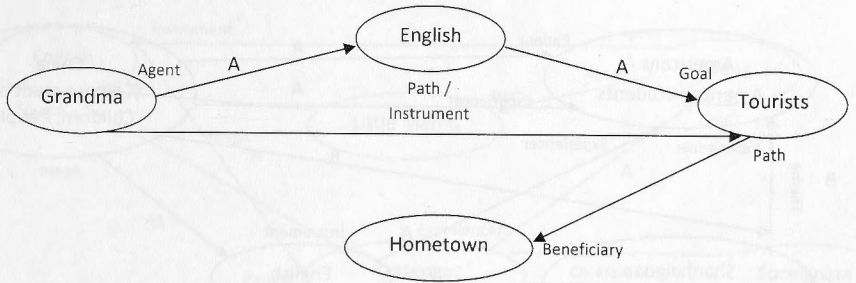
A. ...从未出过山寨的阿妈，现在满口新词，天天做"外贸"，还用外语跟外国人"谈判"。家乡真的变了。

...Grandma, who has remained in the village in [her] entire lifetime, now is filled with new words, does "foreign trade" everyday, and even uses foreign language to "negotiate" with foreigners. The hometown has indeed changed. (Line 206-209)

Figure 5 American tourist
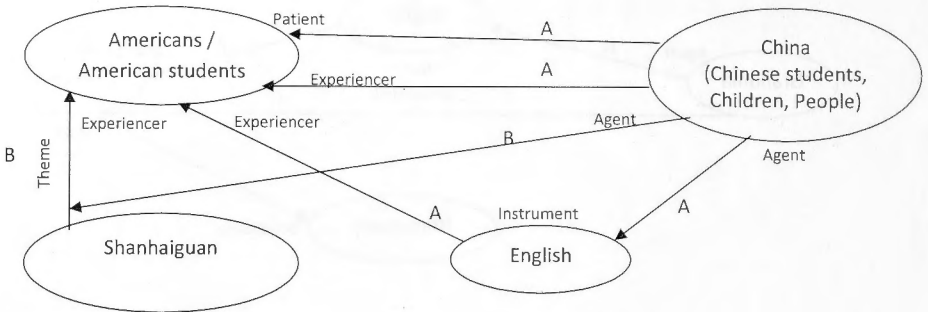
A. ...听中国孩子讲一段英语，让美国学生说几句中文...

...*Hearing Chinese children speak a paragraph of English, letting American students speak a few sentences of Chinese*...(Line 210-212)

B. ...*4 月 20 日至 21 日，美国游客迈克和他的学生在享誉国内外的古城山海关度过了两天美好的时光，从而再次续写了他在山海关的"美妙经历"。*......

迈克"希望与中国学生交流"、希望"多了解中国文化"的愿望在山海关第一中学师生和山海关本地书法家的热情中得到了满足。在书法家的指导下，迈克的学生们提起毛笔，饱蘸浓墨，在一张张宣纸上写下了"中国"、"山海关"、"中美友好"等字样，并小心地收好自己在山海关完成的中文作业。...

...*Mike, and his students were travelling around the ancient **Shanhaiguan** city famous within the country and overseas on the 20th and 21st April, to continue his "wonderful journey" in **Shanhaiguan**...* (Line 212-214)

*Mike's wishes to communicate with Chinese students, hopes to learn more about Chinese culture are fulfilled by some passionate Chinese high school students and a local calligrapher of **Shanhaiguan**. Under the direction of the calligrapher, Mike's students write on every single paper words such as "China", "**Shanhaiguan**" and "Chinese-American friendship" and carefully keep their Chinese assignments they completed in **Shanhaiguan**.* (Line 215-219)

