

**Family Language Stories and Second Language Learning:
An Ethnographic Study of the Influence of Perceptions of Family
Language History on Second Language Learning**

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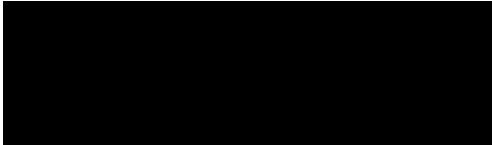
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Declaration

I declare that, except where due acknowledgement has been made, this research thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree at any university or other institute of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.



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27 September, 2018

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Abstract

This research explores students' stories about their family language histories and aims to understand how their understanding and perception of such stories influence their learning of Mandarin as a second language. Family language stories include accounts of family origins, background, and attitudes and practices with respect to language learning. My research is a qualitative, ethnographic study underpinned by the theoretical framework of constructivism. Case study is the method used to structure the research and collect the data. In this study, I focus on six Grade Six students who participated in a bilingual program offered by Morning Orchid Public School in Sydney, Australia in 2017. I interpret and analyse the relationship between these students' family language stories and their Mandarin learning outcomes. I describe some of the ways this influence can take place. The family language stories of these students confirm my intuition that family language stories and children's second language learning are related, as these students' stories can be shown to have influenced their learning outcomes in the study of Mandarin as a second language in very particular ways, albeit not all in the same way. I have identified three important patterns of such family stories that appear to have a significant impact on learning outcomes, namely, ethnic identity, mimetic desire, and the level of family interest in Chinese culture.

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List of Abbreviations

HSK: Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi

ROSETE: Research-Oriented School Engaged Teacher Education

ELICOS: English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students

PRC: People's Republic of China

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces my research topic, research questions, research aims, and the significance of my research. In addition, it recounts how I came to my topic, in particular, how it emerged out of my thoughts on how my family language stories influenced my own language learning. First, I will narrate some of my own family stories and discuss their impact on my learning of Mandarin and English. I realize that such narration is an unconventional way to introduce a thesis, but I choose this approach because it helps to illustrate what I mean by family stories, as well as showing their importance. It also will help to define for the reader my motivation for undertaking this research. I will then describe my research topic, questions, and aims as they grew out of reflection on my own experience.

1.2 My family language story— my hometown and my mother

I was born in a small town named Tangxi, located in Jinhua city, Zhejiang province. It is a beautiful town, surrounded by beautiful mountains and rivers, home to beautiful people. People in my town are down-to-earth, friendly, and warm. They know each other and are always there to help each other. When I was a small child, most of the town's people were farmers. They usually worked in the rice paddies wearing a rice hat, either driving the buffalo through the paddies or bending over harvesting the rice. It is an image that you probably have seen many times in Chinese movies. My grandparents on both sides are farmers. I was born and raised in Tangxi, spent eighteen years there, and always spoke the same language there, a language that my mother taught me when I was a little baby, a language all my family members can speak, a language I will never forget no matter how far I go, no matter how long I live—the Tangxi dialect.

In China, Mandarin (Putonghua) is the standard Chinese everyone must learn in school. It is the dialect of Beijing and the official language of mainland China and Taiwan.

Cantonese is another major dialect in China, mainly spoken in Canton (Guangdong), Hong Kong, and Macau. In addition to Mandarin and Cantonese, there are hundreds of thousands of Chinese dialects, each important to the people who speak it. We call the dialect 家乡话 (hometown dialect). My language learning story starts with my 家乡话, the Tangxi dialect.

In the 1950s, Mandarin (Putonghua) was established as the standard language for China. However, when I was a child, the only language that the locals spoke to each other was the Tangxi dialect; no one spoke Mandarin. People who went to school for a few years knew how to speak Mandarin, but it would be odd to hear people speak the language to each other in my hometown, since Mandarin was spoken only in the city. My father went to school for seven years and my mother only for five, so their Chinese reading literacy was good, but they never learned to speak standard Mandarin well. In fact, they seldom spoke Mandarin and, when they did, their strong accent revealed that they were not from the city and Mandarin was not their first language. My grandparents on both sides cannot speak any Mandarin and neither of my grandmothers can read or write, since one went to school for only a couple of years and the other never went to school at all. My paternal grandfather, on the other hand, went to school for 10 years and was always best or second best in his class, but circumstances forced him to work as a farmer all his life. My maternal grandfather also went to school for a few years, so he could read and write Chinese as well, but he could not speak Mandarin. In short, I grew up in a family of people who were mostly farmers, were not very well educated, and seldom if ever spoke Mandarin.

Until I was eight years old, I spoke only the Tangxi dialect. Because I watched TV shows in Mandarin, I could understand that language perfectly well, but I could not speak it because I never used it. We had only one primary school, one middle school, and one high school in my town, so it was common for your classmates to be your neighbours or the children of family friends, whose first language was also the Tangxi dialect. When I turned eight, I began primary school, where all of the teachers spoke only Mandarin in the classroom. Some of my classmates, whose parents were educated or went to the city often, could speak Mandarin well; others, like me, could only understand Mandarin but had never spoken it. When the teacher asked a question in class, I never raised my hand because I did not know how to speak the language. Whenever the teacher called on me, I would reply in the Tangxi dialect. The teacher would then correct me and ask me to speak Mandarin, which was very hard for me. I remember when I would always look forward to class breaks, so I could speak in my dialect to my classmates. When I went home, I would complain about the teacher for embarrassing me. I would also complain about how hard it was to learn pinyin, the official Romanization system for standard Chinese (Putonghua/Mandarin), used to teach students how to pronounce the Chinese characters in Mandarin. We were required to learn pinyin in year one, since it is the foundation for learning Mandarin.

To help me learn, my mother, an uneducated woman who went to school for only five years, travelled to Jinhua city to buy me textbooks and DVDs about pinyin. She studied pinyin on her own and then taught me at home. Every day after dinner, she would practice pinyin with me. We studied and watched DVDs together, and she would give me a cookie when I did things right. It was an unforgettable time, filled with fun. She always told me that I was a smart girl who could grasp things very quickly. After a couple of weeks or so, my pinyin was probably the best in my class. Back then, if you read pinyin well in class,

you would get a paper fruit (an apple or a pear made of paper) that you could bring home. I remember always bringing home rewards home, which my mother would stick on the wall. We were both very proud, as I became more and more confident in my Mandarin learning as well as other subjects. Those nights my mother spent teaching me and correcting my pinyin played an important role in my Mandarin learning. By her actions, she gave me encouragement and helped me to realize that I was smart and could achieve anything if I worked hard. But I always knew that she was actually the smart one, since she was able to learn things so quickly. Because she knew the importance of me learning Mandarin, she took the trouble to learn something entirely new to her in order to interest me in Mandarin learning.

My mother completed only five years school not because she was stupid, but because of her family's financial problems. My mother is the middle child, with an elder brother and a younger brother. Back then, everyone was poor and people had to work from morning to night. Cooking and cleaning was the job of the daughters. When my mother was only about six years old, she started cooking rice and simple dishes. If she forgot to cook, the family would have nothing to eat and she would be beaten when my grandparents came home. She was always a good girl, helping the family and doing all kinds of chores. She had to drop out of school because it was already very hard for the family to afford tuition for my mother's brothers. She started working to bring the family more income. I heard these stories of her youth when I was young. She explained that she wanted me to do better than her—to get an education, to take an interest in learning, and to become confident in school. It was a pity she had to quit school because she did not have a choice, but I had so many more choices. She emphasized that through hard work hard I could succeed, not just in Chinese learning but in other things as well.

Nowadays, in my hometown children start learning English in kindergarten, but, back then, I started to learn English at school in year four. The school had English class once a week, for forty minutes. The textbooks, which were worn and inadequate, were shared one to each two students. We did not actually learn much English in school. But I told my mother that English was very interesting and that I quite enjoyed it. Having heard that some of her friends took their children to Jinhua city for an English class, she asked me if I wanted to go. I said yes. For the next two years, she took me to the city every Saturday for a one and a half hour lesson. While I was in class, she would wait outside with the other parents. After I finished the class, she would buy me a snack and then we would take the bus home, a forty-minute trip each way.

I am grateful that my mother was willing to spend time and money on both my Mandarin and my English learning. At the time, fourteen years ago, she had no expectation that her daughter would one day go to Australia to teach Mandarin and earn her Master's degree. She was thinking only that she wanted me to have more choices and the opportunity to learn more things. Though she never learned Mandarin well, she believed that, if I could speak not only speak Mandarin but also English well, my life could be about more than just this small town.

My mother influenced me deeply in my language learning, both Mandarin and English. Her own story involved misfortunes, but she gave me the best she could afford and tried as hard as she could to give me more choices. She gave me confidence in learning Mandarin and an opportunity to learn English earlier than my classmates. Her story always inspires me not only in my language learning, but in every other aspect of my life as well. She accepted her own unfortunate circumstances, but she wanted nothing but the best for her daughter. I feel sorry for her troubles, but I am also immensely proud of her. In later life, I would sometimes get discouraged in my English study or other things. But

then my memories of her—the conversations we had, the games we played on the bus to Jinhua for my English lesson, the moments that I fell asleep on her lap on the way home—would flood into my mind. Her story and my memories of all that she did for me would give me encouragement.

In addition to my mother, the other person who deeply influenced my English learning was my grandfather.

1.3 My paternal grandfather's language story

My grandfather was born in 1934 in a mountain village called Jinxia, which is a forty-minute drive from Tangxi. Since the road to Jinxia is twisted and narrow, my memory of Jinxia is always about the tiring journey on the bus, feeling carsick and asking my parents again and again: “Are we there yet?” Jinxia, which literally means “under the well,” is a remote place with no school and no hospital, not to mention no supermarket. Life in Jinxia is slow, the scenery consisting of mountains, rivers, old people, and dogs. My grandfather's life is like his village's name, under the well. He has lived in Jinxia all of his life. In Jinxia, he married my grandmother, had three kids, and lost half of his hearing. Though my grandfather was in a sense physically “trapped” under the well because of his life circumstances, mentally and spiritually his mind has always been as free as a bird. Whenever I go to the mountain, he will talk to me about books, poetry, and sometimes politics. He not only knows about the world outside of his small village, but he is familiar with the world of thousands of years ago.

My grandfather loves books and loves to study. Since he was a small child, he always performed well in school. During his schooldays, he needed to get up every morning at 5:00 AM to feed the pigs. He would then walk one hour to another village to attend school and walk another hour back home in the afternoon. You need to keep in mind that

from the 1940s right up until the 1960s, going to school was considered pointless by many people, especially in the villages. People were hungry and poor and they did not believe studying could solve any of their problems. My grandfather went to school for ten years, until he was sixteen and his father died. Being an only child, he had to drop out of school and take up the hard work of a farmer to feed his family. He been a farmer ever since. However, throughout his life, he still found time to practise his calligraphy and read whatever books he could get his hands on. He eventually married a good wife and had three children. He lost half of his hearing when he was fifty years old, so I need to speak very loudly for him to understand what I am saying. Despite his hardships, my grandfather is still a very decent man who appreciates life. He seldom complains, works hard, never takes advantage of anyone, takes care of his mother and his family, and is happy with what he has.

My grandfather cannot speak any Mandarin because his school teacher gave instruction in the Jinxia dialect, which is almost the same as the Tangxi dialect, with only a few words pronounced differently. I can understand the Jinxia dialect perfectly. My grandfather is bothered by not being able to speak Mandarin, because he it prevents him from talking to my two cousins. My father is the oldest son, with two younger sisters, who married men in another city where Mandarin and a different local dialect are spoken. My two cousins cannot understand either the Tangxi dialect or the Jinxia dialect, since they grew up where no one speaks them. During the Spring Festival, when the whole family gets together, I can see that my grandfather wants to talk with my cousins, but is unable to do so. But he brings all the best snacks and, with a big smile on his face, says one word he knows in Mandarin, 吃, “eat,” though his pronunciation is not standard. My grandfather and grandmother never eat the snacks themselves, though, because they are saving the best for their grandchildren. I always loved and admired my grandfather when I was little.

I always sat next to him. He would hold my hands and ask me about school and about my health.

One time, when I was about thirteen years old, I told my grandfather that I was at the top of my English class. Happy and excited at my news, he told me that English is very useful and, if I could learn that language well, I would have nothing to fear in the future. A couple of weeks later, when he came home from one of my aunties' house, he brought me a thick English dictionary that he bought from a bookstore. On the first page he wrote: "To my dearest grandchild." I have received many gifts in my life, but this one made me cry. I have an image in my mind of him, not able to speak Mandarin, asking my auntie to take him to the store. I see him telling the owner that his granddaughter is good at English and how proud he was of her, with a big smile on his face and in a language that the owner probably cannot understand. Then he brought that dictionary all the way from the city to place it in my hand. When I recall this memory, I feel that I can't let him down and that I need to do better in English because I love and admire him so much.

Maybe because of my mother and grandfather, I have always loved English and have felt confident of my ability to learn this language well. I chose English as my major when I attended university. My university was in the city of Ningbo, which was three hours driving time from Jinhua city, four hours from my hometown, and five hours from my grandfather's home. While at the university, I would often talk on the phone with my mother, sometimes telling her about my English learning, sometimes just chitchatting. I also wrote letters to my grandfather. One time I told him that I placed number three in an English speech competition and had started to make friends with foreigners with whom I could practise my English. He wrote back:

亲爱的孙女，

。。。知你英文演讲比赛取得三等奖，并结交外国朋友，爷爷奶奶很是欣慰，学习如逆水行舟，不进则退。。。爷爷知你从小喜爱英语，成绩一项优异，爷爷很骄傲，会一直支持你学习英语。。。。

愿你早日回家是盼！

你的爷爷

In English, this means:

Dear granddaughter,

... I heard that you got number three in your English speech competition, and make friends with foreigners, grandfather and grandmother are very happy for you. ... Learning is like rowing upstream: not to advance is to drop back. ... I know that you liked English since you were very little and always did a good job, I am very proud and will always support you ...

I hope I can see you soon.

Your grandfather

When I look back at my letters to my grandfather, I see that most of them record different stages in my learning English at the university. In later years, I have come to appreciate how much effort my grandfather put into writing a letter. My grandfather, eighty years old at the time, would carry a small table and chair outside, put on a pair of thick glasses and start writing with his trembling hand. After writing a first draft, he would read it again, making sure nothing was wrong, and then copy each word to a very clean piece of paper. He would then place it in an envelope, seal it, and mail it. And whenever he got mail from me, he would tell everyone it was from his granddaughter who was at a university in Ningbo, where she was studying English.

1.4 My reason for doing this research

My mother's and my grandfather's stories influenced me deeply, not only in my language learning, but also in other aspects in my life. Their stories about their experience with language are full of sadness and joy, the sadness mostly coming from their early experience, while their joy was mostly because of me. Their stories remind me of how lucky I am to have so many choices. Having chosen to learn English, the support from my family encourages me to do my best because I do not want to let them down. My mother and my grandfather did not even have the opportunity to learn Mandarin well, but I have the opportunity not only to learn Mandarin, but also a foreign language and actually to go to a country where people speak that language. I could never have become the person I am today without my family. Their stories about language and their belief and attitudes towards life have a strong influence on me. They remind me to be strong, not to give up easily, and always to believe in myself.

Every family has stories. My family stories involving my mother and my grandfather—my mother not being able to finish her study and learn Mandarin well, the time and money she invested in my language learning, her understanding of the importance of learning a second language, the sad story of my grandfather's early life, his sorrow at not being able to communicate with his grandchildren, and his letters encouraging me to study English and become a better person—have all had a strong impact on my Mandarin and English learning. These stories have impressed on me what is at stake in language learning. My stories may sound ordinary, but they changed my life. They are what inspired my interest in hearing other people's family stories and understanding how these stories influenced their language learning. Students may not realise the significance of those stories now, but one day they might. According to Gelman and Basboll (2014),

stories are important, not just as teaching tools, but because they are central to how we decide what we believe. If we take stories seriously and think about what makes them work, maybe they can serve us better. In addition, a story is a form of data, a set of facts that can be used to refute existing models or suggest new ones.

1.5 Mandarin as a second language

Around 20% of the world population speaks Mandarin for their daily communication (Shih, Chen, & Li, 2013). Meanwhile, more and more people of non-Chinese heritage are choosing to learn Mandarin as their second language. The statistics from the Chinese Ministry of Education show 330 official institutions teaching Mandarin as a foreign language operating in the world today, with 40,000 foreign students enrolled (Shao, 2015). A number of countries, including Australia, have introduced Mandarin into their primary and secondary school curriculum. The subjects of my research are all primary students in Australia studying Mandarin as a second language.

According to Shoebottom (2016), many factors can influence second language learning, including the student's personality, experience, motivation, native language, and access to native speakers and culture. Much research has already been done on how family support and involvement, family educational levels, and economic status can influence children's second language learning. What is unique about my research is that I am interested in the relationship between family stories and students' Mandarin learning. My focus is on the family language stories that students tell me, including stories that shed light on the bases of their parents' involvement and support, in order to understand how those stories influence their language learning. As qualitative research, it is primarily exploratory, seeking to understand the experience of these students, while collecting, analysing, and arguing for the significance of their stories.

My research was conducted in Sydney, Australia. In September, 2016, I came to Western Sydney University as part of the Research Oriented, Student Engaged, Teacher Education (ROSETE) program to study for my Master of Education degree. As part of this program, I worked at Morning Orchid Public School (a pseudonym) in the Chinese language program. I assisted a Mandarin Teacher named Skylar (also a pseudonym) in a year six classroom, where I conducted two classes each week. I will discuss these classes more in Chapters 3 and 4. Morning Orchid Public School offers bilingual learning, with Mandarin used to teach various subjects in the bilingual classroom.

1.6 Research topic

My research topic focuses on how students think about language, as revealed in the stories they tell about their families and their family histories as related to language. Underpinning this research is an assumption that the values students attach to family stories can contribute to individual and classroom experiences of learning in the second language classroom.

I argue that every student has a unique family language story that includes his or her family origin, family background, and family attitudes to second language education. This study looks at how these aspects of family stories come into play in the student's second language learning. For example, my own family language story includes my grandfather and my mother speaking the local dialect rather than Mandarin, the struggles that they endured, the time my mother spent with me on my Mandarin learning, the dictionary my grandfather bought for me, and the letters he wrote to me. The stories I analyse in this study include not only those told in the family about family members and their history, but also stories students report about their parent's attitudes and involvement in their second language learning and, most importantly, *why* their parents become involved in these ways. For example, my mother and grandfather appreciated the value of education

and language learning especially in large part because of how their own circumstances deprived them of the opportunity to receive a good education. In order to explore how such family stories influence second language learning, the case study method has been chosen, as it enables detailed, in-depth investigation into my research topic (Yin, 2009).

1.7 Research question

My main research question is as follows:

How do students' family language stories and their perception of family origins, background, and attitudes and practices toward language learning relate to the students' learning of a second language?

My research is not particularly concerned with the "truth" of these stories about family origins and backgrounds (something I am not equipped to verify), but rather with how students perceive and understand those stories.

The subsidiary questions in this study include the following:

1. What are the students' family language stories, as understood and represented by the students?
2. How does their understanding influence their learning of the Mandarin language?

Unlike China, Australia is a multicultural society. An adequate historical overview of migration to Australia would start with the 144,815 convicts from Britain who were transported to the Australian colonies between 1788 and 1868. It would also include the mass of migrants who arrived during the gold rush period, as well as in the years following when Australia was seen by many in Europe as a place of "new opportunity." However, the most significant period of migration was after the Second World War, when

hundreds of thousands of Europeans, many displaced by the trauma of war, immigrated to Australia. Many Asians arrived after 1970, again many due to dislocation by war and other adversities (Jayaraman, 2000). The state of New South Wales has received migrants from more different countries than has any other state, a total of 223 countries in all (.id Consulting, 2011). Most of these migrants dwell in the Western Sydney area, which means that my students in Western Sydney are likely to have family histories that take a variety of shapes.

However, when I first introduced my research project to Skylar at Morning Orchid Public School—explaining how it was about the ways that children’s family language histories, backgrounds, policies, and attitudes influence their second language learning—she said that all of her students were white Australians. What she told me made me worry about whether her classroom would provide a sufficiently varied sample for my research. But that changed when I read more about Australia’s history of immigration. Since Australia is a multicultural country with immigrants from all over the world, being a white Australian does not mean one’s ancestors were born and bred here. Perhaps this teacher was unaware of the migration history of Australia or was devaluing the role of history in forming people’s language development. As second or third generation descendants of immigrants, some of these students could very well have fascinating family stories that have influenced their second language learning.

This study was conducted through teaching exercises designed to enhance students’ Mandarin learning as a second language and construct a closer relationship between the student and the subject area. At the same time, these exercises were designed to elicit family stories that could provide the grist for this research. Their thinking about their families—in particular, the stories they tell, the histories they identify, and the values they

attach to the story—can all contribute to and be used as research material to gain insight into individual and collective experiences of learning in the second language classroom.

1.8 Research aim

Family stories and life stories help us to become who we are. Knowing children's family language stories from their storytelling can help us to understand their influence on learning. In addition, encouraging students to talk about their family language stories can help to get them involved in their learning.

The aim of this research is to learn how students understand and represent their family stories and how they influence their second language learning. In particular, it seeks to understand better how primary school students in Western Sydney approach the learning of Mandarin and the influence of family language stories on that learning. Because I am working with a small sample from only one school, this study is not comprehensive and does not seek to be definitive. Moreover, it does not aim to decide the question of what kind of family background or language history best helps children with their second language learning. Rather, in exploring the relationship between the family stories of these students and their second language learning, this study aims at detecting patterns that other researchers might be in a position to test and investigate more rigorously.