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Figure 6 Taxi driver
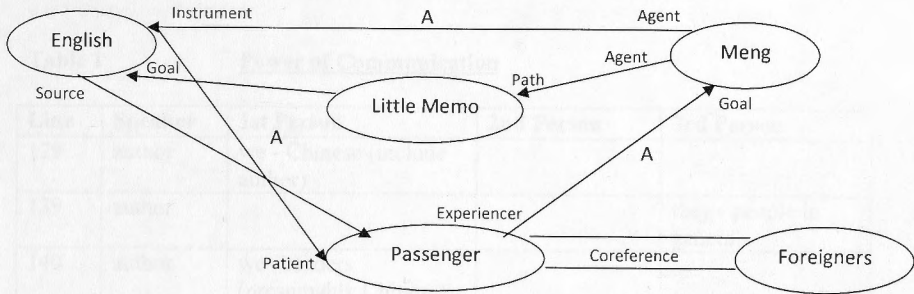
Meng: Agent, Little Memo: Path, English: Goal

English: Source, Passenger= Foreigners: Experiencer, Meng: Goal

A. ….老孟的英语和他热情爽朗的性格为他带来不少回头客，很多坐过他车的外国人，需要用车时会给他打电话。….

…Lao Meng's English and his passionate and frank dispositions bring many customers back to him. Those foreigners who have been taken by him before call him when they need a ride… (Line 392-393).

Appendix 7

Deictic mapping charts

Table 1 **Power of Communication**

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
129	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
139	author			they - people in general
140	author	we - readers (presumably Chinese)		
145	elderly Yang		you - Chinese	
146	author			He - elderly Yang
148	author			he - elderly Yang
149	author			he - elderly Yang
150	author			them - foreign visitors

Table 2 **New Generation**

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
165	author			she - Chinese University Student
166	author			her - Chinese University Student
167	foreign judge	I - foreign judge	you - Chinese University Student	
170	author	I - author		she - Chinese University Student
172	Chinese Uni Student		you - foreign judge	
172	Chinese Uni Student	I - University Student	your - foreign judge	
173	Chinese Uni Student	I - University Student		
173		me - University Student		
174	Chinese Uni		you - foreign judge	

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	Student			
174	Chinese Uni Student	our - the student + foreign judge		
174	Chinese Uni Student	I - Chinese University Student		
174		Our - the student and Chinese people		
175	Chinese Uni Student	we - Chinese people + the student		
178	Chinese Uni Student	I - Chinese University Student		
179	Chinese Uni Student	I - Chinese University Student		
180	Chinese Uni Student	we - Chinese University student and Chinese people		
181	Chinese Uni Student	we - the student and Chinese people		Their - traditions and modernity
186	author			their - young talented people in other areas
186	author			their - young talented people in other areas
187	author	us - old men (including author)		their - young talented people in other areas
189	author	our - author + readers (Chinese people)		

Table 3   **Mike**

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
212	author			his - Mike
213	author			his - Mike
218	author			their - Mike's student
220	author			his - Mike
222	Mike	my - Mike		
223	Mike	my - Mike's students		
		I - Mike		

Table 4   <u>River</u>

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
227	author	me - author		
228	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
232	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
235	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
236	author			their - French
237	author			they - French
238	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
239	author	us - Chinese (include author)		
		us - Chinese (include author)		
253	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
254	author	I - author		
		my - author		
262	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
264	author	we - Chinese (include author)		
265	author	our - Chinese (include author)		they - French
268	author	I - author		

Table 5   <u>We are also ready</u>

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
325	Author			they - Overseas volunteers
328	Massiah	my - Massiah		
329	Massiah	I - Massiah		
329	Massiah			them - Beijinger family
330	Massiah	me - Massiah		
330	Massiah	my - Massiah		
331	Massiah	I - Massiah		their - Beijinger family
331	Massiah	I - Massiah		him - Chinese teenager son

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
332	Massiah	me - Massiah		he - Chinese teenage son
333	Author			[his] own - Massiah
334	Massiah	my - Massiah		
		my - Massiah		
335	Author			he - Massiah
336	Author			he - Massiah
338	Author			he - Shelakas
338	Shelakas	we - Schoolmates (including Shelakas)		
340	Shelakas	I - Shelakas		
342	Shelakas - taking a Chinese stance		you - people in general	
344	Shelakas	I - Shelakas		
346	Shelakas	I - Shelakas		
346	Shelakas	my - Shelakas		
349	David	I - David		
353	Author			him - David
354	Author			he - David
354	David	my - David		
355	David	me - David		
355	David	my - David		
356	David	me - David		
359	Author			he - David
362	David	I - David		
363	David	I - David		
		we - volunteers (overseas foreigh)		