1.9 Research significance

How to facilitate and enhance the learning of Mandarin as a second language in Australia is an important question for Australian Mandarin teachers. The pedagogical skills of the teachers and the support and cooperation of the community are both important factors. According to Singh and Han (2014), Mandarin teachers in Australia have in recent years been working hard to find the most suitable way to teach youths and children. There are three obstacles to effective Mandarin teaching: lack of student motivation, shortage of

quality teachers, and shortage of good pedagogy. Mandarin teachers are working to improve their pedagogy and seeking ways to build students' motivation in order to reduce the high dropout rate. To do so, they are thinking about what kind of teaching tools they should use and what sort of environment they should create in the classroom.

In addition to more general studies of theories of second language learning (e.g., Marsden, Mitchell, & Myles, 2013), important research has also been done on Chinese parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance (Mandarin) for their children and their efforts to help their children maintain the heritage language. For example, Lao (2004) researched family attitudes toward Mandarin-English bilingual education and Mandarin language use, focusing on parents' attitudes toward bilingual education for Mandarin-heritage children in an English-speaking country. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) undertook similar research on language attitudes and Mandarin maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the USA, studying the attitudes of Chinese parents and their efforts to promote their children's Mandarin learning. Luo and Wiseman (2000) have suggested that Chinese immigrant children's Mandarin learning in the USA can be influenced by parent-child and grandparent-child cohesion. However, I find no research that has used narratives to investigate the relationship between family language stories and second language learning, particularly in relation to students in this part of Western Sydney, where students have such varied backgrounds and family histories. This research is significant and unique because it seeks to understand children's learning of a second language from the perspective of their perceptions of their families and their histories.

1.10 A note on pronoun usage

Because my interest in this research came about through reflection on how my own motivations to excel at second language learning was instilled by the family stories recounted above, this introduction is much more personal and autobiographical than is

typically found in a Master's thesis. Some readers might be startled by my routine use of the first-person pronoun, both in this introduction and throughout the rest of this thesis, since direct references to oneself are often avoided in scientific and academic writing. But since there is no way to tell one's own story without the use of the word "I," use of the first-person pronoun has been unavoidable in this introduction. And, since I reappear in other sections of the thesis as the auditor of other people's stories, it seems most natural to use the first-person pronoun there as well, especially since a precedent has already been set in this introduction. I hope that my use of the pronoun "I" in narrating how I designed my research and gathered my data will not be taken as an indication that my research lacks rigor and objectivity.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Because my research will be considering how family language stories influence children's attitudes and motivations toward second language learning, there are two main sources of literature for this study:

1. literature on children's attitudes and motivations towards second language learning
2. literature on family influence on children's language learning

2.2 Literature review on children's attitudes and motivations towards second language learning

Attitude and motivation play a prominent role in children's second language learning. Motivation and attitude are always linked (Nikolov, 1999). Gardner and Lambert (1972) suggest two forms of motivation involved in second language learning: instrumental motivation (from practical considerations, such as career advancement) and integrative motivation (from a desire to get to know speakers of the language). Oxford and Shearin (1994), Dörnyei (1994), and Gardner and Tremblay (1994) suggest that, from an educational perspective, these two motivations can also be described as career-oriented motivation and cultural-merging motivation.

According to Masgoret and Gardner (2003), the terms instrumental motivation and career-oriented motivation suggest that a student studies a second language because of job demands, the need to pass an examination, or other practical applications of the language. The terms integrative motivation and cultural-merging motivation reflect the learners' interest in the native speakers of a given language and their culture. The more that the learner knows the history, culture, and people of the second language countries, visits

those countries or countries with similar culture, or goes to the community where the language is spoken, the more successful the learner will be in learning this language. If I, as the learner, possess none of these motivations, it will not be easy for me to learn a foreign language (Cook, 2016).

Nikolov (1999) studied foreign language learning motivation of forty-five Hungarian children for three periods of eight years each: 1977 to 1985, 1985 to 1993, and 1987 to 1995. For each cohort, the author divided the students into three groups according to their ages (six- to eight-year-olds, eight- to eleven-year-olds, and eleven- to fourteen-year-olds, respectively). She found that classroom experience, the teacher's influence, utilitarian reasons, and external reasons all contribute to children's motivation for learning a second language. The influence of classroom experience depends on how students feel about the class, for example, whether they enjoy it or find it easy or hard. Teacher influence also plays an important role in forming students' motivation, depending on how students view the teacher and respond to him or her. Utilitarian reasons pertain to the student's desire to use the language in daily life, now or in the future. A purely external reason might be "because I signed up in the class" (Nikolov, 1999).

As can be seen from Table 1 (developed by Nikolov, 1999), classroom related reasons and teacher related reasons all decrease, while utilitarian reasons come to play a more important role, as the students get older.

Table 1 *Hungarian students' learning motivations*

	Grades 1,2 6-8-year-olds 84 children 154 answers 158 reasons	Grades 3, 4, 5 8-11-year-olds 62 children 169 answers 197 reasons	Grades 6, 7, 8 11-14-year-olds 45 children 134 answers 220 reasons
Classroom- related reasons	96 61%	88 44.6%	93 42.2%
Teacher- related reasons	46 29%	52 26.3%	31 14.2%
External reasons	12 7.5%	22 11.5%	5 2.4%
Utilitarian reasons	4 2.5%	35 17.6%	91 41.2%

(Nikolov, 1999, p. 44)

Instrumental motives, such as utilitarian reasons, seem to emerge around the age of eleven or twelve. Coincidentally, my research participants are between ten and twelve years old, the ages when instrumental motives become significant.

Unlike Nikolov (1999), who does not say much about integrative motivation, Gardner (1968) stresses the role of integrative motivation in second language acquisition.

Gardner's research focuses on French as a second language. In his opinion, attitude and motivation are shaped by interaction with the second language community outside the classroom. Students who emphasize integrative motivation will tend to go to the French-speaking community and will tend to have a positive attitude toward French. Children with an integrative orientation feel positively about learning French and their motivation usually comes from or is strongly influenced by family.

In addition to emphasizing children's attitudes and motivations towards second language learning, Nikolov (1999) and Gardner (1968) both look specifically at the influence of family on children's motivation towards second language learning:

Relationships between the parents' attitudes and the students' orientations suggest that the student's orientation grows out of a family-wide orientation and consequently that to some extent the degree of skill which the student attains in a second language will be dependent upon the attitudinal atmosphere in the home concerning the other linguistic group. (Gardner, 1968, p. 144)

For example, if parents have favourable and positive attitudes toward the French community and culture, and if they regard learning French as valuable, the children will tend to study French and become skilled in speaking the French language. Likewise, if someone in the family has a French background and always says things positive about France, the children will tend to be more motivated in learning French. In short, parental attitudes encourage children's integrative motivation.

Similarly, Nikolov (1999) says of some of the children in his study, who had reached eleven to fourteen years of age, "The family pressure ... was very strong, as their parents wanted them to take an intermediate language proficiency exam after the eighth year" (p. 45). For these children, their parents' utilitarian reasons for second language learning encouraged the children's instrumental motivation to do well in an exam.

Understanding integrative and instrumental motivations is essential to this research. These types of motivation are likely to define a focus for data collection and add insight into data analysis. For example, the questions asked to students as presented on page 53 sought to clarify their integrative and instrumental motivations. In the context of data analysis, I seek to draw correlations between students' learning outcomes and their learning context, as defined by their integrative and instrumental motivations. The value of this approach can be highlighted through the case study of Vann (see Chapter 5), who through exposure to Chinese culture from his grandfather developed a strong integrative motivation for learning Chinese.

2.3 Literature review on family influence on children's second language development

Students' instrumental and integrated motivations towards learning a second language are influenced or determined by their family to some extent, in particular, by such things as "family capital" and "family language ideology."

2.3.1 Family language ideology

Family language ideology can be explained as parental beliefs about and attitudes towards language. Schiffman and Ricento (2006) define language ideology as the beliefs and assumptions about a particular language that reflects the values and patterns rooted in a society's culture. Family language ideology reflects parents' educational experiences and expectations, economic patterns, and interests. According to Tsung (2015), parents' language ideologies play a crucial role in determining their child's language development.

See Figure 1.

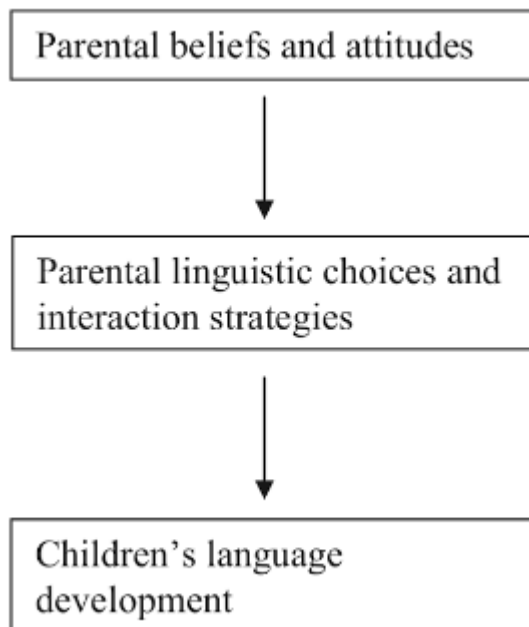


Figure 1. Family language ideology and children's language development (Tsung, 2015, p. 280)

It is important to talk about family language policy when speaking of the parents' language ideology because language ideology has often been considered the driving force of language policy.

2.3.2 Family language policy

According to Curdt-Christiansen (2009), family language policy is “a deliberate attempt at practising a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members” (p. 352). Similarly, King and Fogle (2013) state that family language policy is explicit and contributes to overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members. They provide an integrated overview of research into how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within families. To simplify, family language policy comprises the actions and decisions that a family has made about what languages they should speak in the family and when they should speak them. Clearly, parents' decisions, sense of identity, and language ideology have some impact upon children's second language learning. Therefore, family language policy can be seen to play a very important role in children's language learning.

Tannenbaum (2012), taking a psychoanalytic approach, describes family language policy in terms of “coping and defence” mechanisms. According to Sigmund Freud's (1973) psychoanalytic theory, when facing problems, difficulties, and anxieties, the unconscious mind uses *defence* mechanisms to control, deny, or distort reality in order to maintain one's self-schema. On the other hand, *coping* mechanisms are used when people try to tolerate or reduce the stress from their cognitive and behavioural environment. Basically, family language policy, utilised as “coping and defence” mechanisms, reflects how a family sees its internal status and external reality. For example, if a Chinese family immigrated to Australia, the family might cope with the demands of heritage and the new

environment, but in the meantime it might defend against the external pressure by adopting specific practices of language use.

When the immigrant family arrives in a new country, they encounter difficulties and obstacles. Choosing different mechanisms in family language policy results in different outcomes for language learning. Family language policy could be a *coping* mechanism assisting assimilation into a new environment if, for example, the family decides to speak only the language of the new country because they consider themselves citizens of the new country. On the other hand, a *defence* mechanism might be the attempt to maintain the old culture by choosing to speak the native language and by fostering a high sense of ethnic identity based on where they are from.

Souza (2015) draws similar conclusions about family language policy as “coping and defence” mechanisms, but in a different way. She says that when a family arrives in a new culture, they will either (1) go “native” (and try to assimilate into the majority group), or (2) remain “tourists” (and resist assimilation and therefore maintain only superficial contacts with the local culture), or (3) become “cosmopolitans” (and manage to participate in the majority group without being readily identified as not belonging due to their involvement with a plurality of different cultures) (p. 95).

The above descriptors show that people who are going “native” are actually taking a coping strategy as their family language policy. However, people who are remaining “tourists” are taking a defensive strategy as their family language policy. Parents taking different strategies can be seen to be having different influences upon their children’s heritage language acquisition and development.

Tsung (2015) presents qualitative research on four generations of three Chinese families who had immigrated to Australia. Through interviewing the third generation, collecting

stories of the four generations, and constructing family histories, she explores how family language policy and parent language ideology shape children's language development. The interviews are small-scale but in-depth, which helps us to have a better view of family attitudes and beliefs towards language. Only two families—the Chan family and the Lee family—are presented in the paper because the third family is very close to the Chan family.

The first generation of the Chan family considered themselves “tourists” and took a defensive strategy as their family language policy. The later generations were bilingual and could speak Chinese. However, the first generation of the Lee family considered themselves “natives” and took a coping strategy as their family language policy, trying hard to become Australians. It turns out that all of the later generations can speak only English. In a “defensive strategy” family, family expectations towards their native culture's language are very high, which results in the children becoming bilingual. Tsung (2015) says that from the younger generation, we hear statements like “My father always boasted about his Chinese literacy skills and how well he could write Chinese characters,” and “My father always tells me stories of ancient China and Chinese culture.” In a “coping strategy” family, parents try to demonstrate they are natives in the new culture, so they feel ashamed to teach their children their Chinese dialects. That is why the later generation can speak only English.

2.3.3 Family capital: physical capital, human capital and social capital

Coleman (1988, 1991) believes that family capital has a strong connection with children's educational attainment. Family capital includes physical or financial capital, human capital, and social capital. The family transforms the different capitals into children's education, which influences the education outcomes. In a family, physical or financial capital consists of the material resources, such as salary, savings, and real estate, which

determine the family's socioeconomic standing; human capital is an individual's educational attainment, skills, and experiences; and social capital is the social resources that people can use in the community.

Physical capital has an important impact on children's academic performance. Bourdieu (1977) believes that families with higher socioeconomic standing tend to be more interested in arts and literature, and have more access to cultural activities, such as visiting museums and libraries, listening to concerts, and watching plays. Children who grow up in this kind of family tend to absorb cultural influences and are more likely to be successful in school (Wong 1998). However, Coleman (1988) suggests that physical capital is not the sole thing that decides how a family's home environment will affect children's educational attainment. It is common for a student from a low socioeconomic standing to have high-level literacy in school. Fuligni's (1997) research showed that only a small portion of students' success in school could be attributed to their socioeconomic standing. Similarly, Li's (2007) stresses that the physical capital is not the main cause of attainment in education, especially in second language learning. Li concludes that it is not only the investment of physical capital that can increase success in school.

Arguably, the impact of human capital in the family is related to the influence of parental educational attainment. Purcell-Gates (1995), Rogers (2003), and Li (2004) believe that different parental educational attainments have different influences on children's language and literacy, and different levels of human capital may restrict parental involvement in children's language and literacy. According to McGillicuddy-DeLesi (1982), parents with different educational backgrounds get involved with children's language and literacy in different ways, for example, by reading books to the children, watching certain TV shows with them to help language development, and setting up strict bedtime routines for them. Social capital is important in children's learning too. In some

respects, the impact of social capital is related to parental participation in children's learning at home (Coleman, 1988). It also takes the form of interaction with social circles outside of home, such as with teachers, community members, and other parents.

2.4 The distinctiveness of my research

Many researchers have considered how family capital, family background, family attitudes, and family language histories influence children's language development. However, my research is tangentially different. I am not directly researching family capital, family background, or family attitudes. Instead, what interests me are children's perceptions of the context and process of language learning as revealed through their stories about their families and their language histories. I am interested in how students understand this experience rather than establishing strictly objective criteria. My research is focused on the language stories families tell and the impact these stories have on the second language learning of the children who are recipients of those stories. That is why my research was conducted with school-aged children, ages nine to twelve, instead of adults. By conducting my research in this manner, I expect to get a sense not only of language-learning outcomes but also of the learning dynamic and how the process of learning occurs. Stories of family language histories told by children are not dead histories; they are contemporary perceptions of how things happened in the past. They remain alive and their impact is ongoing.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the theoretical support of this research—it is a qualitative, ethnographic case study underpinned by the theoretical framework of constructivism. It will explain and justify case study as the method used to structure the research and collect the data. The data collection and data analysis strategies will then be explained and justified.

3.2 Theoretical stance: Constructivism

My approach to research is constructivist, rather than positivist. Positivism focuses on measurement of the studied phenomenon. In positivist research, testable hypotheses are produced to be confirmed or disconfirmed through objective investigations. The aim is to understand only those phenomena that can be objectively measured, with the goal of establishing facts that can be used to predict future situations (Crotty, 1998). In contrast, Case and Jawitz (2003), citing Parlett and Hamilton (1977), say that constructivist researchers assume that participants have various experience in the world that contribute to different stories. Constructivism focuses on the ways researchers and participants make sense of their experiences and stories. Researchers gather and reflect upon these experiences and stories instead of unveiling “the truth” or “facts.” They argue that constructivist research can contribute to new and useful understandings of a context and suggest new ways of addressing problems. My research assumes that family language stories will vary from student to student and have an influence on children’s second language learning. Nonetheless, patterns may be discernible in this variety and I hope to bring these to light. These patterns may be helpful in ascertaining the value that students place on language learning.

The research will focus on how students understand and perceive language learning through reference to

- stories of family and language (including stories of family origins, family language histories) gathered from the “family tree map class,” followed by informal conversations based on the maps
- stories of artifacts gathered from the “family treasure class” that contain or reveal aspects of personal and family relationships to language
- deeper insights into family history and language learning gathered through individual interviews.

3.3 A qualitative, ethnographic case study

In the field of education, qualitative research is helpful and effective in understanding, describing, and interpreting people, processes, and experiences (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Ethnography, which is a form of qualitative inquiry, informs the approach to research used in this project. Ethnography describes the “ways of living” of a social group; it is a study of people’s behaviours, habits in natural occurring environments (Heath, 1982). It is a methodology that addresses individual cultures and the human beings within those cultures (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012). Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008) describe it as the study of human interactions, beliefs, habits, and apprehensions that arise in society. Ethnography can describe and interpret what people do in a setting, how they act, and how they understand what they are doing. It is an approach that has become incredibly popular in Education and Second Language Studies, for it captures students’ behaviour and thinking in the various contexts of everyday life (Hornberger, 2009). Through detailed observations and interviews, it provides abundant and comprehensive insights into students’ views and actions. Many educational researchers believe that ongoing and naturally occurring settings have a

significant impact on human behaviour (Green, 1983; Crago, 1992; Hornberger, 1995). Consequently, they believe that ethnography is essential to the study of educational and linguistic behaviour. Such an approach is appropriate to this study because this project seeks to document the culture, perspectives, and practices of a group of students through reference to their storytelling about their personal and family relationships to language and learning.

Case study is popular as a method in education research. It differs from the scientific positivist model, which concentrates on measurement (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2012). Yin (2009) identifies three forms of case study: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. If research questions focus mainly on “what” questions, the case study is more *exploratory*. “Who” and “where” questions (or the derivative “how many” or “how much”) tend to *describe* incidents or phenomena with the goal of predicting outcomes. “How” and “why” questions are more *explanatory* and are likely to lead to the use of experiments and histories. Yin favours a scientific approach and tries to make case study fit into the quantitative research that he is most used to practising. Unlike Yin (2009), Stake (1995) argues that a case study encourages its readers to arrive at a new understanding of their own stories and processes. He uses a social science approach, based on qualitative methods and ways of thinking drawn from ethnography. He likens case study to creating a work of art:

Finishing a case study is the consummation of a work of art ... it is an exercise in such depth, the study is an opportunity to see what others have not yet seen, to reflect the uniqueness of our own lives, to engage the best of our interpretive powers (Stake, 1995, p. 136).

My research fits Stake’s description of a case study because it is interpretative and qualitative. It focusses on what readers can learn from the case.

3.4 Site selection

The research proposal is approved by Human Research Ethics Committee and New South Wales Government (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Morning Orchid Public School, located in North West Sydney, was selected as the research site. The school has a strong Mandarin focus, as every mainstream class is learning Mandarin for forty minutes per week. The Mandarin Bilingual Program at Morning Orchid Public School offers five hours of Mandarin instruction per week to all kindergarten classes and two classes in each year level from one to six. Morning Orchid Public School is one of only four bilingual government schools in NSW. I am assigned to a History class in year six every Tuesdays. The school has seven experienced Mandarin teachers, one of whom (Skylar) I assist during the days I am assigned to this school. Having been asked to conduct a couple sessions of this class, I will teach a “family tree map class” and a “family treasure class.” Both of these classes will be described further in this chapter.

3.5 Participants

This study concentrates on relatively small samples – initially thirty school students from a stage three class (year six). An information sheet and consent forms for the thirty students will be sent home with them for their parents (see Appendices 3 and 5). After commencing as an observation of the class as a whole, this study will gradually narrow its focus to a five to ten of students chosen to reflect the language history diversity within the class. This number of students is manageable and the documentation of this smaller group will enable greater depth of analysis. This smaller group is expected to have an interesting variety of stories that will enable more detailed study. Following the classroom observation and once parental consent has been obtained (see Appendices 4 and 6); selected students will be invited to participate in individual interviews. By documenting

students' family language stories, I hope to gain insights into family beliefs, attitudes, and opinions towards second language learning and find connection between these stories and the students' Mandarin achievements and attitudes in class. It is hoped that some patterns of experience connecting family language stories with students' second language learning will emerge.

3.6 Data collection

It is proposed that data will be collected over one ten-week term. As said, I will use a variety of data collection methods, including class observations and interviews. These different methods should provide in-depth insight into my research topic, namely, how students' perspectives on their family language histories influence their learning of the Chinese language in school.

3.6.1 Classroom observation

Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as “the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study” (p. 79). Observation methods are useful to the researcher in various ways. The researcher can write down notes when students tell their family stories, answer questions, acquire knowledge, or discuss questions. I intend to observe the whole class initially and then to focus on the chosen students in subsequent weeks, paying particular attention to their work samples, classroom performance, and their progress in acquiring vocabulary. The students being observed will not be made aware that I am observing them. This, as Kawulich (2005) says, “reduces the incidence of ‘reactivity’ or people acting in a certain way when they are aware of being observed” (p. 35).

In this research, classroom observation includes:

1. Observation (with notes taken) of the two specialized classes I will deliver:

- a. Week one (family tree map class)
 - b. Week three (family treasure class)
2. Observation (with notes taken) of informal conversations with students in the morning reading group activity between weeks one and seven
 3. Observation of students' in-class accomplishments in Chinese language and their achievement in a Mandarin assessment process (according to the HSK [Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi] exam, also known as the Chinese Proficiency Test)

Morning Orchid Public School is a sophisticated school with a mature bilingual program. The Chinese class to which I am assigned every Tuesday is taught by Skylar. I am with the class from 9:25 am to 1:25 pm on each of my days at Morning Orchid School. The class begins with a morning reading group, a forty-minute activity focusing on basic language learning. I have been assisting in this activity. Next comes a history class taught in both English and Chinese. Skylar does most of the history teaching, with me present there to observe the class and assist when needed. It is hard for me to play a more substantial role in the history class because Skylar has already written the plan for the class for the term. Being a very experienced teacher, she prefers to lead the class in her own way.

The two teaching sessions that I have been allocated, totally ninety minutes, are scheduled for weeks one and three in term four. They will occur after the morning reading group activity. My research will be integrated into a history lesson that I will conduct. I will seek to draw my students into an appreciation of history by inviting them to reflect on their family histories, with particular attention to their language histories. My teaching session will draw attention to living history: China today as a consequence of its past and Chinese language and culture as integral components of that past. I want my students to

understand that the present is a consequence of the past – of history – and to appreciate how learning about the past can help us understand our situation here and now, whether in China, Australia, or elsewhere in the world. The relationship of past and present underlies both of the activities I have designed for the class, as it serves both teaching and research purposes.

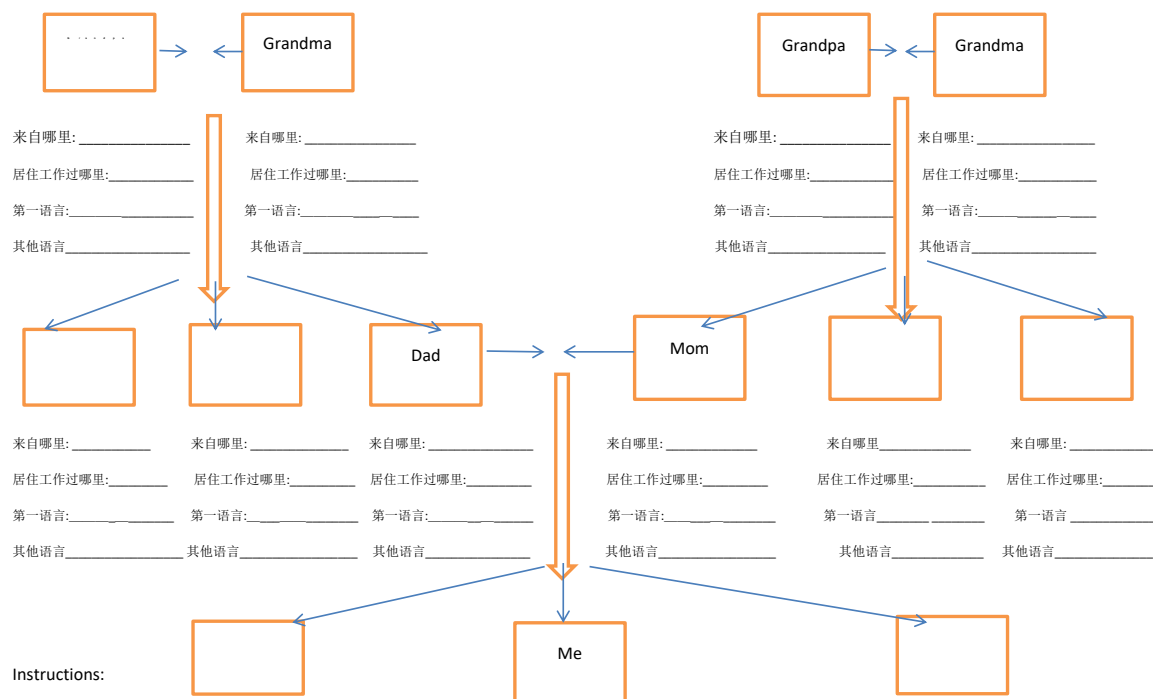
Class 1: Family tree map class (week one)

The following is an outline of the design of the week one class:

At the beginning of the class, I will introduce myself through my own stories, explaining that I am doing so because history is about our stories. I will show a photo of my whole family, introduce my family members in Mandarin, and provide some background on their language histories and jobs using both Mandarin and English. Using Google Maps, I will show the location of my hometown in China, as well as my grandparents' hometown, which is a forty-minute drive from my own house. I will explain that even though I live close to my grandparents, our dialects are different. I will then introduce the students to the new word “dialect” (方言) and its Chinese meaning.

I will then give each student a pre-prepared family language tree map. This work sheet will have some words in English but most will be in Chinese. I will explain the Chinese words on the map (some of which the students will already be familiar with) to ensure they can recognize them. The students will be encouraged to take the family language tree map home and seek the help of family members in filling in the blank spaces.

This family language tree map and my instructions to the students are shown in Figure 2.



1. Please fill in the family language and culture tree in English
2. Though you are supposed to recognize most of the Chinese words, here are the translations.
来自哪里(lái zì nǎ lǐ): In what country was he or she born?

居住工作过哪里(jū zhù gōng zuò guò nǎ lǐ): In what countries did he or she live or work?

第一语言(dì yī yǔ yán): What's his or her first language?

其他语言(qí tā yǔ yán): What's other languages could he or she speak?

3. If you have uncles/ aunts, sisters/ brothers, fill them in the blank spaces (add boxes if necessary).
4. If you know your great grandparent's language and culture stories, please add this information on a separate sheet.
5. You can complete this family tree with the help of your parents.
6. Write a brief summary here about your family language and culture tree. Add any information that you and your family think important. For example, if some family members know many languages, please note how fluent they are with each one.

Summary:

Figure 2. Family tree map example

Class 2: Family treasure class (week three)

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) once said, “Tell me and I forget, teach me and I remember, involve me and I learn.” Involving students in classroom activities and discussion is an essential part of education, offering opportunities for students to reveal

their thoughts and feelings about issues of significance. It is with this in mind that I designed the family treasure class. Fillmore (2000), Leseman and Van Tuijl (2006), and Peterson and Heywood (2007) note the importance of developing social capital by sharing past experiences and telling true stories to children – sharing social memories and family stories. A picture, a painting, or a letter can be part of those family stories. Such items or artefacts, designated as “treasures,” can be influential in and reflective of children’s language learning.

In week three, I intend to bring my “family treasure” to class. In this context, a family treasure is an item of some kind that is valued for its contribution to a students’ learning of a second language. Students will be invited to bring their “treasures” to the class (provided they are not expensive or fragile) and to explain to their classmates how and why it has influenced their approach to second language learning. We will then discuss the influence of this personal or family treasure. Students will be asked to begin by their stories by saying in Chinese: “This treasure is important to me because...” I will record key moments of this class in a reflective journal during free time after class. Table 2 is an example of the class observation template.

Table 2 *Example of class observation template*

Time: Date: Class: Number of Participants:	
Description of class and activity:	Reflection on activities and class:

Personal rationale for this activity

My grandfather bought me many things in my life, but the English dictionary he bought for me is my most treasured gift from him because it continues to encourage me to study English and has brought me to teach and learn in Australia. Stories about such treasures can be fascinating, powerful, unique, and revealing. I assume that some students have similar “treasures” that they will be keen to talk about in class.

Observation activity one: Informal conversational interviews with students about their family language tree maps, conducted during the morning reading groups

During morning reading activity, the class is divided into four groups. There are four learning activities, each designed to take ten minutes, and students can move from one to another. Activities include reading, writing, playing iPad games, and making Chinese sentences. Unlike the history class, morning reading group activities are designed to strengthen students’ basic Chinese language foundations. From week two to week seven, I plan to speak to the five to ten students individually in the morning reading group on a weekly basis, helping them to work on and provide additional information about their family tree map, using Chinese phrases like “我的爸爸来自” (my father is from ...) and “他会说” (he can speak ...).

After students finish introducing the family tree map in Chinese, I intend to ask questions to learn more about their stories, without a predetermined set of structured questions. As Turner (2010) points out, “the questions come from ‘in the moment experiences’ as a means for further understanding or clarification of what the researcher is experiencing at a particular moment” (p. 2). In the informal conversational approach, the researcher does not ask any specific questions, but relies on interaction with the participants to guide the interview process (McNamara, 2009). It is an “off the top of your head” style of interview,

in which the researcher constructs questions as he or she interacts with the interviewee.

Following each of these interviews and conversations, I will write notes to record significant moments that arise in the exchange.

The information collected from the family treasure class, the family tree map class, and the informal conversations in the morning reading group will form the backdrop to the individual interviews that will then be conducted. These are designed to enable follow up questions that will assist in more detailed analyses.

Observation activity two: Students' Mandarin assessment according to the HSK test

Wernimont and Campbell (1968) have suggested that test results can help with the prediction of academic performance. HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi), also known as the Chinese Proficiency Test, is an international standardized exam that tests and rates Chinese language proficiency. It evaluates Chinese language abilities for non-native Chinese speakers for using the Chinese language in their daily, academic, or professional lives. In Morning Orchid Public School, the Chinese curriculum has been developed in accordance with the requirements of the HSK test, which students might take in high school. I will choose eighty characters from HSK vocabulary lists, ask students to circle the characters that they know, and have them make sentences using those characters. Since they will have been exposed to all of these characters in the last two years, making sentences with them will test their achievement in Mandarin. Because making sentences is part of their schoolwork, this assignment will give me direct insight into their Mandarin achievement. The test sheet I will use is copied below.

姓名_____

班级_____

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write *as many sentences as you can*. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____

Figure 3. HSK test

3.6.2 Interviews

Interviews are the most common method of data collection used in qualitative research.

Silverman (2000) says that compared to quantitative method questionnaires, interviewing provides a deeper understanding of social phenomena.

Once I have learned about my students' family language histories and gathered other information about them through classroom observations and language achievement tests, I will conduct interviews to ask follow up questions. My challenge will be to assess the relationship between students' family language histories and their interest and achievement in learning Mandarin.

Five to ten students with different family language stories will be chosen and invited to attend individual interviews at the end of term four. The reason for choosing five to ten participants is to have an interesting variety of stories that will enable more detailed study. In addition, my selection will be guided by similarities and differences in their stories and situations that strike me as particularly fruitful and illuminative to explore, compare, and contrast. These students will be chosen based on keywords gleaned from their stories that indicate their situations may be especially representative, illustrative, or both, as further explained in section 4.3. Each interview will last between ten and fifteen minutes, will be held at recess or lunchtime, and will be audio recorded.

After three terms of assisting in the class, I will have established a comfortable relationship with the students, which should help them to speak candidly about their attitudes and experiences. The advantage of an interview, as opposed to a survey, is that it can be conducted in a relaxed atmosphere, which should help the students to feel comfortable telling me what they really think. Also, while the questions will have similarities in content and structure to those used in class, the interview schedules will be tailored to each interviewee, according to his or her family language story. This approach is intended to ensure that the interviews lend themselves to productive conversations that can yield a richer understanding of the students' attitudes, beliefs, and experiences.

According to Turner (2010), “Creating effective research questions for the interview process is one of the most crucial components to interview design” (p. 2). Effective questions will allow me to dig into the experiences and/or knowledge of the participants in order to gain a maximum amount data from the interviews. McNamara (2009) offers several recommendations for the creation of effective research questions for interviews. These include the following elements:

- wording should be open-ended (respondents should be able to choose their own terms when answering questions)
- questions should be as neutral as possible avoid wording that might influence answers (e.g., evocative, judgmental wording)
- questions should be asked one at a time
- questions should be worded clearly (this includes knowing any terms particular to the program or the respondents’ culture)

Similarly, Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook (1990) suggest two general principles of interviews:

1. Questions should move from general to more specific questions.
2. Question order should be relative to importance of issues in the research agenda.

Since the five to ten students will all have different stories, some questions will be the same for each student, while other questions will differ from individual to individual.

Here are the interview questions that will be asked of all interviewees.

1. What is your parents’ attitude towards Chinese language?
2. How does it influence your study?
3. Are your parents involved with your Mandarin learning?

4. How do you feel about their involvement?
5. Will you learn a third language in the future?

The different questions tailored to each individual will be determined at a latter point in the research process. These will be detailed in Chapter 4.

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis involves preparing and organizing the data for analysis, then reducing it into themes through coding, and finally presenting it in figures, tables, or a discussion (Creswell, 1998). Wolcott (1994) suggests that an analysis strategy of sketching ideas should highlight certain information in description, while the displaying of the data should allow easy comparison of cases.

In accordance with Creswell (1998), my data analysis and representation will follow the process indicated in Table 3.

Table 3 *Process for data analysis*

Data managing	Create and organize files for data
Reading	Read through text
Describing the data into codes and themes	Identify key words
Interpreting the data	Using keywords, identify themes
Representing the data	Present in-depth picture of the cases using narrative.

Information will be collected from the family tree map class, family treasure class, and observations of informal conversation. This information will be put in an appendix, showing each student's family language story. I will extract keywords from the stories, look for similarities and differences, use these keywords to identify themes, and then compare these findings with their Chinese achievement according to the HSK test to draw conclusions about how these family language stories are related to their second-language Mandarin learning. (See Chapter 4 for details of my data analysis.)

3.8 Trustworthiness

I will spend a year with the students at Morning Orchid Public School, which will allow prolonged engagement with and observation of my research participants. My aim is to cultivate a relationship built on trust and honesty, so research insights can be arrived at with active student participation. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. From the interviews, informal conversations, and class observations, I will identify the emerging themes that I will elaborate in the narrative of my research findings. Validity and reliability will be emphasized throughout these procedures. In addition, pseudonyms will be assigned to the participants to cloak their identities.

Chapter 4: Class Observations, Data Analysis, and Interview Questions

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes how I implemented my methodology. Specifically, it describes my observations and what happened in my two classes and in the informal conversations in the morning reading group. Appendix 7 collects the salient details of the students' stories and shows how I analysed them using keywords. This chapter also explains how I chose my six main research participants using the keywords I assigned to their stories and lists some of the questions I asked in the follow-up interviews.

4.2 Class observations

4.2.1 The family tree map class

The family tree map class was conducted during week one. As planned (see Chapter 3), I started by introducing my hometown, my family members, and the dialects that they speak. The dialect my grandparents speak is slightly different from my own, since I grew up in a town with a different dialect, even though these two towns are only a forty-minute drive from each other. I informed students that there are hundreds of thousands of dialects in China. Two people may not be able to understand each other's dialect, even if they live geographically close to each other. Even though Mandarin is the official language of mainland China, my grandparents cannot speak Mandarin. My parents, on the other hand, *can* speak Mandarin but they rarely do so. I could not speak Mandarin until I was eight years old, when I began primary school. In the course of describing my background, I taught my students some Chinese words and phrases, such as “方言” (fang yan) (dialect), “我的爸爸/妈妈来自” (wo de ba ba/ ma ma lai zi ...) (my father/mother is from ...), and

“他/她会说” (ta/ta hui shuo ...) (he/she can speak ...).” The students seemed quite interested in my stories.

Surprisingly, after hearing my story, the Mandarin teacher, Skylar, started to tell the class her own story about learning different languages, which I had not previously heard. She is from Malaysia and spoke only Malay with her family before starting school. When she started school, she was taught English and some – but not much – Mandarin. She learned more spoken Mandarin from the Chinese children she played with in her neighbourhood. Her spoken Mandarin is very standard without any foreign accent. In those early years, however, she could not read many Mandarin words.

Students were fascinated with these stories and eager to tell me their own stories.

Interestingly, most of the students are more than “just” Australians. The majority have European, Asian, African, New Zealander, or other backgrounds, though in most cases you cannot tell just from looking at their faces. I discovered that I had two children of Chinese descent in my class, Vann and Sheena, though they were both born in Australia. Both of Sheena’s parents are Chinese; Vann is half-Chinese, half-Australian.

Another student, Jennifer, is originally from South Africa. In her family, one or two languages besides English are spoken by her parents, uncles, aunties, and grandparents, (though she did not say exactly which languages). However, Jennifer can speak only English. Peter reported that his great-grandfather had travelled around the world in his twenties and could speak many languages. Daniel said that his brother is in Thailand learning Thai. I gained much more information about family backgrounds than I had expected. After the class, I distributed the family tree map worksheet mentioned in Chapter 3 and students returned it to me in the following weeks.

I believe the class was successful. Students learned something about me and also learned more about their Mandarin teacher, Skylar. Skylar's language stories indicate the benefit of being in a multicultural setting for language learning, as well as the influence of friends, neighbours, and families in second or third language learning. In addition, I learned much from the students. Every student in my class was born in Australia, but their families come from all parts of the world. Before I conducted this research, I was warned by Skylar that "most of these students are white; they are all Australians." However, this class revealed that in that sea of "white" faces there were many students whose family members have unique and interesting backgrounds.

4.2.2 The family treasure class

The family treasure class was an important opportunity for students to reveal their thoughts and feelings about issues of significance. Students were asked to bring to class something related to their second language learning. Not many students brought a "treasure," however. Five students were absent that day and, among the twenty-five who attended, only five brought something. Table 4 records the observations I made after the class.

Table 4 *Class observation*

<p>Time: 45 minutes Date: Week Three Class: Family treasure class in Year Six Number of Participants: 25</p>	
<p>Description of class and activity:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduce my family language treasure (5 minutes) 2. Teach new words like “treasure,” “important,” and “because” in Mandarin (20 minutes) 3. Students talk in front of the class (15 minutes) 4. Conclusion (5 minutes) 	<p>Reflection on activities and class:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jennifer brought a photo of her family. In the photo are her mother, father, grandparents, uncles, and aunties. She said that everyone in her family can speak at least two languages. She also brought it up in Week One’s family tree map class and in the morning reading group. Today she mentioned it again. She thinks knowing multiple languages is very “cool.” 2. Peter brought a hat and a diary. The hat is from his great-grandfather. His great-grandfather travelled around the world in his twenties and learned to speak four languages. His mother said his great-grandfather probably is one of the greatest people in the world. Peter never met him; all the stories he told were heard from his mother and his grandfather. His great-grandfather brought the hat when he was traveling to Africa. Then it passed to Peter’s mother. The diary Peter brought to the class is from his mother. His mother went to China for her holiday with her colleagues three years ago. She wrote down everything they did every day and was amazed by how fascinating China is. His mother wants to go back to visit China. Peter said he wants to go to China and so he needs to learn Chinese well. 3. David brought a pen with a Peking Opera head on it. It is a gift from his Chinese buddy. He learned Chinese from his buddy when he came to Australia in an exchange program. David also brought an elephant statue that his brother bought him from Thailand. His brother went to Thailand for traveling and stayed there for a year. He was studying Thai and teaching English there. David said he really enjoyed hanging out with his Chinese buddy.

	<p>He wants to learn Chinese so he can go to China to see his buddy again.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Sheena brought a t-shirt that her grandmother bought for her in China. Her grandmother speaks only Chinese and Sheena needs to speak Chinese to talk to her grandmother. 5. Mark brought a fan from China, on which it says “不到长城非好汉,” meaning: “If you haven’t been to the great wall, then you are not able to be called a hero.” He said he got it from his grandfather. His grandfather really likes Chinese culture. His grandfather taught English in China for a year and wants to go back to China again. Mark wants to go to China too.
--	---

All of Jennifer’s family members are bilingual and some are multilingual, with the exception of Jennifer herself. She mentioned the linguistic prowess of her family a few times, which is a sign of how proud she is of being part of a family so adept at languages. Peter is also proud that his great-grandfather could speak so many languages.

Peter’s mother acquired a very positive attitudes towards China after having visited the country. Her diary of the trip fed Peter’s enthusiasm to learn Chinese and go to China himself. Mark’s grandfather is also fascinated with China, which makes Mark wants to visit the country.

David’s Chinese buddy has a major influence on David’s Mandarin learning.

4.2.3 Informal conversations with thirty students in the morning reading group activity from week one to week seven

Informal conversations were conducted during the morning reading group activity on Tuesday from week one to week seven. These conversations served three purposes:

1. They helped students to reinforce their learning by using Chinese sentences.
2. They allowed me to ask general questions of each student to get some perspectives on the relationship between that child's family and his or her Chinese learning
3. They allowed me to ask more specific and detailed questions of some students, guided by the family tree maps and information uncovered in conversation.

After the family tree map class, I found time to have informal conversations with each student in the classroom. Referring to the information on their maps, I encouraged them to use Chinese sentences starting with the following expressions:

- “我的爸爸/妈妈/爷爷/奶奶来自” (wo de ba ba/ma ma/ye ye/nai nai lai zi ...)
(My father/mother/grandfather/grandmother is from ...)
- “他/她会讲” (ta/ta hui shuo ...) (He/she can speak...)
- “他/她住在” (ta/ta zhu zai ...) (He/she lives in...)
- “他/她曾住在” (ta/ta ceng zhu zai...) (He/she used to live in...)