Table 6   **Taxi Driver**

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
370	Author			him - foreigner
373	Author			he - Lao Meng
375	Author			he - Lao Meng
380	Author			his - Lao Meng
385	Author			his - Lao Meng
386	Author			he - Lao Meng
386				he - Lao Meng
386				[him] self - Lao Meng
388	Lao Meng	my - Lao Meng		
389	Author			him - Lao Meng

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
389				he - Lao Meng
392	Author			his - Lao Meng
393				him - Lao Meng
393	Author			him - Lao Meng
393				him - Lao Meng
394	Author			he - Lao Meng
396	Lao Meng		you - foreigner	
399	Lao Meng	our - Chinese		

Table 7   <u>Li Yang</u>

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
2	Li + students	I - Li + student		
3	Li + students	I - Li + student		
4	Li + students	I - Li + student		
6	author			he - Li Yang
6	author			these - students
7	author			their - students
8	author			them - students
9	author			them - students
11	author	me - author		
11	parent	me - parent		
14	author	I - author		
14	author	I - author	you - Li Yang	
14	author	I - author	your - Li Yang	
15	author	I - author		
16	author			it - phrase
18	Li	my - Li		
19	Li			her - motherland
20	Li	I - Li		
33	author			he - Li
38	author			he - Li
39	Li		[our] self - Chinese people	
39	author			he - Li
40	author			he - Li
41	Li			our - himself and people in his generation
42	author			he - Li
43	author	I - author		his - Li
45	author			his - Li
45	author	I - author		

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
46	author			him - Li
46	author	me - author		he - Li
46	author	I - author		
47	author	me - author		he - Li
47	Li		you - author	
49	Li	our - Li + author		
49	author			he - Li
				his - Li
53	Li	our - Li + author, students (Chinese)		
55	Li	my - Li		
58	author			he - Li
60	author			he - Li
63	author			he - Li
63	author			he - Li
64	author			he - Li
74	author	me - author		he - Li
75	Li	we - Chinese (including Li + author)		
75	Li	we - Chinese (including Li + author)		
76	Li	we - Chinese (including Li + author)		
81	Li	I - Li		

Table 8 <u>Motherland</u>

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
title	author	I - author	you - motherland	
88	author			it - the saying
89	Lu Xun	I - Lu Xun		
				my - Lu Xun
90	author	my - author		it - the idea
90	author	I - author		
91		myself - author		
91	author	I - author	you - motherland	
95	author	we - author + readers		
100	author	I - author + readers		you - motherland
105	author	us - author + his/her schoolmates		
105	English teacher		you all - author + his/her schoolmates	

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Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
108	author	I - author		
108	author			he - English teacher
116	scientist	I - scientist		
117	scientist	me - scientist		
119	author	we - author + readers		
121	author	I - author + readers	you - motherland	
121	author	our [selves] - author + readers		
122	author	our - author + readers		

Table 9   **Changing sound of the hometown**

Line	Speaker	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
400	author	I - author		
400		me - author		
402	author	me - author		
402	author	my - author		she - mother
403	author	our - author + his villagers		
406	author			him - the teenager
408	author	I - author		
416	author	I - author		
417	author	me - author		
419	author	I - author		
421	author			It - dialect
424	author	I - author		
425	author			his - Qiang
431	author	our - author, his villagers/ hometown people, Qiang		
432	author	I - author		he - Qiang
433	author			he - Qiang
437	author	I - author		him - Qiang
438	author		You - Qiang	
439	author	me - author		he - Qiang
440	Qiang		You - author	
441	Qiang		You - author	
442	Qiang		You - author	
442	Qiang	I - Qiang		
		me - Qiang		
		me - Qiang		