The students were encouraged to use Chinese to describe where their family members came from, what languages they can speak, where they have lived, and where they live now. I also asked some structured general questions during the informal conversation to find out parents' attitudes towards and involvement with children's language learning, such as:

- What is your families' attitude towards the Chinese language?
- Are your parents involved with your Mandarin learning?

Besides the structured general questions, the family tree maps and introductions gave me ideas for some more specific questions to ask particular students. As family backgrounds vary from student to student, different types of questions needed to be asked of different students. Some students' parents or grandparents immigrated to Australia, so I asked about their immigration stories. Some students' family members can speak more than one language, so I asked how many they could speak, what languages were spoken at home, whether anyone in the family was learning another language, and other questions about their family's linguistic practices and interests.

To get more detailed information, I asked questions that had not been prepared in advances, since I wanted to respond in the moment to what the students told me.

Unstructured conversation can provide a great breadth of data (Doody & Noonan, 2013).

What I heard in the moment often inspired the questions I decided to ask. For example, when Vann said “我的妈妈来自 Vietnam” (wo de ma ma lai zi Vietnam) (My mother was from Vietnam), I followed up with this question: “At week one, you introduced your mother as Chinese. Could you please explain?” Vann then started recounting stories about his family's experience belonging to an ethnic minority in Vietnam, how his grandfather immigrated from Vietnam, and how these experiences shaped his family's sense of identity as being Chinese.

I took notes on each student. Some participated in more than one conversation with me. Some were very forthcoming, which helped me to gather more information. Others did not say much, which is why I needed to conduct individual interviews with them after they were chosen as subjects in my research.

4.3 Data analysis and follow up interview questions

In Appendix 7, I introduce the thirty students I observed and report on my observations in class and in informal conversations during the morning reading group activity. From their stories, I extracted keywords, which I then used to identify the students whose family language stories invited deeper analysis.

Since my research is a qualitative, ethnographic case study, my initial plan was not to identify all thirty students as my research subjects, nor to interview them all. Rather than seeking a random sample or attempting to get as many research subjects as possible, my research aims at description and explanation of a small set of specially chosen cases. From the keywords of these thirty students (see Appendix 7), I identified three pairs of students whose situations exhibited similarities and differences that struck me as fruitful and illuminative to explore. To obtain additional information for deeper analysis, it was necessary to conduct follow-up interview with only four of the six main participants,. My comparisons of the six participants yielded three distinct themes, each of which is the subject of a chapter (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7).

4.3.1 Vann and Sheena: Chinese background

Among these thirty students, I uncovered several pairs of students who are both similar to and different from each other in ways that invite further investigation. For example, Vann and Sheena are both of Chinese descent, were both born and bred in Sydney, and have extremely interesting but contrasting family immigration stories. These are summarised in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5 *Vann's grandfather and Sheena's parents*

Vann's grandfather	Sheena' parents
---------------------------	------------------------

Background	Chinese; spent first half of his life in Vietnam	Chinese; came to Australia as young adults
Reason for immigrating	Persecution, refugees	Make a life for themselves and stay in this country
Sense of Chinese ethnic identity	High	Low

Table 6 *Vann and Sheena*

	Vann	Sheena
Background	Half Chinese and half Australian	Chinese
Ethnic self-identification	Chinese-Australian	Australian
Sense of Chinese ethnic identity	High	Low
Learning Chinese in the future	Keep learning	Switch to French
Chinese achievement	See Chapter 5	
Thoughts about China	See Chapter 5	

Vann and Sheena differ in the extent to which their Chinese ethnic identity matters to them. Like his grandfather, Vann’s sense of Chinese ethnic identity is high. Sheena’s sense of Chinese ethnic identity, on the other hand, is quite low, which probably reflects the attitude of her parents. This left me wondering about the relationship between family attitudes toward Chinese ethnicity and the children’s sense of Chinese ethnic identity, as well as about the relationship between the children’s sense of Chinese ethnic identity and their attitudes toward China and Chinese language learning. Thus, from the keyword “Chinese immigration” emerged the theme “Chinese ethnic identity and children’s second language learning”.

Once Vann and Sheena were chosen as my subjects, I researched them further research, looking into their Mandarin achievement and inquiring about their attitudes towards China and Chinese language. A follow-up interview was conducted with these questions:

1. Have you ever been to China?
2. Do you want to go to China?
3. What do you think of China?
4. What do you think of Chinese people?
5. What do you think of Chinese culture?
6. What do you think of learning Chinese as a second language?

When I examined the initial keywords, I found that many students' families immigrated from other countries. But Vann's and Sheena's stories stood out due to their Chinese background, as well as the way they each represented a different kind of immigration experiences. Consequently, I did no further research on any of the other immigrant stories.

4.3.2 Peter and Jennifer: Multilingual family members

Peter's and Jennifer's keywords drew my attention because they have interesting family language stories: they both admire other family members who are multilingual. Their stories are summarised in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7 *Peter's great-grandfather and Jennifer's family*

	Peter's great-grandfather	Jennifer's family
Background	Travelled around the world Learned different languages Saw and experienced different cultures	Came from South Africa Bilingual (Afrikaans and English)
The reason for being multilingual	Helpful for travel	Helpful in native settings. i.e., talking with families and friends

Table 8 *Peter and Jennifer*

	Peter	Jennifer
The reasons for admiring multilingual family member(s)	Admires the experience of traveling to different places and experiencing different cultures	It's cool!
Influence of multilingual family member(s)	Wants to learn Chinese for traveling to China and learning China culture	Wants to learn eight languages
Learning Chinese in the future	Keep learning Chinese	Switch to Spanish
Chinese achievement	see Chapter 6	

Peter's great-grandfather learned several languages in order to travel and experience different cultures, inspiring in Peter a desire to travel and learn languages as well. The first country he wants to visit is China because he is learning Chinese. As for Jennifer, her family being bilingual makes her feel special as part of a "cool" family. She wants to learn eight languages in the future because she also wants to be cool. As she told me, being bilingual is "cool," but being multilingual is even "cooler."

Peter and Jennifer offer an illuminating contrast because, while both Peter and Jennifer both admire their multilingual family members, their admiration influences their language learning in different ways. I chose these two to research children's admiration of

multilingual family members and its effect on their Mandarin learning. Table 9 shows the questions I asked them in the follow-up interviews:

Table 9 *Peter's and Jennifer's interview questions*

	Interview questions
Peter	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where did you learn all these stories about your great-grandfather from? 2. Why do you think your great-grandfather can speak so many languages? 3. What do you think are the advantages of being multilingual? 4. You mentioned that you wanted to go to China, so what do you think about China?
Jennifer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the main language you speak at home? 2. Why is your family involved with so many Indian activities? 3. You mentioned that you are interested in learning eight languages; so what are the languages you want to learn? 4. Do you think you may learn all eight languages or only some of them in the future? 5. You mentioned that you will learn a different language when you go to high school, so does that mean you are going to drop Mandarin? 6. What do you think of being multilingual?

4.3.3 Mark and Elva: Family parental involvement

Mark's and Elva's cases show both similarities and contrasts as well. Neither child has any Chinese relatives and both have been in the bilingual class for six years. However, their parents' attitudes towards China, especially Chinese culture, are very different and their involvement in their child's Mandarin learning is also very different (as indicated in Tables 10 and 11).

Table 10 *Mark's family and Elva's family*

	Mark's Family	Elva's Family
Have they ever been to China?	Grandfather used to live in China Mother went to China once	Never been to China
Attitudes towards China	Very Positive Beautiful country, beautiful food	China is alright
Attitudes towards Chinese culture	Grandfather loves Chinese culture, so does Mark's mother	Not exactly interested

Table 11 *Mark and Elva*

	Mark	Elva
Parents attitudes towards child's Mandarin learning	Curious Positive Happy	Happy, enthusiastic
Parents involvement with child's Mandarin learning	Follow up by actions: 1. Asking questions 2. Learning from the child 3. Doing Chinese research together	Follow up by words 1. Saying "well done" 2. Not asking the meaning of words
Chinese-speaking opportunity provided by parents	Provided: 1. Eating in Chinese restaurant and encouraged to order in Chinese 2. Hanging out with Chinese-speaking grandfather	Not really provided: 1. Eating in Chinese restaurant, but not encouraged to order food in Chinese 2. Has Chinese neighbours but never talks to them
Learning Chinese in the future	Keep learning	Switch to Spanish
Chinese achievement	See Chapter 7	

Mark and Elva were chosen as subjects to allow me to study the relationship between their family language stories, their family involvement, and their success at Mandarin learning.

I was able to get all the information I needed from Mark and Elva during their morning reading group, so no follow-up interviews with them were necessary.

Chapter 5: Chinese Parental Ethnic Identity and Children's Native Language Heritage (as a Second Language)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes two students' family language stories and how their different stories influence their Mandarin (as a second language) learning. Vann and Sheena are two students with Chinese ancestry. Their family language stories start with the immigration stories of their grandfather and parents respectively and show the influence of the preceding generation's sense of ethnic identity on the present generation. After learning their family immigration stories, I found that in a foreign country the ethnic identity of parents will influence children's ethnic identity and motivation for learning their parents' native language as a second language, and that those different ethnic identities are shaped by different personal histories, as well as the wider historical context.

5.2 Sheena's parent's immigration story

Sheena's parents are both from China. They met in high school in Shanghai. While in China, they heard many good things about Australia, as well as stories about people who made big money and lived happily there. They were curious about Australia and decided to travel there to see a different world and perhaps make a fortune. However, the only way that they could easily obtain a visa was to study English in Australia as language students. Unable to afford the expensive tuition, they had to sell some of their furniture at home and borrow money from their relatives, with the promise to return the money as soon as possible after settling in Australia. They had already learned English in high school and in 1988, when they first landed in Sydney airport, their goal was very clear – to stay in this lucky land and make money. They later became Australian citizens and had two children here.

To understand their experience and how it influenced their sense of ethnic identity, we must consider it against the background of the wave of Chinese immigration to Australia of which they were a part.

5.2.1 The background of the immigration story

In Australia

In the mid-1980s, years before students from the People's Republic of China began coming to Australia in large numbers, Australia received Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Indochina (many as refugees), and other southeast Asian countries. At the time, there were only around 200,000 Chinese immigrants in Australia (Coughlan, 2001; Jordens, 2001). However, in the late 1980s, tens of thousands of PRC Chinese came to Australia as students. In 1989, Chinese students in Australia numbered 15,000 and, following Prime Minister Bob Hawke's outraged response to the Tiananmen Square massacre, almost all of them were given a four-year temporary residency permit (Jupp, 1991; Cronin, 1982; Birrell, 1994, 1996). Later, these students were all allowed to stay permanently in Australia as a result of the decision of Prime Minister Paul Keating in 1993.

It was only in the mid-1980s, when Australia set up the English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students scheme (ELICOS), that students from Mainland China started coming to Australia in large numbers. As Jupp (1991) mentions, among the 15,000 students, 8,600 were ELICOS students, who were responsible for their own expensive tuition. There were also a small number of postgraduate students or scholars, sponsored by the Mainland Chinese government to study in Australia.

ELICOS, instituted in 1986 and intended to "export" English-language education by enrolling students coming to Australia, was seen as a foreign exchange earner (Wang,

1987; Wang and Lai, 1987; Marginson, 1997). In the beginning, only a few hundred PRC nationals came to take different ELICOS courses. According to Fung and Chen (1996):

Although their number by no means dominated the overseas student market in Australia at the time, the good news they brought back home and the growing interest of many young Chinese in studying overseas, along with Australia's efforts to attract more students from Asian countries to take its ELICOS courses, resulted in a steady flow of PRC nationals to Australia. (p. 6)

In China

In 1977, as China was still recovering from the aftermath of Culture Revolution, President Deng Xiaoping officially reinstated the National Higher Education Entrance Examination, making academic accomplishment a condition for entering the university system. In 1978, he instituted the "Reform and Opening-up Policy," which opened up China to foreign investment and gave permission for entrepreneurs to start businesses. Educational exchanges with Western countries were restored as part of this policy. Western culture started to flow into China as schools introduced English language studies to students. As a major city in China open to the West, Shanghai was rapidly modernized. It was here that Sheena's parents first learned English.

In 1984 and 1985, as a direct result of China's "Opening-up Policy," a new social phenomenon emerged, dubbed the "tide of going abroad" (Hu, 1987; Luo, 1988; Gao, 2001).

5.2.2 Tide of going abroad: Government-sponsored students

Those swept up in the tide of going abroad can be divided into two groups. The first consisted of elite students chosen by the government to study abroad. Financed by the government, they were mostly Masters students, PhD students, university scholars or, as they referred to themselves, degree students (Jia, 2013). Their majors, the countries where

they studied, and the length of their stay abroad were all controlled by the Chinese authorities. This studying abroad under a government sponsorship program was part of the strategy of Chinese government to revitalize China through education, technology, and science. Those chosen were usually the most excellent students, having passed a tough selection process that involved English-language examination and training, political screening, and then further training (Orleans, 1988; Qian, 2002). Sponsored students were all required to make frequent contact Chinese government departments and offices and report about their life and study abroad. Their goal was to gain knowledge from the host country and to serve China when they went home. In late 1989, around 30 percent of PRC international students were sponsored students.

5.2.3 Tide of going abroad: Self-funded students and ELICOS

In late 1984, the Chinese State Council approved a new policy on foreign education, permitting self-funded overseas study, which it put in place in 1985. At almost precisely the same time, ELICOS was established in Australia, relaxing restrictions on many self-funded students. They could come to Australia regardless of work status or age, as long as they had an admission certificate and provided an assurance that they had sufficient money to live in the country. That is when the Australia craze or “fever” began in China.

In 1986, Australia established numerous English-language schools and started to enrol foreign students. As potentially the biggest market in the world, China became a major target for Australian ELICOS colleges. Several colleges even had consulting offices in large Chinese cities like Shanghai. The tuition was AU \$5,000 for a half-year term in Australia (Wang, 1987; Wang & Lai, 1987).

In late 1986, after the ELICOS scheme in Australia had been promoted for a few months, “Australia fever” spread through China. The “fever” started first in Guangdong, a

southern province close to Hong Kong, quickly spreading to big urban cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing. Many PRC nationals were attracted to Australia to take the ELICOS course because it was easy for them to get a visa. Students did not need a university degree, the fee was relevantly inexpensive compared to study in the United States, and, most importantly, students had a chance to obtain permanent residence in Australia.

5.2.4 Different senses of ethnic identity in government-sponsored students versus ELICOS students

Compared to the government-sponsored students, ELICOS students were less academically qualified—most of them had not been to a university in China and many were not even qualified to study at university. They were labourers, high school students, and even some peasants and farmers coming from the coastal regions of Guangdong, Fujian, and Shanghai. Their goal in going to Australia was to earn money and get permanent residency. In the first half of 1989, a few small-scale surveys conducted in Shanghai and Guangdong showed that ELIOCOS students had strong intentions to immigrate to Australia and start a new life there (Wang, 1987; Wang & Lai, 1987). By the end of 1989, ELICOS students were 70 percent of all the PRC nationals in Australia.

There were differences between the government-sponsored and ELICOS students, as Jia (2013) explains:

It should be noted that there was a considerable social difference, or gap, between the ELICOS and the postgraduate students, not only because of differences in education, social class, institutional affiliations, and self-image, but also because of their different goals, career opportunities, and most different everyday experiences and social contacts while in Australia.
(p. 7)

The postgraduate students Jia noted were government-sponsored students who tended to be from well-off families, with a definite political identification with government, strong academic histories, and a powerful sense of purpose. They were considered the best students in the country, chosen by the government to make China great, with tremendous responsibility resting on their shoulders, as they were studying overseas not only for themselves but for their country. Most of them believed that they were going to make a difference when they returned to China. Their responsibilities and attendant stresses were thought to make them more patriotic somehow. Their lives consisted mostly of studying and socializing with other Chinese people. On the one hand, they admired the high quality technology and education in Australia; on the other hand, they did not bother to socialize with the locals.

However, most ELICOS students were like Sheena's parents, with some schooling but not highly educated, and most needed to borrow money from relatives and struggle to raise money for an overseas visa. Ostensibly coming to study English in Australia, all they really wanted was earn money and stay in this country that they heard so many good things about. Their priority was to pay off their debt, develop local connections, and stay in Australia to advance their own interests as best they could. They hoped that they could stay here and one day be called Australians instead of Chinese; they wanted their children to be born and raised in Australia. They tried to associate with local people and assimilate into the culture. Their sense of Chinese ethnic identity was not high.

5.2.5 Going “native” versus remaining a “tourist”

Souza (2015) says that when people arrive in a new culture, they will either (1) go “native” (try to assimilate into the majority group), (2) remain “tourists” (resist assimilation and maintain only superficial contacts with the local culture), or (3) become “cosmopolitans” (manage to participate in the majority group without being readily identified as not

belonging due to their involvement with a plurality of different cultures) (p. 95). The Chinese government-sponsored students of the 1980s mostly remained “tourists,” whereas ELICOS students like Sheena’s parents often had aspirations to go “native” and thus were less eager to identify themselves as Chinese once they came to Australia.

Sheena describes her family’s experience:

When my mother and father first came here, they didn’t have any friends. They went to class in the school and most of the time they worked. ... Even though my parents learned English in China, their English was not very good. Besides working, most of their time was spent learning English. When they went home after work, they would sit down studying English together. They tried to have conversation in English, watch local TV, and they made friends with local people to improve English and cooked them Chinese food. ... They think speaking good English is a ticket for a better job and might lead to permanent residence too. ... The impression and the culture of Australia my parents got were actually from those local friends. ... They thought maybe one day those people could help them to stay in Australia.

Sheena’s parents went native by studying the new language and mingling with locals to learn the language and the culture, since they wanted to stay in Australia. They declined opportunities to speak their own mother tongue and instead sought every opportunity to learn the new foreign language. Their strong desire to get an Australian passport informed the way Sheena’s parents identified themselves in later days. Today they are proud of the choices they made that helped them to become Australian. As Sheena mentioned to me in an informal conversation, “When my mother talked about her immigration story, she was always proud that she made the decision to come all the way to Australia and tried so hard to stay in Australia. She loves Australia.” And when I asked, “Do you consider yourself as Australian or Chinese?” she firmly said “Australian”

5.3 Vann's grandfather's immigration story

Vann's grandfather was born in a prosperous family in Chaoshan, Guangdong Province, China. Because his family moved to Vietnam for business when he was three years old, he had no memories of China. He later became a Vietnamese citizen, but he always identified himself as Chinese. He grew up in a Chaoshan community in Sai Gon, where he spoke Teochew (a Chaoshan dialect) most of the time, and made many friends from Guangdong province, from whom he learned Cantonese. He went to a Chinese school, where he learned Mandarin and some Vietnamese. He could speak Vietnamese well but it was definitely not his most often-used language. Most often, he used the Chaoshan dialect or Cantonese. His friends were Chinese, his community was full of Chinese, and he later he married a Chinese wife who also spoke the Chaoshan dialect. Starting his business around at the age of twenty, he did not really see the importance of speaking Vietnamese and sometimes even became annoyed if his customers could not speak any Chinese. He enjoyed much success as a businessman in Vietnam. After the Vietnam War ended, the trajectory of his life changed thoroughly, however. With his business taken over by the new regime, he had to flee Vietnam with his wife and children. In 1980, he exchanged all of his valued belongings for gold and gave it to a fisherman for tickets on a boat. The boat took them all the way to a refugee camp in Hong Kong and from there the family was transferred to a boat to Australia.

Just as becoming acquainted with circumstances surrounding the wave of Chinese immigration to Australia in the 1980s help us to understand how Sheena's parents regard their ethnic identity, so too learning about the Chinese experience in Vietnam sheds light on how members of Vann's family view their ethnicity.

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their ethnic identity, so too learning about the Chinese experience in Vietnam sheds light on how members of Vann's family view their ethnicity.

5.3.1 The background of Hoa people

Hoa people are a minority group living in Vietnam who considers themselves as ethnic Chinese. Hoa sounds like Hua (华), a Chinese word that not only means “magnificent,” “beautiful,” and “prosperous,” but is also associated with everything relating to the Chinese people. Hoa people are also called Chinese Vietnamese, Vietnamese Chinese, Sino-Vietnamese, or Ethnic Chinese.

5.3.2 The success and struggle of the Hoa in Vietnam

The majority of Hoa people came from the southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian (Hoover, 2010). From the end of the 19th century to 1975, Hoa people played an influential role in Vietnam's business section. In fact, their business successes have been quite remarkable. According to Chua (2018), by the 1950s, the Hoa were viewed as “a state within a state” (p. 49) because they held such vast amounts of economic power, the Hoa population being wealthier than the host Vietnamese majority. In 1961, the Hoa controlled 80 percent of all the capital in the retail trade and 75 percent of Vietnam's commercial activities (Tran, 1993, p. 55). In the mid of 1960s, the Hoa dominated Vietnam's entire retail trade, financial services, manufacturing, and transportation sectors and all aspects of the country's rice economy. According to Countries and Their Cultures Forum (2018), in 1970 Hoa people consisted only 5.3 percent of the total population, but reportedly controlled 70 to 80 percent of the entire commercial sector of Vietnam. At the end of 1974, the Hoa controlled more than 80 percent of the food, textile, chemical, metallurgy, engineering, and electrical industries, 100 percent of wholesale trade, more than 50 percent of retail trade, and 90 percent of export-import trade (West, 2009, p. 290).