443	Qiang	me - Qiang		
		our - Qiang's company		
444	author	we - author + Qiang		him - Qiang
445	author	me - author		
446	Qiang		You - author	
447	author	I - author		
448	Comrade Zhang			him - Qiang
453	author			her - Qiang sister
453	author			her - Qiang sister
454	author			she - Qiang's sister
				him - the uncle
455	author			she - Qiang's sister
455	Qiang's sister	I - Qiang's sister		
456	author			she - Qiang's sister
458	Qiang's sister	me - Qiang's sister	you - uncle	
459	Qiang's sister		you - uncle	
459	Qiang's sister		you - uncle	
459	author			her - Qiang sister
460	author	I - the author		
461	author	I - the author		
461	author	I - the author		
461	author	I - the author		
463	author	I - the author		

Appendix 8

Interview keywords tables

High school students

Q2

Keywords	Frequency
交流 (communicate/communication)	13
他们 (they/them/their)	10
了解 (understand)	8
世界 (the world)	7
我们 (we/us/our)	7
工作 (job)	5
工具 (tool)	4
需要 (need/necessity)	4
选择 (choose/choice)	4
知识 (knowledge)	3
沟通 (exchange)	3

Q3

Keywords	Frequency
工具 (tool)	13
交流 (communicate/communication)	10
学习 (learn)	9
世界 (the world)	6
了解 (understand)	5
我们 (we/us/our)	4
考试 (exam)	3
文化 (culture)	3

Q4

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	9
交流 (communicate/communication)	8
工具 (tool)	5
西方 (the West/Western)	5
我们 (we/us/our)	5
文化 (culture)	4
了解 (understand)	4
沟通 (exchange)	3
努力 (work hard)	3
互相 (mutual)	3

Q5

Keywords	Frequency
了解 (understand)	2
交流 (communicate/communication)	2
有趣 (interesting)	2
好玩 (fun)	2
考试 (exam)	2

Q6

Keywords	Frequency
他们 (they/them/their)	11
了解 (understand)	7
我们 (we/us/our)	6
交流 (communicate/communication)	5
机会 (opportunity)	3
思想 (thinking)	3
沟通 (exchange)	2
(不)现实 (im/practical)	2
农村 (farmers' village)	2
大山里 (mountain)	2
素质 (suzhi: "essentailised quality")	2
人民 (the people)	2
人民素质 (the people's suzhi)	2

Q7

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	8
交流 (communicate/communication)	7
外国 (foreign (adj.)/foreign countries)	7
大家 (everyone/everybody)	5
了解 (understand)	5
生活 (life)	4
文化 (culture)	4
发展 (develop/development)	4
自己 (oneself)	4
思想 (thinking)	3
沟通 (exchange)	3
世界 (the world)	2
全世界 (the whole world)	2
融入 (integrate)	2
他们 (they/them/their)	2

Q8

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	23
中国 (China/Chinese)	22
他们 (they/them/their)	8
文化(中国) (Chinese culture)	6
生活 (life)	5
学 (learn)	4
环境 (environment)	3
交流 (communicate/communication)	3
中国人 (Chinese people)	3
<<最后一课>> ("The Last Lesson")	3
工具 (tool)	2
传承 (pass on)	2
灵魂 (soul)	2
根本 (root)	2

Q9

Keywords	Frequency
学习 (learn)	6
重视 (emphasise/emphasis)	4
丢 (give up)	2

Q10

Keywords	Frequency
中国 (China/Chinese)	18
传统 (tradition)	12
文化 (culture)	12
传统文化 (traditional culture)	5
兼 (at the same time)	4
万圣节 (Halloween)	4
西方 (the West/Western)	4
圣诞节 (Christmas)	3
工具 (tool)	2
兼顾 (take care at the same time)	2

Q11

Keywords	Frequency
文化 (culture)	34
了解 (understand)	23
西方 (the West/Western)	22

文化知识 (cultural knowledge)	9
更好 (better)	8
知识 (knowledge)	4
民族 (ethnicity)	3
背景 (background)	3
环境 (environment)	3
生活 (life)	3
深入 (in-depth)	2

University students

Q2

Keywords	Frequency
我 (I/me/myself)	48
我们 (we/us/our)	18
了解 (understand)	14
交流 (communicate/communication)	9
世界 (the world)	9
国外 (outside the country)	8
生活 (life)	8
自己 (oneself)	7
工具 (tool)	6
外国人 (foreigners)	6
开放 (open)	5
翻译 (translation)	5
发展 (develop/development)	5
工作 (job)	5
文化 (culture)	5
重要 (important)	5
国际 (international)	4
通用 (common/universal)	4
角度 (perspective)	4
信息 (message/information)	4
专业 (profession/major)	4

Q3

Keywords	Frequency
工具 (tool)	23
了解 (understand)	15
交流 (communicate/communication)	14
我们 (we/us/our)	14

文化 (culture)	12
专业 (profession/major)	8
他们 (they/them/their)	8
个人 (personal)	7
自己 (oneself)	7
生活 (life)	5
外国人 (foreigners)	4
世界 (the world)	4
翻译 (translation)	4
书 (book)	4
开放 (open)	3
信息 (message/information)	3
能力 (ability)	3
英国 (Britain)	2
眼界 (horizon)	2
美国 (U.S.)	1
沟通 (exchange)	1

Q4

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	26
工具 (tool)	10
世界 (the world)	10
外国 (foreign (adj)/foreign countries)	9
了解 (understand)	7
交流 (communicate/communication)	6
改革开放 (reform and opening up)	5
兴趣 (interest)	5
开放 (open)	4
桥梁 (bridge)	3
媒介 (channel/medium)	3
生活 (life)	2

Q5

Keywords	Frequency
他们 (they/them/their)	12
兴趣 (interest)	9
考试 (exam)	9
文化 (culture)	7
工具 (tool)	7

交流 (communicate/communication)	6
外国人 (foreigners)	5
专业 (profession/major)	4
美国 (U.S.)	2

Q6

Keywords	Frequency
他们 (they/them/their)	36
交流 (communicate/communication)	12
自己 (oneself)	11
生活 (life)	9
我们 (we/us/our)	9
接触 (contact)	6
外国人 (foreigners)	6
没有用 (useless)	5
一辈子 (entire life)	5
关系 (relationship)	5
兴趣 (interest)	4
发展 (develop/development)	4
时间 (time)	4
机会 (opportunity)	4
条件 (condition)	3
工作 (job)	3
现实 (practical)	2
偏远 (remote)	2
农村 (farmers' village)	2
贫困 (poor)	2

Q7

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	44
他们 (they/them/their)	30
经济 (economy)	21
世界 (the world)	11
开放 (open)	11
技术 (methods/techniques)	7
改革开放 (reform and opening up)	6
思想 (thinking)	5
文化 (culture)	4
国际 (international)	4
了解 (understand)	3
教育 (education)	3
眼界 (horizon)	3

Q8

Keywords	Frequency
自己 (oneself)	17
我们 (we/us/our)	13
中国人 (Chinese people)	12
文化 (culture)	11
中国 (China/Chinese)	10
生活 (life)	7
环境 (environment)	7
根 (root)	6

Q9

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	24
他们 (they/them/their)	18
思维 (ways of thinking)	10
文化 (culture)	8
古文 (literary Chinese)	6
时间 (time)	5
重视 (emphasise/emphasis)	4

Q10

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	24

Q11

Keywords	Frequency
他们 (they/them/their)	25
我们 (we/us/our)	13
背景 (background)	9
单词 (single words)	9
交流 (communicate/communication)	8
理解 (understanding)	8
词汇 (vocabulary)	7
含 (embedded (meaning of words))	5

Teachers

Q2

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	8
交流 (communicate/communication)	8
工作 (job)	5
工具 (tool)	5
了解 (understand)	5
文化 (culture)	5
生活 (life)	5
升学 (further study)	4
全球化 (globalisation)	4
沟通 (exchange)	4
西方 (the West/Western)	4
机会 (opportunity)	3
先进 (advanced)	3
文明 (civilisation)	3
国际 (international)	3
升职 (job promotion)	2
他们 (they/them/their)	2
功利 (immediate success)	2
辅助 (supplementary)	2
我们 (we/us/our)	1

Q3

Keywords	Frequency
工具 (tool)	12
文化 (culture)	12
交流 (communicate/communication)	7
重要 (important)	7
翻译 (translation)	7
生活 (life)	6
工作 (job)	5
学习 (learn)	5
世界 (the world)	5
外国 (foreign (adj)/foreign countries)	4
中国人 (Chinese people)	4
窗口 (channel)	4
自己 (oneself)	4
我们 (we/us/our)	3
传播 (spread)	3
他们 (they/them/their)	1