However, the disproportionate number of Hoa in the middle-class or upper-classes and the amount of economic power they held triggered the hatred of the Vietnamese Kinh majority (Chua, 2004). The Hoa were also resented because they were inclined to live apart from the Vietnamese, mostly associating themselves with the Chinese community, attending Chinese institutions, marrying within their own ethnic community, and projecting a sense of “superiority” and “ethnic and cultural exclusivity” (p. 50). Hoover (2010) notes that the Chinese Vietnamese maintain close cultural ties to China through traditions in education, economic endeavours, marriage, and civic organizations. Most of the Chinese in Vietnam keep to themselves, speak their own languages, and have a strong sense of Chinese ethnic identity.

Due to the huge economic power held by the Hoa and the elite lifestyle of the Chinese community, the hatred towards Chinese-Vietnamese steadily increased after the fall of Saigon in 1975. The Vietnamese Communist government began using the Hoa as a scapegoat for their socioeconomic woes. Many business and properties of the Hoa were confiscated by the government and many of them fled the country as boat people because of this persecution (Tsamenyi, 1983). Many Chinese who were unable to flee were killed.

5.3.3 The life of Vann’s grandfather

Vann’s grandfather’s life experience is typical of thousands of Chinese in Vietnam – living in a Chinese community, going to a Chinese school, making friends with Chinese, mainly speaking Chinese-related languages, marrying a woman of the same ethnicity, and teaching their children only the heritage language, Teochew. Unlike Sheena’s parents, who sought to “mingle with” the locals in Australia for the purpose of learning English and staying in Australia, Vann’s family did not “go native” when they were in Vietnam. They remained “tourists,” kept to themselves, and even felt a slight sense of being superior to Vietnamese people. Like many Chinese in Vietnam, they actually did not need

to mingle with the locals because they were richer than them, could read newspapers in Chinese, and could go to their own Chinese banks, shops, and schools. Vann's family did never bother to become Vietnamese citizens, even though, government policy in the 1960s required them to do so. As Vann told me in the morning reading group:

... my grandfather thinks the government was very mean to hardworking Chinese; they were jealous of our success... I think the attitudes my grandfather has to Vietnam were not positive... I am not sure what happened but still today he still thinks he is Chinese because he said "we always need to know our roots; it is the place where we were actually from."

When Vann described his grandfather to the class, he emphatically said, "My grandfather is Chinese," even though his grandfather had no memory of his earliest years living in China. Even Vann's mother, who was born in Vietnam, lived there until she was six years old, and never went to China, refers herself as Chinese. When Vann introduced himself, he said, "My mother is Chinese and my father is Australian. I am Chinese-Australian."

Reflecting on the life story of Vann's grandfather's, it is easy to see why his Chinese identity would be so important to him and, by extension, to the subsequent generations in his family.

When Vann's grandparents fled Vietnam in 1978, his experience reflected the choices, fears, and trials of thousands of ethnic Chinese in that country. Vann's grandfather told Vann: "There was no future in Vietnam for Chinese anymore. We would have been dead if we did not flee. The government hated Chinese."

My grandfather was taken to a refugee camp in Hong Kong, where he waited for a few months for the boat to Australia. When he first landed in Sydney, he couldn't speak any English. He was with my grandmother and

my mother, and my mother was only six years old... She could only speak Teochew... Back home, he was successful and respected, but in Sydney he was nobody. He stayed in a refugee camp with his family for three years, learning English, and doing manual work that Australians weren't willing to do. He worked at construction sites carrying heavy steel, worked in the field growing vegetables, worked in Chinese and Vietnamese restaurant as a cleaner... He had to work four jobs a week to support his family here and also the family in Vietnam. Half of his salary went back to Vietnam for his cousins.

Immigrating to Australia, my grandfather feels happy and sad in the same time. He feels happy because he saved his wife's and his daughter's life by bringing them to Sydney. He feels sad because people discriminate against him and he suffered a lot because he couldn't speak English. ... My mother went to school to study English, and at home they spoke Teochew.... He is very good at Chinese traditional painting and calligraphy, and he knows many Chinese stories. I remember he told me many fascinating stories, like the Monkey King, the Farmer and the Snake, Three-Hair Boy.... I like them.

Vann's grandfather is the type of Hoa who enjoyed a good life in Vietnam before suffering greatly due to the persecution. Though he fled to Australia and spent his rest of life there, in the end he still identifying as Chinese. His ethnic identity of being Chinese was strongly felt when he was living comfortably in Vietnam, due to being in an environment full of Chinese and their slight sense of superiority over their Vietnamese neighbours. The latter persecution he suffered in Vietnam only intensified his sense of being Chinese. When he came to Australia, his sense of being a Chinese came with him. He missed his life in Vietnam, but he did not really miss Vietnam. He missed his friends, his old business, and his community, all of which involved being with his fellow Chinese.

5.4 Vann's grandfather and Sheena's parents

Vann's grandfather spent his whole life in Vietnam and Australia, traveling to China as a tourist only a few times, but his sense of being Chinese remained steady. He passed this on to Vann. When I asked him, how he felt about being Chinese, he said, "I feel proud!" Sheena's parents, by way of contrast, feel proud of being Australians. They tell their children stories about how hard they worked to come to Australia and make a home here.

In an informal conversation, Sheena reported:

My mother told me that back then many of her schoolmates wanted to go to Australia, but the expensive tuition stopped them because an average annual salary would be 300 dollars per person. Even though they had been hearing all the good things about Australia, gathering 5000 dollars is a big issue and spending that much money is huge thing. It is like a gamble. The bet is almost many years' salary. But my mother and father were eager to make money in Australia and became permanent residents, so that conquered all their fear and stress. Till today, they think they made the right choice, and I think they were right; they were very brave and smart.

When telling her parents' story, Sheena had expressions of admiration and pride on her face. The words she used were positive, such as "conquer fears," "brave," and "smart." I'm not exactly sure where her attitudes towards those stories came from, but it is very possible that she got them from hearing the way her parents told them. Sheena's parents' Australian national identity is strong and their Chinese ethnic identity is very weak.

Vann's grandfather feels proud of being Chinese. He tells Vann stories about how successful Chinese people were in Vietnam, the persecution Chinese people suffered there, and he talks about their new life in Australia with mixed feelings of love and bitterness. He loves Australia because coming here saved their lives, but he also bitter

because of the language barriers and the struggles he has suffered here. Vann's grandfather's Chinese ethnic identity is strong and his sense of Vietnamese and Australian identity is extremely low.

From these stories it is evidently that former generations' sense of ethnic identity can be pass on to later generations and influence their attitudes toward the native country. We will look now at how it can influence their learning of the native heritage language.

5.5 The difference in Vann's and Sheena's attitudes towards China and the Chinese language

Significantly, Vann's and Sheena's attitudes towards China and the Chinese language diverge considerably. Sheena has been to China a few times for both traveling and visiting her grandparents. When I asked about her impression of China, she said, "I like Shanghai. Shanghai is like Sydney. It's very big and modern, but some places in China are polluted and they don't have a lot of plants. Chinese people work very hard but they don't get paid very well." In contrast, Vann, who has never been to China, says, "China is very powerful now. There are many job opportunities. They can make everything. The government is very efficient. One day I want to go to China."

I asked each of them, "What do you think of learning Chinese as a second language?"

Vann said:

It's a very useful language. China is getting more and more powerful... My grandfather and my mother always tell me to learn Chinese well because I am Chinese and also because China is the future... My mother went to an English school when she first came. She struggled to learn English at the beginning, and then she got used to it. At home they spoke Teochew, but she feels it's a pity that she didn't really have a chance to learn Mandarin. My mother wants me and my brother to learn Mandarin, the proper Chinese language.

In contrast, Sheena said, “Learning a second language is good because you can talk to people from other countries.” She then enthusiastically mentioned French. She said, “I like French. French is fun and interesting. ... My sister is learning French in high school, and she teaches me and my mother when she finishes school.” I asked, “How about Chinese?” She said, “It’s boring.”

These answers show Sheena’s and Vann’s different attitudes towards China and the Chinese language. They reflect family attitudes and family histories. Vann’s description of China is very positive, as seen in words like “useful,” “powerful,” “job opportunities,” and “efficient.” The things he has heard from his mother and grandfather have influenced his thinking about China and the Chinese language. Sheena’s descriptions are either neutral or negative. She likes Shanghai but mentions that it looks like Sydney. She associates the good parts of China with Sydney, using expressions such as “not getting paid well,” “polluted,” and “Chinese is boring” to describe the negative parts. Also, Vann and his elder brother go to Chinese school on weekends, but Sheena and her sister never go to a Chinese school after school.

5.6 The Mandarin achievement of Sheena and Vann

According to the HSK test I mentioned in Chapter 3, Vann’s Mandarin literacy level is higher than Sheena’s. In this test, 80 characters are chosen from HSK vocabulary lists and students are asked to circle the characters they know and to make sentences using those characters. Students will have been exposed to all these characters in the last two years and making sentences with them will test students’ achievement in Mandarin. I chose this test to assess students because making sentences is part of their schoolwork activities and it gives me a direct measure of their Mandarin achievement.

5.6.1 Sheena's Mandarin

Sheena circled twenty-one words, and could only read ten. She was familiar with the other eleven words but did not pronounce them correctly. She made only one sentence “我是澳大利亚,” meaning “I am Australia.” She meant to say “I am Australian,” but she forgot to put “人” (meaning person) at the end of the sentence. (In Chinese, country name + 人 = people or person of that country. For example, Italian will be 意大利人, formed from Italy/意大利 + person/人).

Interestingly, in the test (shown here) she automatically identified herself as Australian.

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least **three sentences**. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

我是澳大利亚。

5.6.2 Vann's Mandarin

Vann circled fifty words and could read forty-nine correctly. He made the word 哪 (pronounced with the second tone, meaning “where”) sound like another word, 那 which

is similar in appearance and pronunciation (pronounced with the fourth tone, meaning “that”). He also erred in making sentences because he confused these two words.

Otherwise, everything was correct. He made the following six sentences:

1. 今天是星期二。 (√)
2. 你的姐姐叫什么名字? (√)
3. 我的妈妈喜欢狗。 (√)
4. 他的哥哥要一个猫。 (√)
5. 哪是什么? (×)
6. 他不喜欢狗。 (√)

Their meanings are:

1. Today is Tuesday.
2. What is your sister's name?
3. My mother likes dogs.
4. His brother wants a cat.
5. What is “where”? (He meant what is that?)
6. He doesn't like dogs.

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least **three sentences**. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

今天 是 星期 二。

我 的 姐 姐 叫 什 么 名 字？

我 的 妈 妈 喜 欢 狗。

他 的 哥 要 一 个 猫。

哪 是 什 么？

他 不 喜 欢 狗。

5.7 Comparing Sheena and Vann: Integrated versus instrumental motivations

Sheena and Vann were both born in Australia and both have Chinese ancestry, but their sense of Chinese ethnic identity is different. Vann's grandfather's strong sense of being Chinese and low sense of being Australian influences Vann's attitudes towards Chinese learning, as well as his outcomes. Vann was exposed to stories about Chinese culture, fairy tales, and arts by his grandfather, which may have built up Vann's integrated motivation for learning Chinese. He feels positively towards China and wants to study Chinese because he sees himself as Chinese. He is interested in the culture, the people, fairy tales, and arts of China as part of his own heritage. His sense of Chinese identity is very strong and his integrated motivation of learning Chinese is correspondingly very high. His integrated motivation helps to increase his instrumental motivation, as well – he wants to go to China, which is another motivation to learn to speak the language. This combination of integrated and instrumental motivation explains why he likes learning Chinese and why his Chinese achievement is high.

Sheena's parents, on the other hand, have a strong sense of Australian national identity and a weak sense of Chinese ethnic identity. Therefore, they don't provide her with as much exposure to Chinese culture and language as Vann's parents do. Not seeing herself as part of the Chinese community, her integrated motivation for learning Chinese is weak. She thinks Chinese is boring. Consequently, her Chinese achievement is much lower than Vann. However, since Sheena needs to speak Chinese on the phone to her grandmother in China who speaks only Chinese, we might expect her instrumental motivation to be high. But Sheena doesn't like talking to her grandmother on the phone, because it is too hard to carry on a conversation and she sometimes cannot understand what her grandmother says. In addition, her grandmother lives in Shanghai and has only visited Sydney a few times, so Sheena does not feel especially close to her. For these reasons, Sheena finds calling her

grandmother to be more of a burden than a pleasure. So, Sheena's instrumental motivation for learning Chinese is not very high either. Without much instrumental or integrated motivation for learning Chinese, Sheena has been unable to learn Chinese well.

Chapter 6: Mimetic Desire, Family Influence, and Students' Mandarin Learning

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with stories about the families of two students and shows how they have influenced the students' language learning. Peter's great-grandfather learned several languages while traveling in his youth, while all the members of Jennifer's family—with the exception of Jennifer herself—are bilingual or multilingual due to their exposure to multiple languages in early life in their native settings. Both Peter and Jennifer admire their family members and want to emulate their linguistic accomplishments. Both want to become multilingual, but Peter's desire is to learn languages in order to travel around the world and explore different cultures like his great-grandfather. I will make use of René Girard's mimetic theory (Girard, 1966, 1988) to analyse what these two students have in common, namely, their desires to learn languages. But despite what they share, Peter and Jennifer have different Mandarin learning outcomes, which I will also use Girard's theory to explain.

6.2 Peter's great-grandfather: World traveller in the roaring twenties

The 1920s, the European economy grew rapidly. It was the Golden Age written about so many times in literature and depicted so many times in movies, an era that saw the large-scale adoption of automobiles, telephones, household electricity, and other modern conveniences. It was a time of new lifestyles and accelerated consumer demand and aspirations. And it was when Peter's great-grandfather began his journey as a world traveller.

Peter's great-grandfather was born in England at the beginning of 20th century. As a small child, he was always curious about the world, so when he turned twenty years old he decided to explore the world for himself. He packed up his backpack and left on a

journey that would keep him on the road for fifteen years. Starting in Europe, he travelled to such places as Belgium, Germany, Austria, Holland, and Turkey. Then he went to India, after which he took a ship to Africa, where he met a Lebanese girl whom he decided to marry. He settled in Lebanon for the rest of his life. Peter doesn't know exactly how long his great-grandfather stayed in each country, but he knows that his great-grandfather became fluent in four languages other than English during his fifteen years of travel: Afrikaans, Lebanese, German, and Dutch.

In the next generation, Peter's grandfather inherited the spirit of traveling from his father (Peter's great-grandfather). In his twenties, Peter's grandfather travelled to Australia from Lebanon, traveling and working throughout the country. He saw job opportunities in Australia and decided to stay. Starting out cutting sugar cane in Queensland, he later learned to be a bricklayer and started his own business building houses. He married an Australian girl and soon Peter's mother was born.

Another generation arose, and Peter is now eleven years old, telling me stories about his great-grandfather in the morning reading group activity. These are stories his great-grandfather passed to his grandfather, his grandfather passed to his mother, and his mother passed to him—stories about languages, cultures, and travelling. When his great-grandfather passed away in his seventies, he left a legacy for his grandchildren to copy and admire. Peter's mother once told Peter, "Your great-grandfather is probably one of the greatest people in the world." Peter agrees. "I admire him," he said to me in the interview. "He is a great man. It is really amazing for a person to spend fifteen years traveling and speak five languages."

Some stories of our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and other family members are extremely significant. They shape our personalities and play a role in guiding our

lifestyle choices. Peter cannot hide his admiration and pride when he was telling me his story. He admires his great-grandfather's accomplishments and wishes to be like him one day, speaking at least two additional languages and doing a lot of traveling when he gets older. The first country he wants to visit is China, because he is already learning Chinese. If he goes to China, he can use the language to talk to people and better understand the culture.

6.3 Jennifer's family: Almost everyone is bilingual

Jennifer's family language background is very interesting. She is the only student in my class whose parents, grandparents, and other close family members are all bilingual.

Jennifer was born in Australia, but her mother and her father were born in South Africa, where they met and married. When Jennifer's parents were around twenty, they came to Australia for work. They stayed here and became citizens, and Jennifer's uncles and aunties soon came to live in Australia. All of Jennifer's uncles and aunties are native Afrikaans speakers who also speak English very well. Jennifer's grandparents on her father's side, who still live in South Africa, can speak three languages: Afrikaans, Zulu, and English. Her grandparents on her mother's side are from South Africa too and can speak Afrikaans, Tamil, and English. They learned Afrikaans and English at school. Jennifer's father can speak Afrikaans and English, while her mother speaks Afrikaans, English, and Hindi very well. Her family also enjoys many aspects of Indian culture, watching Indian movies, celebrating Diwali, and cooking Indian food.

Here is Jennifer describing her family:

When my mother first came to Australia, she didn't have any friends. Natalie was her neighbour, and they just became very good friends. Natalie was from India and she speaks Hindi. Later on she just became family to us and her family became our family. Then the family spread and

it just keeps going. That's why my family is very BIG. My mother speaks Hindi pretty well. My nanny is from India and she speaks Hindi to my mother. At home the main language is English, but if my parents want to say something and don't want to let me know, they will speak in Afrikaans. Sometimes it is very annoying because I don't know what they are talking about, and I will say something random in Chinese to them and they won't understand it either. I tried to teach them some words but they were not interested, they cannot understand Chinese, they are not as smart as me... I think it is very cool that my family members can speak two or three languages. I love it.

Jennifer's mother speaks Hindi because of her family and her ongoing friendships. Other family members can speak two or three languages because they were spoken in their native setting. Being born in an environment where Afrikaans or Tamil or Zulu are spoken, they acquired the language naturally. It was in school they learned English. Jennifer is proud of her family being bilingual, multilingual, and multicultural, describing it as "cool." She used the word "cool" often when referring her family members' linguistic abilities. She admires them for being "cool" and wants to be multilingual so she can be "cool" just like them.

Jennifer is the only one in her family who is monolingual, speaking only English. I was surprised when she told me how many languages she hopes to learn in the future:

I want to know eight languages. English, I already can speak. Chinese, I might keep learning. But Spanish? YES! I love Spanish very much! Italian, yes! French, yes! Tamil, yes! Hindi, yes! Afrikaans, yes, and some other languages!

When I asked her why she wants to learn so many languages, she said:

Everyone in my family is bilingual. Being bilingual is COOL, but being multilingual is even COOLER! I want to learn eight languages in my own

future. I want to learn all eight before I am twenty. My family members will be totally amazed if I can speak eight languages.

At this stage, she is proud of being part of a bilingual family, but she also wants to be “better” and “cooler” than her family members by becoming multilingual. She wants to amaze them and surprise them.

Since her grandparents can speak Tamil and her mother, Natalie, and her nanny can all speak Hindi, I asked whether she had already started learning or speaking Tamil and Hindi at home. She said: “Not yet, but I will start one day! At this stage Spanish is my favourite language. I have been listening to a lot of Spanish music every day. It is just so beautiful.”

6.4 René Girard’s theory of mimetic desire as applied to Peter and Jennifer

Language learning begins in infancy when children start copying their parents. Imitation plays an indispensable role in children’s learning both the language and the culture of their parents. Children pay attention to the world around them, watching how their parents talk, act, and react to different situations and communicate to other people. Children naturally and spontaneously try to copy what they see. As many scholars have recognized, imitation is both how we learn and how we acquire our culture and its traditions. However, the French-American scholar René Girard focused on another aspect of imitation that can be easily overlooked – the fact that desires are imitated too.

6.4.1 What is mimetic desire?

René Girard, the originator of mimetic theory, was born in 1923 and died in 2015. He was a scholar of French history, literary criticism, and sociology. His great insight was his observation that our desires are mimetic, meaning that they do not arise in us spontaneously as many people suppose, but that we acquire them instead through

mimesis, a Greek word meaning “imitation.” In other words, human beings naturally imitate the desires of others. Desire is always mediated, meaning that there must be some model or mediator who shows us what to desire. The model or mediator either desires some object for him- or herself or already has it, thereby show us that it is desirable. For example, my neighbour bought a fancy car and, when I see it, I want to buy the same car too. I acquired the desire through mimesis.

6.4.2 External mediation, internal mediation, and mimetic rivalry

For Girard (1966, 1988) there are two form of mediation, external mediation and internal mediation, the difference pertaining to how close the mediator stands in relation to the subject.

We shall speak of *external* mediation when the distance is sufficient to eliminate any contact between the two spheres of possibilities of which the mediator and the subject occupy the respective centers. We shall speak of *internal* mediation when this same distance is sufficiently reduced to allow these two spheres to penetrate each other more or less profoundly. (1966, p. 9)

Internal mediators are models who are close to you in some way; they can be your friends, family members, neighbours, co-workers, or classmates. For example, your friend plays football well, which you also want to do to be like your friend. But because the two of you are very close, the more you become like your friend and play football well, the more the two of you will compete over who is the best. When the competition starts, the mimetic rivalry occurs. Often in a mimetic rivalry, the object over which the rivals compete becomes less important than the competition itself. The rivals are motivated not so much by the intrinsic value of the object (the joy of playing football well), but instead

by the prestige that comes from defeating the rival. Only internal mediation can cause what Girard calls mimetic rivalry, in which the mediator comes to be seen not only as a model but also as a rival.

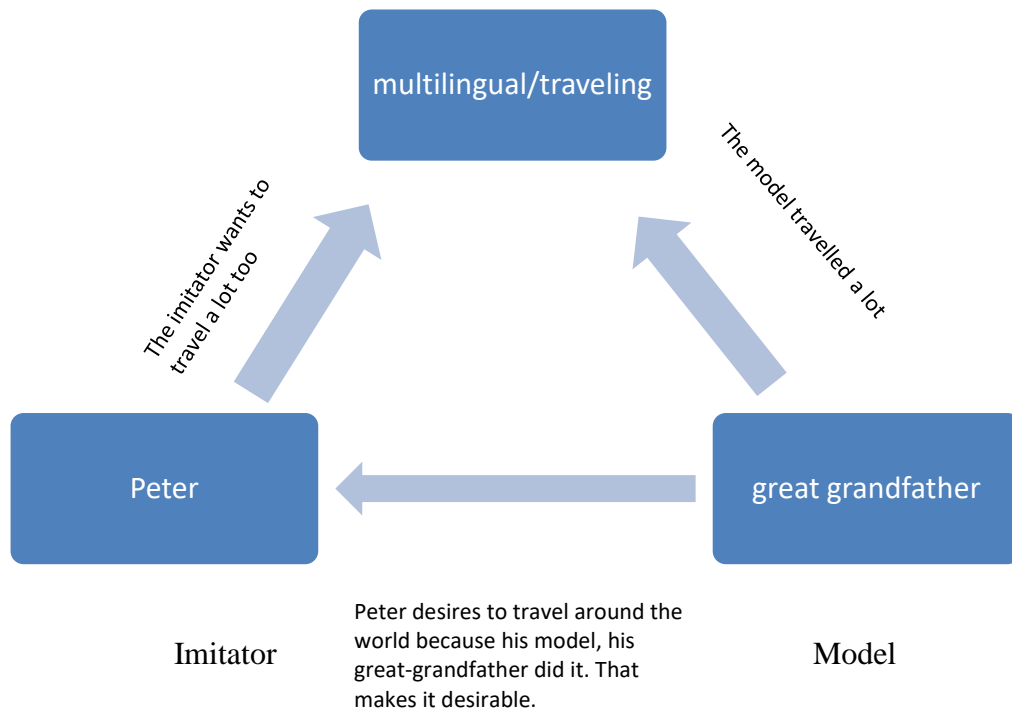
External mediators are people whose worlds don't intersect with our own. An external mediator might be a celebrity, a person who is already dead, a character in a story, someone from literature or movies, or anyone otherwise separate from our lives. For example, you might admire the great retired footballer Pelé very much and be inspired by him to play the game, but Pelé is an external mediator, and, since his great accomplishments are all in the past and he is not someone you interact with or talk to every day, he is separate enough that he can't really become your rival.

6.4.3 Triangular relationships

According to Girard (1966, 1988), subject, model, and object are in a triangular relationship. We can again use football as an example. My friend plays football well, which I think it is pretty cool. My friend becomes a model who I can copy, who mediates the desire to play football well for me. I am the subject, who desires what my friend has. The object is playing football well.

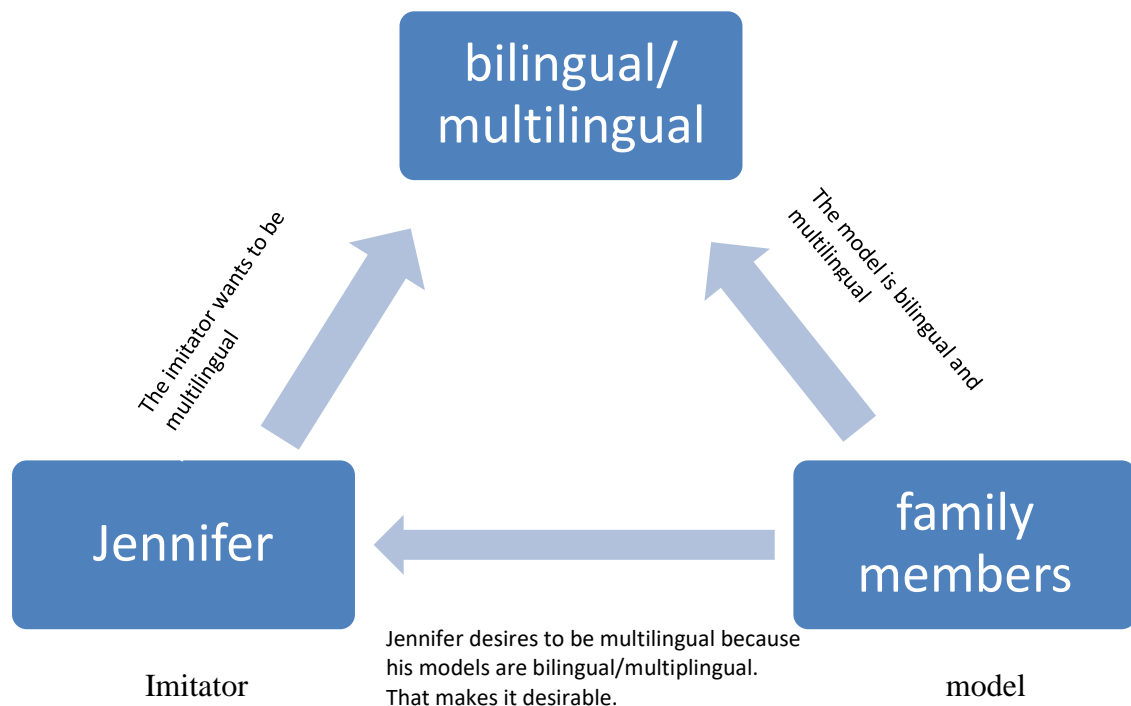
The triangular relationship of subject, model, and object is evident in both Peter's and Jennifer's cases. These are illustrated in the following diagrams.

Peter:



Girard would say that Peter's admiration for his great-grandfather has unconsciously influenced Peter's desire. He has copied or borrowed his great-grandfather's desire and wants to be a world traveller like him. He also wants to learn languages as a means to that goal. Peter's great-grandfather is an external mediator because he and Peter live in different worlds that don't intersect. Because his great-grandfather is dead and therefore lives in the past, they can't become competitors. There is no rivalry in Peter's imitation.

Jennifer:



Jennifer’s admiration of her bilingual and multilingual family members is the source of her desire to learn even *more* languages than they have. She believes that she will be ‘cooler’ than them if she can know more languages. She will amaze her family members and become someone they will in turn desire to be. Jennifer’s models are the people she sees every day, so they are what Girard calls internal mediators. That is what makes it possible for them to become her mimetic rivals. This rivalry expresses itself in her desire to be “cooler” than her family members so she can surpass them and be admired. When mimetic rivalry occurs, the object becomes less important than the prestige that comes from surpassing the rival and becoming an object of envy and admiration in the rival’s eyes.

6.5 Mandarin achievements of Peter and Jennifer

6.5.1 Peter's Mandarin

In this section, I describe Peter's Mandarin achievement, as measured by the test introduced in Chapter 3.

Peter circled forty-four out of eighty words and could read all forty-four words. He made six sentences, all of which were correct, except for sentence 5. He wanted to say he loves his mother and father, but he forgot how to write the Chinese character 爱, meaning love. He used Pinyin instead.

Below are the sentences he made and their English meaning:

1. 你叫什么名字?
2. 我喜欢狗和猫。
3. 他喜欢吃什么?
4. 你几岁?
5. 我 ai 妈妈和爸爸。
6. 你上几年级?

The translations:

1. What is your name?
2. I like dogs and cats.
3. What does he like to eat?
4. How old are you?
5. I love my mother and father.
6. Which grade are you in?

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least *three sentences*. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

你叫什么名字?
 我喜欢狗和猫。
 他喜欢吃什么?
 你几岁?
 我ai妈妈和爸爸。
 你上几年级?

6.5.2 Jennifer's Mandarin

In this section, I describe Jennifer's Mandarin learning outcome, as measured by the test introduced in Chapter 3.

Jennifer circled nine out of eighty words and could read nine words. She made two sentences. The first sentence was literally wrong. She meant to say "What do you like to eat"; instead, she wrote "What words do you like to eat." She cannot write the characters 喜欢, meaning "like." She used pinyin instead and even the pinyin was not correct. It should have been "xihuan," not "shi hun."

The second sentence is right, but she did not know how to write 叫, meaning “call.” 叫 is the word she circled and then rubbed it off on the worksheet. She did not write the pinyin of 叫 correctly either. It is supposed to be “jiao,” instead of “jao.”

Here are the sentences she wrote:

1. 你 shi hun 吃什么字?
2. 我 jao Jennifer.

Literal translation:

1. What words do you like to eat?
2. My name is Jennifer.

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least **three sentences**. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

你 shi hun 吃什么字?
 我 jao ~~Jennifer~~

Peter's Mandarin level is obviously higher than Jennifer's, which left me with a question. René Girard's mimetic theory explains something Peter and Jennifer have in common. They both admire their family members and want to be like them, one desiring to be a multilingual traveller, the other desiring to be multilingual so she can be "cooler." One chief difference, however, is that Peter's great-grandfather is an external mediator, while Jennifer's family members are internal mediators. Another difference concerns what they think learning a language will do for them. One wants to use languages to travel and be exposed to different cultures. The other wants to learn languages to be cool like the rest of her family members—or even cooler than all of them. How do these differences relate to their different Mandarin learning outcomes? Mimetic theory explains what they have in common, but can we use mimetic theory to explain these differences?

6.6 Comparing Peter and Jennifer: External versus Internal mediation

Peter did not know many details of his great-grandfather's traveling stories. He saw him only once or twice when he was very little and he couldn't even remember what his great-grandfather looked like. However, some paintings from Italy, some artefacts from India, and some hats from Africa are hanging in Peter's grandfather's home. Those souvenirs brought home by Peter's great-grandfather are the legacies of an impressive man whose great-grandchildren will copy and admire him. Because Peter barely knows his great-grandfather in person, he is an external mediator, a legendary person to Peter. He and Peter cannot become rivals, so there is no competition in Peter's imitation. In fact, he does not expect to match his great-grandfather's accomplishments, since he plans to learn fewer languages and spend fewer years traveling. Peter seems to have inherited his great-grandfather's spirit—he associates language learning with going places and being able to be part of other people's lives and culture. His great-grandfather did not just learn the other four languages and stay at home; he learned the languages while traveling, using the

languages, and exploring cultures. His multilingual skills were useful for traveling. Revealingly, when I asked Peter which country he wants most to visit, he said without any hesitation, “China,” followed by his reason: “because I have been learning Chinese for so long and it will be very good for me to go to the country and use the language and learn the culture.” Again, his desire is mediated through his great-grandfather. He wants to be like him, but does not see himself in competition with him. Also, his purpose in learning Mandarin is very practical. The object—to be able to travel, for which learning languages is a necessary means—it is what matters to him. Peter remains focused on the object, what his great grandfather accomplished, which is why his language achievement is high.

In 2017, Peter thought he might have a chance to go to China but it didn’t work out.

Morning Orchid Public School has sister school relationships with two schools in China in order to support and enhance the teaching of Chinese language and culture. In April of 2017, forty year five and six students, led by the principal and staff, went to China for three weeks: one week of learning Chinese language and culture at the sister school and two weeks of travelling. Many students applied to go on this trip and the school drew lots to determine who would go. Peter was very excited about the trip and applied right away, but he was not lucky enough to be chosen. He said to me, “The China trip did not work out, but it’s okay. I will go by myself one day ... I think if I go to China, I will see the parts that I never learned about in the class ... I will understand better.”

It is unusual for me to be listening to an eleven-year-old boy talking about cultural tolerance, but that seems to be something Peter has gained from his great-grandfather’s experience. When I asked him why he admired his great-grandfather, he said:

I think it is really amazing that my great grandfather travelled to so many places and learned so many languages. Learning a different language and going to visit the country can help a person understand the world better. It can change some people's feeling about another country. Just say, like, someone doesn't like Germany because of the Nazis in World War II. If you go over to Germany, you probably will feel it is really a great place with nice people and sort of okay food. It can change people's opinions about certain places or people.

These words are something I didn't expect coming from an eleven-year-old boy. Because of his great-grandfather's influence, he has acquired a desire to travel and explore different countries, which makes him enthusiastic to learn another language. At this stage, the language he wants to learn is Chinese, since he wants to travel to China and learning the language is his passport to the culture. It is a means to an end. His desire is very practical and he is not in a rush to learn other languages. He views language learning as useful to his goal of travel. The motivation supplied by this practical benefit is why his Mandarin achievement is so high.

In Jennifer's case, her family members are bilingual and multilingual not because of travel but because of their multilingual native settings. Jennifer likes the idea of being multilingual and wants to be as cool, if not cooler, than the rest of her family. Jennifer's family members are what Girard calls internal mediators, since she sees them every day, which also make it possible for them to become her rivals. That rivalry explains why she is more interested in the prestige or the "coolness" of learning a language than in its utility. In fact, she wants to learn *more* languages than them—to be "cooler"—so that she can surpass them and become objects of their envy and admiration. Prestige is her main reason for learning a language. The object—being multilingual—is not something she values for itself or its practical usefulness. What matters is surpassing her mediators. And

since the actual utility of the language takes a backseat to prestige, she is not very concerned with learning the language well. A superficial acquaintance with a language, as long as it's enough for her to claim it as a language she can speak, might be enough to allow her see herself as cooler than her family members, which appears to be all that matters to her. Being multilingual is cool, but maybe not cool enough to motivate the effort needed really to master a language.

The different amounts of effort Jennifer and Peter put into learning Chinese can be explained by their different types of mediators, internal versus external. Jennifer's internal mediators gave rise to a mimetic rivalry, in which the object, being multilingual, became less important than the prestige it was thought to confer. But this desire for prestige or to be "cooler" turns out to be a weaker motivation than Peter's externally mediated desire to acquire a useful skill that will allow him to be a traveller like his great-grandfather. It may explain why Jennifer dreams of learning eight languages in the future but does not do as well as Peter in her Mandarin learning, even though she has been in the bilingual class for six years.

Chapter 7: Family Language Stories, Family Involvement and Children's Mandarin Learning

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the different kinds of family involvement in children's second language learning caused by different family language backgrounds, as reported in family language stories, as well as the influence of family involvement at home in children's Mandarin learning. It examines the case studies of Elva and Mark, whose different family language stories contribute to different family involvement in their Mandarin learning. Research shows that parental involvement at home is deeply related not only to children's literacy and first language development, but also to the learning a foreign language. This chapter focuses on the contrast between Mark's and Elva's family involvement, showing how it is related to their different family language stories. Because of their relationship to parental involvement, those stories help to explain the differences in Mark's and Elva's learning outcomes.

7.2 Mark's family language stories and involvement at home

Mark was born in Australia, as were his parents. His grandparents were originally from England and moved to Australia. In his family, almost everyone is monolingual. Mark's grandfather on his mother's side can speak some Chinese because he went to China a few times and studied Chinese there. He first went to China in 2005, has been in love with China ever since. China became Mark's grandfather's favourite country besides Australia. In China, Mark's grandfather taught English, learned Mandarin, and travelled to many places. He loves the food, the people, the language, and the culture. In 2009, when Mark's grandfather was still in China, Mark's mother went to China to visit him, They stayed in his grandfather's city Xiamen for a couple of days before traveling to Beijing, Shanghai and Suzhou together. Mark's mother was impressed with the beautiful gardens

and architecture in Suzhou, the busy night life and fancy restaurants in Shanghai, the amazing Great Wall in Beijing, and the splendid city landscape in Xiamen. China was a very good experience for Mark's mother. In 2011, when Mark's mother heard Mandarin would be taught to students in Morning Orchid Public School, she decided that it was the school which Mark should attend.

When Mark's grandfather is in Sydney, he cooks Chinese food and uses chopsticks at home. He has a large collection of Chinese movies, books, and artefacts. When Mark comes to visit him, they will sometimes have Chinese food and watch a Chinese movie. Because of the influence of Mark's grandfather and her own trip to China, Mark's mother is also very interested in the country – its culture, architecture, old houses, beautiful gardens, and more.

Mark has been learning Chinese for six years now and he enjoys it. His family is very supportive, especially his mother. Mark's mother is pleased that Mark is learning Chinese because she thinks learning a second language is a great thing and learning Chinese in particular is very useful in today's society. China is also a enjoyable country to visit and Chinese culture is fascinating. His mother gets involved in Mark's Chinese studies and is always curious about what he has been learning. Every time she picks him up from school, she asks questions on the way home: "What did you learn today in your Chinese class?" "Can you teach me a couple of words?" When Mark teach his mother the Chinese he learned school, she will imitate how Mark pronounced the words, repeating them and trying to remember them. Later in the day, maybe during dinner or while she's cooking, she will say them back to him. "Sometimes she forgets the right way to say it and she'll say something that totally makes no sense. It's pretty funny, but I always teach her again. I feel good that I can be her teacher." Here is one story about his mother's involvement in his Mandarin learning that he told me in the morning reading group activity:

A few years ago, my mother heard this school is a bilingual school where Mandarin is used to teach different subjects. It was not long after she went back from China visiting my grandfather. She thinks it will be great for me; she thinks if I graduate from this school and know Chinese, it will be excellent. However, she was a little bit worried because Mandarin is so new to me and back then we didn't know anyone who could really speak Mandarin. My grandfather could speak some but he was not very good. She was afraid I might be left behind in the class, so when I was still in day care five days a week, the last term of day-care, she only signed me in for three days a week and the other two days she drove me to the city to a Chinese class. The class lasted an hour and it was very fun, we used to play a lot of games, and during the break we ate “饼干和香蕉和苹果” [biscuits and bananas and apples], and after the class my mother would buy me a sandwich. ... In year three, we used to have Chinese homework and sometimes, when I brought my worksheet home, I didn't know how to do it; my mother would sit down and use Google Translation to help me. We used to do a lot of research on China, my mother loves Chinese culture, such as the Great Wall, Chinese pandas, Kung Fu, 小笼包 [steamed dumplings]. ... I love 小笼包. Dingtaifung's 小笼包 is very good. ... My mother asks me to speak Chinese at home. I like teaching my mother Mandarin.

When I asked him whether he had other opportunities to speak Chinese out of school, he told me:

A couple of years ago, we had a Chinese neighbour moved in, it is a family with two kids, Yi Qing and Yi Zhen. They can speak Mandarin and my mother always asks me to speak Chinese to them. Sometimes my mother invited them to come over for dinner and sometimes we will go to their house for Chinese food. We become pretty good friends and I would play with Yi Qing and Yi Zhen in the park. Sometimes we would speak Chinese and sometimes we speak English. We are very good friends; I like playing with them. Also, in our neighbourhood, we have a Chinese restaurant. My parents take me there often and, if I speak Chinese there,

the restaurant will give me free prawn chips because we go there very often. I can order some dishes in Chinese. I feel special.

Mark's mother is also very interested in Chinese culture and has a very good attitude towards China. She is actively involved in Mark's Chinese learning on a regular basis.

Her involvement has taken a variety of form, including taking him to private Chinese school before kindergarten started, helping him with his homework, doing research with him at home about Chinese culture and food, asking questions about Chinese, learning Chinese from him, making friends with Chinese neighbours, creating Mandarin speaking opportunities, and taking him to the Chinese restaurant. It is not clear whether Mark sees how much his mother done to help him learn Chinese, but when I asked him whether he thought his mother was supportive, he said, "Yeah, she is very supportive. She always follows up my Chinese and always curious. She is very nice."

7.3 Elva's family language stories and the involvement at home

Elva was born in Australia. His father was originally from Britain but immigrated to New Zealand at young age, where he met Elva's mother. Elva's mother was originally from the Philippines. When Elva's mother was in her twenties, her mother and father divorced and Elva's grandmother moved to New Zealand to be with the children. Her mother, who previously spoke only Taluka, took a few years to learn English while in New Zealand. Her English is good now but she still has a recognizable accent. Elva can speak only a tiny bit of Taluka. She is the only one in her family learning Chinese and has been doing so for six years. No one else in her family has learned Chinese. Her family don't have any particular feelings towards China and Chinese culture, which makes them different from Mark's family. Elva is learning Chinese because when her mother signed her up in the Morning Orchid School before she started kindergarten the school gave her the choice of putting Elva in the normal (English only) class or the bilingual class (English and

Chinese), she thought it will be good for Elva to learn a second language and probably be fun for her as well. Her parents are happy and excited that Elva is learning Chinese as a second language, because they think knowing a second language can be helpful for her career in the future. Before starting school, Elva had never been exposed to Chinese language or people. In contrast to Mark's mother, who took him to the city to attend Chinese class so that he would be prepared for the bilingual program in kindergarten, Elva's parents did nothing special to prepare her. Elva believes that her parents are very supportive—they encourage her to learn Chinese and, when she tells her parents what she learned that day in school, they always say: “Good job,” “Excellent,” “Well done,” “I am so proud of you.” Elva said that her parents always have faith in her and believe that she can learn Chinese well. Recalling how Mark's mother always asks questions about his Chinese learning and even asks him to teach her, I asked Elva whether her parents inquire about her Chinese progress, whether she teaches them some Chinese, and whether she knows any Chinese people or goes to any Chinese restaurant near her house. She said:

Not really. My parents don't usually ask me questions about my Chinese learning. They don't follow up on my Chinese progress. At home we actually don't talk about Chinese that much. Sometimes, not very often, I say some words at home in Chinese, such as “苹果” [apple] to my father, but because he couldn't say it well, he will just laugh through it. He's not really interested in learning how to say apple in Chinese. He will say: “I don't know Chinese but you do! You're a smart girl and I am very proud of you!” Both my mother and father always say positive things about my Chinese, but they don't really know what I am learning and where I am in the Chinese level. ... We have a Chinese neighbour who is studying in a university here but we don't see him quite often. We only say “hi” when we see each other. I think his name is Wang Cheng or something. ... We have a Chinese restaurant nearby, maybe ten minutes' drive from our house. The food there is pretty good. I will say 你好 [hello] to the lady

there. ... I don't think we ever told them that I am learning Chinese. I never ordered food there in Chinese because my parents are afraid that I will order the wrong thing.