Q4

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	13
工具 (tool)	8
文化 (culture)	8
交流 (communicate/communication)	6
我们 (we/us/our)	6
桥梁 (bridge)	6
工作 (job)	5
沟通 (exchange)	5
了解 (understand)	5
他们 (we/us/our)	5
外国人 (foreigners)	4

Q5

Keywords	Frequency
文化 (culture)	6

Q6

Keywords	Frequency
需要 (need/necessity)	21
他们 (they/them/their)	9
我们 (we/us/our)	9
个人 (personal)	7
工作 (job)	5
交流 (communicate/communication)	4
了解 (understand)	4
外国人 (foreigners)	4
一辈子 (entire life)	4
世界 (the world)	1

Q7

Keywords	Frequency
文化 (culture)	15
我们 (we/us/our)	9
他们 (they/them/their)	7
交流 (communicate/communication)	7
工作 (job)	5
国际 (international)	5
经济 (economy)	5
了解 (understand)	4

Q8

Keywords	Frequency
中国人 (Chinese people)	3
翻译 (translation)	3
生活 (life)	2
环境 (environment)	2
我们 (we/us/our)	1

Q9

Keywords	Frequency
时间 (time)	10
我们 (we/us/our)	7
重视 (emphasise/emphasis)	4

Q10

Keywords	Frequency
传统 (tradition)	23
传统文化 (traditional culture)	15
我们 (we/us/our)	9
了解 (understand)	7
中国文化 (Chinese culture)	7
外国 (foreign (adj)/foreign countries)	6
西方文化 (Western culture)	5
互相 (mutual)	3

Q11

Keywords	Frequency
西方 (the West)	19
了解 (understand)	12
西方文化 (Western culture)	10
文化知识 (cultural knowledge)	10
工具 (tool)	6
掌握 (grasp)	5
词 (vocabulary)	4

Parents

Q2

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	13
交流 (communicate/communication)	12

了解 (understand)	7
国际 (international)	6
工具 (tool)	5
我们 (we/us/our)	5
沟通 (exchange)	4
西方 (the West/Western)	4
通用 (common/universal)	3
走向 (walk towards)	2
文化 (culture)	2
他们 (they/them/their)	1

Q3

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	5
工具 (tool)	5
我们 (we/us/our)	5
交流 (communicate/communication)	5
重要 (important)	5
工作 (job)	3
资料 (information)	3
沟通 (exchange)	2
桥梁 (bridge)	2
了解 (understand)	2
生活 (life)	2
文化 (culture)	1

Q4

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	8
工具 (tool)	6
了解 (understand)	5
世界 (the world)	4
交流 (communicate/communication)	4
重要 (important)	3
素质 (suzhi: "essentialised quality")	3
外国 (foreign (adj)/ foreign countries)	3
开放 (open)	3
外语 (foreign languages)	2
他们 (they/them/their)	1

Q5

Keywords	Frequency

Nil	Nil

Q6

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	5
条件 (condition)	3
他们 (they/them/their)	2
对外 (outside/external)	2

Q7

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	7
开放 (open)	4
奥运会 (the Olympics)	4
对外 (outside/external)	3
了解 (understand)	3
世界 (the world)	3
文化 (culture)	3
交流 (exchange)	3
提高 (enhance)	3
素质 (suzhi: "essentialised quality")	2

Q8

Keywords	Frequency
(根)本 (root)	16
我们 (we/us/our)	7
自己 (oneself)	7
生活 (life)	6
中国人 (Chinese people)	6
文化 (culture)	5
世界 (the world)	3
学习 (learn)	3
基础 (foundation)	3
民族 (ethnicity)	2

Q9

Keywords	Frequency
时间 (time)	10

Q10

Keywords	Frequency
世界 (the world)	5

Q11

Keywords	Frequency
我们 (we/us/our)	3
不可分 (inseparable)	2
交流 (communicate/communication)	2