Elva's parents get involved with Elva's Mandarin learning at home by offering her a lot of praise, saying "well done," "good job," "excellent," "you are smart," "we are proud of you," but they do not get involved with actions as Mark's mother does. This praising style of involvement makes Elva feel that her parents are supportive and encouraging.

7.4 Comparing Mark's and Elva's family language stories and their family involvement

The level of Mark's family involvement is obviously much higher than Elva's family involvement. In addition to offering praise, Mark's family and his mother especially actively work to create a Chinese learning environment for Mark. Why do these two families have such different levels of involvement? In Mark's case, his family has a connection to Chinese culture through Mark's grandfather, who has been to China on multiple occasions, wants to move to China, cooks Chinese food, watches Chinese movies with Mark, and is also learning Chinese. Mark's mother has also been to China and loves Chinese arts and architecture. She spends time with Mark researching China and the Chinese language, because she shares Mark's interest. The whole family is fascinated with Chinese culture, which is surely why their level of involvement in his Chinese learning is so high.

Elva's parents are not really interested in China, though they do think it is good to know a second language, since Elva's mother is bilingual. But Elva's family background doesn't have the connection to Chinese culture that Mark's has, which help to explain her family's relative lack of involvement in her learning and her lack of interest in taking advantage of opportunities to use the language with her neighbour.

7.5 Parental involvement and children's literacy and language in public school

Many researchers have studied the impact of parental involvement at home on children's literacy and first language development, and how home environment plays an important role in children's early reading achievement and later school success. Heath (1983), Wells (1983, 1985), and Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman, and Hemphill (1991) believe that it will be easier for the children to do literacy tasks at school if they have parental support at home in the form of modelling and preparation for class discourse. Parents getting involved with children's literacy at home by preparing high-quality language interactions will help their literacy development at school. Similarly, Jordan, Snow and Porche (2000) and Shaver and Walls (1998) think that parental involvement plays an important and positive role in children's academic achievement. Other researchers have reached similar conclusions (Mottram & McCoy, 2010; Fan & Chen, 2001; Jeynes, 2005; Senechal & Lefevre, 2002). In addition, Mottram and McCoy (2010) found that parental involvement at home has a powerful impact on children's educational attainment in general, especially on literacy and language development. Children's vocabulary and listening comprehension are enhanced through informal activities such as conversation and interaction, while their literacy skill development is related to more formal activities at home such as parents reading to the children and teaching them how to write. Overall, parents' involvement with literacy resources at home positively influences children's vocabulary, listening comprehension, reading, receptivity, and expressive language skills.

It is practical and doable for parents to get involved in children's literacy and first language learning at home when the language is their native language. For these parents, involvement with their children's literacy and language is natural, and the outcomes from parents' involvement at home are very positive. However, when the children are learning a foreign language that the parents are not familiar with—in this case, Mandarin—can

parental involvement at home still positively influence children's foreign language learning? And what kind of involvement will make the biggest difference? Both Mark's and Elva's parents get involved in their Chinese learning at home, but one is getting involved in action, the other is getting involved only verbally. We will see that these different styles of involvement can be seen as associated with different outcomes in Mandarin learning.

7.6 Mandarin achievement of Mark and Elva

7.6.1 Mark's Mandarin

In this section, I describe Mark's Mandarin achievement, as measured by the test mentioned in Chapter 3.

Mark circled thirty-six out of eighty words and could read all thirty-six words. He made four sentences, all of which are correct.

Here are the sentences he wrote:

1. 你叫什么名字?
2. 我是澳大利亚人。
3. 我喜欢猫。
4. 我喜欢吃鸡。

Literal translation:

1. What's your name?
2. I am Australian.
3. I like cats.
4. I like eating chicken.

Mark's Mandarin achievement is above average for the thirty student in the class.

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	学
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least **three sentences**. Alternatively, you may write a short passage. 鸡

你叫什么名字?
 我是澳大利亚人。
 我喜欢猫。
 我喜欢吃鸡。

7.6.2 Elva's Mandarin

In this section, I describe Elva's Mandarin learning outcomes.

She circled fifteen out of eighty words and could read twelve words. She made two sentences, both of which are correct. Here are the sentences she wrote:

1. 我叫 Elva
2. 你叫什么名字?

Literal translation:

1. My name is Elva.
2. What is your name?

Elva's Mandarin achievement is average or a little bit lower than the average of her class.

班级: 2/5P

你	星	期	这	的	姐	妹	哥	弟	季
我	几	年	级	国	人	现	名	橡	皮
学	上	叫	吃	岁	喝	十	刀	节	字
要	买	中	文	冷	年	不	他	利	亚
来	样	英	度	那	吗	日	今	英	爱
住	做	什	哪	儿	大	猫	天	历	史
月	地	自	点	喜	么	睡	觉	颜	色
在	气	书	怎	澳	欢	爸	妈	是	狗

Use the words from the grid to write at least **three sentences**. Alternatively, you may write a short passage.

我叫...
你叫什么名字?

Mark and Elva have similar home environments: parents who are supportive of their Chinese learning, access to Chinese restaurants and neighbours, and six years of learning Chinese. However, Mark's Mandarin achievement is much higher than Elva's. One difference is that members of Mark's family are very interested in Chinese culture, some having been to China or lived in China for a while, and they associate themselves with Chinese activities such as cooking. In addition, Mark's family is actively involved in his Mandarin learning, with his mother especially supporting his Mandarin learning not just verbally but also with actions, by doing things. By contrast, Elva's parents are not

interested in Chinese culture and do not engage in any Chinese activities. They are supportive only verbally, frequently saying encouraging things. Both Mark and Elva believe their parents are supportive, yet these different kinds of support contribute to different outcomes in Chinese learning.

7.7 Comparing Mark and Elva: Action versus praise

Children acquire their first language through listening and imitating their parents, beginning in infancy. A child's household environment is ordinarily full of people who can speak the language and are immersed in the culture expressed through that language, which makes it easy for the child to naturally acquire their native language. Just as first-language learning is bound up with being immersed in the culture associated with that language, so too Mark's Chinese learning is facilitated by his family's involvement in Chinese culture. The way that Mark's mother exposes him to Mandarin to the greatest extent she can—asking him to speak the language, learning the language from him, taking him to the Chinese school before kindergarten, making Chinese friends for him, and taking him to the Chinese restaurant—is not exactly the same as how children learn their first language, but it is similar since it involves listening to the language, using the language, and experiencing some of the culture. When learning a foreign language becomes similar to learning the first language, the foreign language becomes not just a subject in school, but a practical skill that children can use in their lives and the learning comes more naturally. Mark's mother provides him many opportunities to use the language.

While Elva's parents show support through words, her exposure to the language is not to the same extent as Mark's. For Elva, no one in the family is especially interested in Chinese culture. Mandarin is just another subject that she is learning in school and that her parents wish her to learn well. The involvement that Mark's mother exhibits makes

learning the foreign language similar to learning a first language, which may be why he learns Mandarin more enthusiastically and naturally than Elva and why his Mandarin achievement is higher.

Furthermore, recall that, according to René Girard (1966, 1988), desire is mimetic, meaning that we tend to desire what we believe other people find desirable (see Chapter 6). When Mark's grandfather cooks him Chinese food, tells him things about China, and watches Chinese movies with him, it makes Mark feel that Chinese is something that links them because they are both learning Chinese and it is something they both desire. When Mark's mother displays curiosity about Chinese and asks Mark to teach her some Chinese words, her actions and enthusiastic involvement are signalling to Mark that learning Chinese is fun, worthwhile, and important. In other words, she's communicating to him that learning Chinese is really desirable, informing him not just through words, but also through the more effective means of modelling its desirability in action.

Elva's father, on the other hand, is supportive through praise, but he doesn't communicate enthusiasm through actions as Mark's mother does. Elva's father offers praise, but he feels a little bit embarrassed about pronouncing Chinese words and his lack of enthusiastic and practical involvement does not send the message that learning Chinese is desirable in the way that the involvement of Mark's mother does. Mark picks up his desire to learn Chinese mimetically and puts more efforts into his Chinese learning. Elva, by contrast, is not exposed to the sort of enthusiasm that would tell her that learning Chinese is really desirable, which is another factor that contributes to Mark's Mandarin achievement being higher than Elva's.

In addition, for children to be motivated to learn things, they often need positive reinforcements and incentives, rewards that make their efforts seem worthwhile. There

are many kinds of rewards, including praise. Elva's parents saying "good job," "well done," "excellent," "I am proud of you," "you're smart" are typical forms of praise or verbal rewards. Since they make Elva feel good, they have a positive impact on her Mandarin learning, but as reinforcements they are limited compared to what Mark receives. In addition to praise, Mark gets other, much greater rewards. For example, being able to teach his mother Chinese, correcting her and playing the role of teacher, is a reward, since it makes Mark feel good and valued.

Doing research on China with his mother, looking up Chinese things like pandas and the Great Wall online, is also rewarding for Mark, since it is fun to do and makes him feel close to his mother. Ordering food in the Chinese restaurant and getting free prawn chips are also rewards, since they make Mark feel special. Finally, being able to speak Chinese and play with his friends Yi Qing and Yi Zhen in the park is a reward, since it helps Mark build friendships. By her own actions and enthusiastic involvement, Mark's mother provides him with a wider variety of rewards that have a positive impact on his Mandarin learning. That is yet another reason why Mark's Mandarin achievement is higher than Elva's.

Parental involvement at home is important not only for children learning literacy and acquiring first language, but also for children learning a foreign language that the parents are not familiar with—in this case—Mandarin. In my study, I found there are two forms of parental involvement: parental involvement through actions, and parental involvement through praise. Both make the children feel that their parents are supportive, yet they deliver different outcomes in regard to children's Mandarin achievement. Mark and Elva were examined in order to explore how the different involvement of their parents influences their Mandarin learning. Compared to parental involvement through praise, parental involvement through action at home makes the learning of the foreign language

similar to acquiring the first language because it involves listening to the language, using the language, and experiencing some of the culture at home. When learning a foreign language is similar to learning the first language at home, the language is no longer just a school subject, it becomes a practical skill that children can use outside of the class. In addition, parental involvement through action makes children feel that learning the language is desirable; the enthusiastic involvement of parents' signals to the children that learning the language is fun and important. Moreover, parental involvement through action provides much better and wider variety of rewards and positive reinforcements than praise alone, which have a very important impact on children's learning. All these the reasons explain why parental involvement through action is likely to have a much more positive impact on children's Mandarin learning than just verbal praise, and why children experiencing parental involvement at home have higher Mandarin achievement than the children who only get verbal encouragement from their parents at home.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will first summarise how my own family language stories relate to my Mandarin and English learning and how they gave me the idea of doing this research about the relationship between family language stories and children's second language learning. Next, I will then return to my research question—How do students' family language stories and their perception of family origins, background, attitudes and practices toward language learning relate to students' Mandarin learning as a second language?—and then review some of the patterns of experience that emerged in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. As I have stressed already, this study is not definitive. Its significance lies in offering detailed analysis of these patterns, expanding our understanding of the various ways family language stories can influence language learning, and pointing to areas for further research.

8.2 My own family language stories in relation to my learning of Mandarin and English

My family origins are very simple: my grandparents and parents all come from small villages near Jinhua city, their mother tongue is their own village's dialect, and none of them speak Mandarin in their daily life. Their social circle is very small and 90 percent of the time they interact and communicate with only fellow village people or townspeople who speak the same dialect. My family members' average education level is not high. I am the only one in my family who can speak Mandarin well, let alone speak a foreign language. My first spoken language is the Tangxi dialect. I learned how to speak Mandarin in primary and secondary school and it has become my other "first" language. I learned English as my second language in primary and secondary school and at university. My achievement in Mandarin and English would not have been possible were it not for

how I came to perceive and understand both the language stories and the life stories of my mother and grandfather. The financial problems that prevented my mother from finishing her schooling and learning Mandarin well, her misfortune in never getting to learn another language despite the value she sees in second language learning, the time she spent with me on my Mandarin and English learning, the sadness of my grandfather because he couldn't communicate with my cousins, the dictionary he bought for me and the letters he wrote to me, the struggles both of them suffered and their optimistic attitudes towards life—all of these things influenced me deeply and were sources of my motivation for my language learning. These stories have taught me to be tough and made me feel very lucky to be so supported by my family in my language learning and in other aspects in my life. I am extremely proud of my family and have always wanted to do better in the things that make them proud of me, such as language learning. I actually have done well as a consequence.

My own stories persuade me that there is a relationship between family stories, especially family language stories, and children's second language learning. In my research, I have tried to discover some patterns in how this influence can take place. The family language stories of the pairs of students I studied—Vann and Sheena, Peter and Jennifer, Mark and Elva—confirm my intuition that family language stories and children's second language learning are related, as those stories seem to have influenced their learning outcomes in the study of Mandarin as a second language, though not all in the same way. The nature of that influence came to light for me by comparing Vann with Sheena, Peter with Jennifer, and Mark with Elva. By examining each of these pairs and exploring the similarities and differences in the stories and their perceptions and understanding of them, I have been able to draw some conclusions about how they are related to their different Mandarin learning outcomes. In what follows, I will review the arguments and

conclusions of Chapters 5, 6, and 7, showing how they provide answers to my research question.

8.3 Differences in Sheena's and Vann's family language stories as related to differences in their Mandarin learning outcomes

8.3.1 Similarities in their stories

Sheena and Vann were born in Australia and both have Chinese ancestry. Their family language stories start from the immigration stories of prior generations of their families. They are stories full of hardship and struggles. Sheena's parents had to sell all they had in China and go into debt to come to Australia; Vann's grandfather had to give up everything in Vietnam to flee Australia to save the family's life. They arrived in Australia at nearly the same time. Both hoped to have a better life here, but their ways of adapting and their self-identifications were very different in this new country.

8.3.2 Differences in their stories

Sheena's parents were living in China before they came. They had been studying English avidly so they could come to Australia and were happy to learn and only speak English once they got here. They actually set a rule to speak only English to each other when they first came here, in order to have more opportunities to practise their English. They do not feel strongly attached to Mandarin—it is just their first language. The main language used in Sheena's family has always been English. Though she is a descendant of Chinese immigrants, she gets only limited exposure to Chinese at home.

Vann's grandfather, on the other hand, was living in Vietnam before he came to Australia and is a member of an ethnic Chinese minority group that had a strong sense of their difference from the majority Vietnamese. When in Vietnam, he would usually speak Chinese-related dialects instead of Vietnamese. Though a former inhabitant of Vietnam,

he did not feel much attachment to the country. In the depths of his heart, he is Chinese. He taught his children the dialect of the region of China from which his family came—Teochew—instead of Vietnamese. When he first came to Australia, he could not speak English. The significance of Chinese language and Chinese culture increased for him when he came to this foreign country, because he saw it as something valuable to preserve. At home, Vann got a lot of Chinese exposure from his grandfather.

8.3.3 Reasons for different outcomes in their Mandarin learning

Vann is half-Chinese, half-Australian, with a mother who can speak the Teochew dialect but only a little Mandarin. Sheena, on the other hand, is fully Chinese, with a mother and father who both speak Mandarin as a native language. Vann's Mandarin achievement is higher than Sheena's, however. Why is this so?

When Sheena's parents first landed in Australia, their goal was to get Australian permanent residence or citizenship. Their sense of Chinese ethnic identity was very low and, after they became Australian citizens, their sense of Australian national identity became very high. That is why Mandarin is not important in their family language policy and why Sheena received only limited exposure to Chinese language and culture at home. Sheena's perception of her parents' immigration story is a source of pride for her and, like her parents, her sense of Chinese ethnic identity is very low. She has limited integrated motivation to learn about Chinese culture. She also does not have much instrumental motivation, since she has little opportunity to use Chinese. Consequently, her Chinese achievement is not very high.

Not only did Vann's grandfather not come to Australia with a desire to be a citizen, he did not even expect that he would come to this country. While waiting in Hong Kong, he was anxiously wondering which country would accept his family as refugees. In his early

years in Vietnam, when he had a comfortable life, his sense of Chinese ethnic identity was already very high and the hardships he suffered in Australia made his Chinese ethnic identity even more important to him. Of course, he loves Australia, since it is the country that saved his family's life. Yet there is something deep in his mind that always reminds him that he is Chinese, that his roots lead back to China. This strong sense of ethnic identity was passed on to Vann's mother, who passed it on to Vann. Vann's integrated motivation of learning Chinese is high because he was exposed to Chinese culture, fairy tales, and arts by his grandfather, which has given him a strong sense of his Chinese ethnic identity. His interest in Chinese culture and language has helped him build up a positive attitude towards China. His desire to go to China has also increased his instrumental motivation to learn Chinese, because he wants to be able to use the language when he is there.

8.3.4 Findings

In Vann's and Sheena's family language stories we find a shared pattern of experience centred on ethnic identity. However, the differences in their stories contribute to different feelings about their ethnic identities. In both cases, the child's ethnic identity comes from and is deeply influenced by parents or grandparents. In a foreign country, the Chinese family with a high sense of Chinese ethnic identity tends to expose their children to Chinese culture and language. These children will develop high instrumental and integrated motivations to learn Mandarin as a second language and have correspondingly high achievement. On the other hand, the immigrant family with a low sense of Chinese ethnic identity is less likely to expose their children to Chinese culture and language. They will therefore have less instrumental and integrated motivation to learn Mandarin as a second language and may, as a consequence, have lower achievement.

8.4 Differences in Peter's and Jennifer's family language stories as related to the differences in their Mandarin learning outcomes

8.4.1 Similarities in their stories

Peter's and Jennifer's family language stories provide them with models in their family whom they can admire and emulate. Peter's great-grandfather's fifteen years as a world traveller, during which time he learned to speak four foreign languages fluently, has had a strong influence on Peter. He admires his great-grandfather and wants to be like him, learning to speak other languages so he too can go traveling. Jennifer's multicultural family, in which everyone speaks at least two languages, has also had a strong impact on her. She admires her family members and feels proud to be part of her family. She wants to learn eight languages, so she can be as cool as or even cooler than other members of her family. What Peter and Jennifer have in common is that they both have family members as their models and they desire what their models have or want.

8.4.2 Differences in their stories

Peter's great-grandfather was a world traveller who spent fifteen years on the road. He learned four foreign languages to use during his trips. His stories were repeated in the family many times and he became a legendary figure in the family. Peter saw his great-grandfather only a few times when he was little, so Peter does not really remember much about him, even what he looked like. All Peter knows is that his great-grandfather is a great person who was full of passion and curiosity. Peter is tolerant of other cultures and appreciates cultural diversity, traits that probably come from his great-grandfather. Peter wants to be like his great-grandfather, learning languages and traveling the world, but he doesn't want to compete with his great-grandfather's accomplishments. He doesn't plan to spend fifteen years traveling and he plans to learn only two foreign languages. At this stage, Chinese is one of the languages he wants to learn well and China is one of the

countries he wants to visit in the future. Jennifer's family members, on the other hand, all became bilingual in native settings, not for the purpose of traveling. They were born in another country, immigrated to Australia in their youth, and acquired two languages naturally. As models for Jennifer, they are part of her everyday life and very close to her. Jennifer wants to learn eight foreign languages in total so she can be cool and amaze her family members. Jennifer *seems* to have a stronger passion for language learning than Peter.

8.4.3 Reasons for different outcomes in their Mandarin learning

René Girard's (1966, 1988) mimetic theory helps to explain how the differences in Peter's and Jennifer's family language stories can cause differences in their Mandarin achievement. As analysed in Chapter 6, Peter's great-grandfather is an "external mediator," someone who models desires without becoming a rival. That is why Peter's desire to speak foreign languages and travel plays such an important role in his life. Chinese is the only language he wants to learn now because he wants to concentrate on that language and learn it well so he can travel to China, just as his great-grandfather learned languages to travel to other countries. Consequently, his Mandarin achievement is high.

Jennifer's family members are "internal mediators" whom she sees every day, which makes it easy for them to become mimetic rivals. Because of the rivalry, speaking many languages is important to her not for its own sake or even for its instrumental value, but because of the prestige she thinks she will get when she can claim to have learned eight languages. She wants to be cooler than her family members, but she overlooks the fact that it takes great efforts to learn just one foreign language, not to mention eight. Gaining the prestige of telling people that she can speak eight languages does not require her to

learn them well, so she does not put much effort into learning languages. Consequently, Jennifer's Mandarin achievement is not high.

8.4.4 Findings

In Jennifer's and Peter's family language stories we find a shared pattern of experience based on mimetic desire. They both desire what their models/mediators desire or have. They desire to be like their family members in being bilingual or multilingual, but that desire looks different when it is dominated by rivalry, as it is in Jennifer's case. For her, being able to speak many languages becomes less important than announcing that she is cooler than other members of her family. Rivalry tends to take the focus off the object and put it on the surpassing the rival. When people get enmeshed in mimetic rivalry, the object becomes less important than the prestige of winning. Learning more languages becomes more important than learning a single language well, so the effort needed for high achievement is not made. In Peter's case, on the other hand, there is no rivalry with his model, so his interest remains focused on the intrinsic desirability of language-learning and travel rather than on the prestige of besting a rival. This provides him with the motivation to make the effort necessary for high achievement.

8.5 Differences in Mark's and Elva's family language stories as related to differences in their Mandarin outcomes

8.5.1 Similarities in their stories

Mark and Elva were both born in Australia. They have similar home environments: parents who are supportive of their Chinese learning, access to Chinese restaurants and neighbours, and six years of learning Chinese in school.

8.5.2 Differences in their stories

Mark's mother and grandfather both have a strong interest in Chinese language and culture. They have both been to China, have positive attitudes towards China, and want Mark to learn Chinese as his second language. Elva's family, on the other hand, has no particular interests in Chinese culture, but they think learning a second language is fun and helpful. Both families are involved in their child's second language learning, but in different ways. Through her own actions, Mark's mother signals to Mark that Chinese is important, which helps to build Mark's integrated and instrumental motivations. The encouragement Elva receives from her parents, however, is mostly limited to verbal praise, which does not instil the same level of motivation.

8.5.3 Reasons for different outcomes of their Mandarin learning

Mark's mother and grandfather are interested in Chinese culture and Mark enjoys the Chinese activities they do together. Because of them, he is interested in Chinese culture. The joy of doing Chinese activities with his mother and grandfather increases Mark's integrated motivation of learning Chinese. His instrumental motivation increases too because his mother creates fun opportunities for Mark to use the language. To Mark, learning Chinese is actually similar to learning his first language, since the learning comes naturally from playing with neighbours, watching Chinese movies with his grandfather, and speaking Mandarin with his mother. By comparison, Elva's family's encouragement helps build her confidence, but it does not serve the purpose of making Chinese fun to learn. Because Elva's family has never travelled to China and nor acquired an interest in Chinese culture, they do not provide the sort of learning environment that Mark has at home. The praise that Elva gets does not have the same impact as the more active involvement that Mark gets due to his mother and grandfather's enthusiasm for

Chinese things. For Elva, Mandarin is just another subject she is learning from school, which is why her Mandarin achievement is not as high as Mark's.

8.5.4 Findings

In Mark's and Elva's family language stories we find divergent levels of family interest in Chinese culture. Mark's family has a strong interest in Chinese culture and their involvement in Mark's Mandarin learning consequently takes various active forms that positively influence Mark's success at learning Chinese by creating an environment that rewards his efforts in a variety of ways. Elva's family, on the other hand, has no particular interests in Chinese culture, so their involvement in her Mandarin learning is limited to offering praise and consequently has less of a positive impact on her Mandarin learning

8.6 Implications

Being qualitative and constructivist, my research offers a detailed interpretation and analysis of the relationship between these six students' family language stories and their Mandarin learning outcomes. Starting with the common-sense observation that family language history is likely to have an impact upon students' interests in studying languages, my research not only presents case studies that confirm that intuition, but also identifies several distinct patterns of experience that appear to be especially relevant to the question of how that impact might translate into specific learning outcomes. The chief value of this study lies in the patterns of experience I have discerned and my findings concerning how they are related to the learning outcomes of these six students.

From these students' stories, I have identified three patterns of experience that appear to have a significant impact on those learning outcomes—ethnic identity, mimetic desire, and the level of family interest in Chinese culture. Because each of the pairs of student I

examine share similar backgrounds in some relevant respect, I have been able to isolate certain feature of their experience that account for their difference in Mandarin achievement. Vann and Sheena are both from ethnic Chinese immigrant families, but Vann's family feels a much stronger sense of Chinese ethnic identity, which provides him with greater instrumental and integrated motivation to learn Mandarin than Sheena. Both Peter and Jennifer desire to learn languages because they are mimetically inspired by the accomplishments of other family members, but Peter's model is an "external mediator" who cannot become a rival, unlike Jennifer's "internal mediators," which keeps Peter focused on the object of desire, rather than on the prestige of surpassing a rival. Both Mark and Elva receive encouragement from their families, but Mark's family has a greater interest in Chinese culture than Elva's, which means he has more exposure to Mandarin and more opportunity to use the language, increasing his integrated motivation. These patterns of experience suggest specific ways that family language stories and children's second language learning can be related.

But it needs to be emphasized again that this is not a comprehensive study. Nor does it make any claim to be definitive. In fact, no study of this kind can be definitive because the stories on which is based are personal and contextual. In addition, my sample is limited to students at just one school and, in fact, to just six students at that school. My narrow focus on just these six students means that my larger survey of the whole class has not been analysed. The advantage of this small sample size is that it has allowed me to explore these six student's stories in much greater depth and detail than would have been possible if I had attempted to analyse a larger group. One drawback, however, is that the information I have gained remains anecdotal. Consequently, my conclusions are necessarily more tentative and less projectable to a larger group of second language

learners than they would be if they were based on data gathered from a much larger sample.

There are undoubtedly many other ways that family language stories can influence second language learning that my research has not brought to light due to its inherent limitations. However, the patterns of experience discerned in this study and the tentative conclusions I have drawn from them do indicate some promising directions for future research. The role of family language stories in second language learning is a new area of research and my own study has led to interesting and important insights that I believe warrant further investigation. The patterns of experience that have emerged from my research, along with my detailed analysis of them in each of these case studies, lay the groundwork for further research that, being more comprehensive and employing larger and more diverse samples, can test the wider relevance of these patterns. It is hoped that information provided in my research, along with the specific insights I have gleaned from it, will be of service to other researches in this new field of study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: WSU Human Ethics Approval

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Appendix 7: Family Language Stories Keywords

Appendix 1: WSU Human Ethics Approval

Locked Bag 1797
Penrith NSW 2751 Australia
Research Engagement, Development and Innovation (REDI)
REDI Reference: H12267
Risk Rating: Low 2 - HREC

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

12 July 2017
Doctor David Wright
School of Education

Dear David,

I wish to formally advise you that the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved your research proposal H12267 "An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning", until 31 March 2018 with the provision of a progress report annually if over 12 months and a final report on completion.

In providing this approval the HREC determined that the proposal meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research.

This protocol covers the following researchers:

David Wright, Jing Qi, Daisy Wu

Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report will be due annually on the anniversary of the approval date.
2. A final report will be due at the expiration of the approval period.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee prior to being implemented. Amendments must be requested using the HREC Amendment Request Form: https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/data/assets/word_doc/0012/1096995/FORM_Amendment_Request.docx
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events on participants must be reported to the Human Research Ethics Committee via the Human Ethics Officer as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the Committee as a matter of priority
6. Consent forms are to be retained within the archives of the School or Research Institute and made available to the Committee upon request.
7. Project specific conditions: There are no specific conditions applicable.

Please quote the registration number and title as indicated above in the subject line on all future correspondence related to this project. All correspondence should be sent to the e-mail address humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au as this e-mail address is closely monitored.

Yours sincerely



Professor Elizabeth Deane
Presiding Member,
Western Sydney University Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2 Serap Approval Letter from the NSW Government



Miss Xiaolan Wu
Western Sydney University
Student Village KINGSWOOD
NSW 2751

DOC17/1039124
SERAP 2017314

Dear Miss Wu

I refer to your application to conduct a research project in NSW government schools entitled *An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning*. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved. You may contact principals of the nominated schools to seek their participation. **You should include a copy of this letter with the documents you send to principals.** This approval will remain valid until 31-Mar-2018. The following researchers or research assistants have fulfilled the Working with Children screening requirements to interact with or observe children for the purposes of this research for the period indicated:

Researcher name	WWCC	WWCC expires
Xiaolan Wu	WWC1158338V	11-Apr-2021

I draw your attention to the following requirements for all researchers in NSW government schools:

- The privacy of participants is to be protected as per the NSW Privacy and Personal Information Protection Act 1998.
- School principals have the right to withdraw the school from the study at any time. The approval of the principal for the specific method of gathering information must also be sought.
- The privacy of the school and the students is to be protected.
- The participation of teachers and students must be voluntary and must be at the school's convenience.
- Any proposal to publish the outcomes of the study should be discussed with the research approvals officer before publication proceeds.
- All conditions attached to the approval must be complied with.

When your study is completed please email your report to: serap@det.nsw.edu.au You may also be asked to present on the findings of your research.

I wish you every success with your research. Yours sincerely

Dr Robert Stevens
Manager, Research
6 October 2017



School Policy and Information Management
NSW Department of Education Level 1, 1 Oxford
Street, Darlinghurst NSW 2010 – Locked Bag
53, Darlinghurst NSW 1300 Telephone: 02 9244 5060
– Email: serap@det.nsw.edu.au

Appendix 3: Information Sheet (to the whole class)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Participant Information Sheet – Parent/Carer (Specific)

Your child is invited to participate in a research study titled *An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning*.

This study is conducted by Ms Xiaolan Wu, who is a research student under the supervision of Dr. David Wright and Dr. Jing Qi from the School of Education, Western Sydney University. This study explores students' stories about their family language histories and aims to understand how their knowledge and interpretation of such stories influence their learning of Mandarin as a second language.

How is the study being paid for?

Western Sydney University will support this research through providing candidature funds to be used for research purposes.

What will my child be asked to do?

The research will be conducted primarily through observation of regular class activities.

How much of my child's time will he/she need to give?

These will occur as part of regular classroom teaching activities.

What benefits will my child and/or the broader community receive from participating?

Your child will have the opportunity to express feelings towards learning Mandarin. In addition, through talking about family language stories, you child may understand the relevance of learning a second language and may become more motivated in the learning process.

Will the study involve any risk or discomfort for my child? If so, what will be done to rectify it?

There will be no risk or discomfort for your child because it will be part of regular class teaching.

How do you intend to publish or disseminate the results?

It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be written in my research thesis and may be presented in conferences, seminars, and community meetings.

Will the data and information that my child provides be disposed of?

Yes, the data information collected through this study will be securely disposed of. All the electronic files will be deleted permanently. All the hard copies will be shredded.

Can I withdraw my child from the study? Can my child withdraw from the study?

Your child's participation in the study is entirely voluntary and he or she is not obliged to be involved. You can withdraw your child from the study at any time.

Can I or my child tell other people about the study?

Yes, you or your child can tell other people about the study. If they are interested please ask them to contact the researcher.

What if I require further information?

Should you wish to discuss the research further before deciding whether to participate, please contact:

Ms Xiaolan Wu
Email: 18790564@student.westernsydney.edu.au

or

Research supervisor: Dr. David Wright,
Office number: 0247360267

or

Research supervisor: Dr. Jing Qi,
Office number: 047360259

What if I have a complaint?

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through Research Engagement, Development and Innovation (REDI) at Tel. +61 2 4736 0229 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au.

Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

If you agree for your child to participate in this study, you may be asked to sign a Consent Form. The information sheet is for you to keep and the consent form is retained by the researcher/s.

This study has been approved by the Western Sydney University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H12267.

Appendix 4 Information Sheet (to the interview students)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Participant Information Sheet – Parent/Carer (Specific)

Your child is invited to participate in a research study titled *An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning*.

This study is conducted by Ms Xiaolan Wu, who is a research student under the supervision of Dr. David Wright and Dr. Jing Qi from the School of Education, Western Sydney University. This study explores students' stories about their family language histories and aims to understand how their knowledge and interpretation of such stories influence their learning of Mandarin as a second language.

How is the study being paid for?

Western Sydney University will support this research through providing candidature funds to be used for research purposes.

What will my child be asked to do?

Your child will be involved in a small group discussion about family language stories and second language learning. The interview will be audio recorded.

How much of my child's time will he/she need to give?

The group discussion will take one hour of your child's time.

What benefits will my child and/or the broader community receive from participating?

Your child will have the opportunity to express feelings towards learning Mandarin. In addition, through talking about family language stories, your child may understand the relevance of learning a second language and may become more motivated in the learning process.

Will the study involve any risk or discomfort for my child? If so, what will be done to rectify it?

It is possible that some students may feel uncomfortable during the group discussion. However, they will not have to answer any questions that cause any discomfort. In addition, they can choose to withdraw from the study at any time.

How do you intend to publish or disseminate the results?

It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be written in my research thesis and may be presented in conferences, seminars, and community meetings.

Will the data and information that my child provides be disposed of?

Yes, the data information collected through this study will be securely disposed of. All the electronic files will be deleted permanently. All the hard copies will be shredded.

Can I withdraw my child from the study? Can my child withdraw from the study?

Your child's participation in the study is entirely voluntary and he or she is not obliged to be involved. You can withdraw your child from the study at any time. However, the data collection through the group discussion cannot be removed.

Can I or my child tell other people about the study?

Yes, you or your child can tell other people about the study. If they are interested please ask them to contact the researcher.

What if I require further information?

Should you wish to discuss the research further before deciding whether to participate, please contact:

Ms Xiaolan Wu

Email: 18790564@student.westernsydney.edu.au

or

*Research supervisor: Dr. David Wright,
Office number: 0247360267*

or

*Research supervisor: Dr. Jing Qi,
Office number: 047360259*

What if I have a complaint?

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through Research Engagement, Development and Innovation (REDI) at Tel. +61 2 4736 0229 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au.

Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

If you agree for your child to participate in this study, you may be asked to sign a Consent Form. The information sheet is for you to keep and the consent form is retained by the researcher/s.

This study has been approved by the Western Sydney University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H12267.

Appendix 5 Parents' Consent Forms (for the whole class)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Consent Form – Parent/Carer (Specific)

Project Title: An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning

I, _____ *[name of Parent/Carer]*, hereby consent for my child

_____ *[name of child]*, to participate in the above named research project.

I have discussed participation in the project with my child who agrees to participate in the project. I acknowledge that:

- I have read the participant information sheet (or where appropriate, have had it read to me) and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my child's involvement in the project with the researcher/s
- The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent for my child to participate in:

classroom activities, which maybe observed and discussed in a research thesis.

I consent for my child's data and information provided to be used for this project.

I understand that my child's involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about them will be used in any way that reveals their identity.

I understand that I can withdraw my child, or my child can withdraw, from the study at any time without affecting their relationship with the researcher/s, and any organisations involved, now or in the future.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

This study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Western Sydney University. The ethics reference number is: H 12267

What if I have a complaint?

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through Research Engagement, Development and Innovation (REDI) on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 6 Parents' Consent Forms (for the interviewed students)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Consent Form – Parent/Carer (Specific)

Project Title: An Ethnographic Study of the Relationship between Family Language Stories and Students' Second Language Learning

I, _____ *[name of Parent/Carer]*, hereby consent for my child
_____ *[name of child]*, to participate in the above named research
project.

I have discussed participation in the project with my child who agrees to participate in the project. I acknowledge that:

- I have read the participant information sheet (or where appropriate, have had it read to me) and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my child's involvement in the project with the researcher/s
- The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent for my child to participate in:

a small group discussion about family language histories, which will be audio recorded

I consent for my child's data and information provided to be used for this project.

I understand that my child's involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about them will be used in any way that reveals their identity.

I understand that I can withdraw my child, or my child can withdraw, from the study at any time without affecting their relationship with the researcher/s, and any organisations involved, now or in the future.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

This study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Western Sydney University. The ethics reference number is: H 12267

What if I have a complaint?

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through Research Engagement, Development and Innovation (REDI) on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 7 Family Language Stories Keywords

Students family language stories	keywords
<p>Kelly Grandparents on both sides came from Malta. They immigrated to Australia because the economy in Europe was very bad at the time. Parents were born in Australia. In recent years, the family has travelled to Fiji. Parents want her and her sister to learn Chinese because they think it is always good to know another language and it will be helpful for in finding a good job in the future. She wants to go to a high school where she can keep learning Chinese; She might travel to China one day.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Jobs</p> <p>Keep learning Chinese</p>
<p>Lara C All family members were born in Australia and can speak only English. Great-grandparents on father's side were from Britain. She learns Chinese because her mother said it probably will be fun. Her parents are very happy she is learning Mandarin.</p>	<p>Monolingual family</p>
<p>Emma Father's mother is from Canada, can speak French, and moved to Australia at a young age. Father can't speak French. Mother's grandmother is from Lithuania, but in subsequent generations no one in the family can speak Lithuanian.</p> <p>Chinese is interesting and she likes the characters. Her parents very happy she is learning Mandarin.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Canada</p>
<p>Jennifer Grandparents on both sides were born in South Africa. Mother moved to Australia when she was 16. Father moved to Australia when he was 20. Jennifer was born in Australia, can speak only English, but all of the other members of her family can speak English and Afrikaans. Jennifer admires her family for being bilingual and multilingual She wants to learn 8 languages because she thinks being bilingual is COOL and being multilingual is even COOLER. She says it is COOL that her family is so multicultural. In high school, she will change her second language to Spanish. Her family enjoys many Indian-related activities. At home, they celebrate Diwali and watch Hindi movies because they have many Indian friends.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Africa</p> <p>Family members multilingual because of the native settings</p> <p>Learn eight languages in the future</p> <p>Admire being multilingual because it is cool</p>

<p>She will go to China one day, but she likes European countries more.</p>	<p>COOL—COOLER</p> <p>No strong desire to go to China</p>
<p>Ray</p> <p>Whole family was born in Australia and speak only English. He wants to learn Mandarin. He always wants to do new things. He wants to learn Japanese in high school. His parent doesn't follow up with his Mandarin study.</p>	
<p>Mark</p> <p>Mark was born in Australia, as were his parents. His grandparents were originally from England and moved to Australia. In his family, almost everyone is monolingual, who only speaks English. Mark's mother and grandfather are very happy that Mark is learning Chinese. They went to China before, Mark's grandfather and mother loves Chinese culture. His mother is always curious about his Chinese learning, always asks questions about Chinese, follows up with his study, and is always very positive. When Mark uses Chinese at home his mother will repeat his words and actually learn from him. When Mark brings Mandarin worksheets home, his mother sits down with him and uses Google translation to help him. Mark's mother encourages him to speak Chinese at home. Mark always says thank you in Chinese, and his mother always says you are welcome in Chinese back. His mother said if he fails in Chinese exam, she will be still proud of him. They will do research together about China.</p> <p>Mark's parents take him to Chinese restaurants sometimes. They get free prawn chips if Mark speaks Mandarin. His parents are pretty happy with the free prawn chips. Mark's grandfather went to China a few times. China is Mark's grandfather's favourite country besides Australia. When I conducted the interview, Mark said his grandfather would be visiting China again in a week. His grandfather bought him a fan at the Great Wall. Grandfather is learning Mandarin because he wants to move to China in the future. Mark's parents take Mark to visit his grandfather often, so they can practice Chinese together. Mark's grandfather is very happy that Mark is learning Chinese. His grandfather will also cook Chinese food at home and use chopsticks. Mark and his grandfather will watch Chinese movies together. Mark plans to keep learning Chinese</p> <p>Mark has a Chinese neighbour and they are very good friends</p>	<p>Fun</p> <p>Mother and grandfather loves Chinese culture</p> <p>Mother: curious, positive, and asks questions</p> <p>Learning from the child</p> <p>Follow up by action</p> <p>Chinese used at home</p> <p>Do Chinese research together</p> <p>Grandfather loves China</p> <p>Language exposure with grandfather</p> <p>Chinese-speaking opportunity provided by parents</p> <p>Exposure to Chinese culture at home</p> <p>Keep learning Chinese</p> <p>Chinese neighbour</p>

<p>Peter</p> <p>Great-grandfather travelled around the world to experience different cultures for 15 years. He started in Europe, then went to Africa, and ended up in Lebanon. He learned four languages. Peter admires his great grandfather being multilingual and spending so many years travelling. Peter wants to do a lot of traveling too. The first place he wants to go is China because he has been learning Chinese for so many years and can use the language there. He believes he will come to know the culture better through visiting he would just studying about it in school.</p> <p>Peter's mother travelled to China and has a very positive attitude towards the country. She is very curious about Peter's Chinese and asks him questions about China and Chinese. At home, sometimes they sit down to do research on China, learning about pandas, the Peking Opera, and Chinese food.</p> <p>Peter will keep learning Chinese when he goes to high school. At this stage, he doesn't want to learn other languages because he thinks it is better to learn one language well instead of learning many languages but not becoming proficient in any of them.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Family member is VERY multilingual because of traveling around the world</p> <p>Admiration</p> <p>Multicultural</p> <p>Influence: travel and see different cultures</p> <p>Want to go to China and use the language</p> <p>Learning Chinese for traveling</p> <p>Curious</p> <p>Mother went to China and likes China</p> <p>Exposure to Chinese culture at home</p> <p>Keep learning Chinese</p> <p>Learn a language entirely</p>
<p>David</p> <p>David's family is all Australians, grandparents were from Britain. Mother lived in France and England for a short time, and she can speak a little bit of French. Uncle knows how to speak Dutch and worked in France and Germany and on an island in the Netherlands, his uncle met David's auntie (British). They came back to Australia and got married. Father's side: only speak English.</p> <p>In the family treasure class, David brought a pen that is from his Chinese buddy, and an elephant statue that his brother</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Chinese buddy</p> <p>FM is learning another language</p> <p>Love learning Chinese from his friend</p>

<p>bought him from Thailand.</p> <p>Last year, some students from a Chinese sister school came to Australia for a short study trip. A Chinese boy lived with David's family. For two weeks, they learned language from each other. David hasn't been to China yet, but wants to go there to see his friend one day. Now, they stay in contact with each other on Wechat. David teaches his Chinese buddy English and learns Chinese from him. They talk for ten minutes in Chinese and ten minutes in English. They write down new words in their notebook.</p> <p>David's brother worked in Thailand as an English teacher for a year and is learning Thai. David wants to learn Mandarin because he thinks it is useful for jobs in the future. He also teaches his mother Mandarin. His father doesn't really want to learn but his mother does and is really interested in David's Mandarin learning. She often asks how his Mandarin is going.</p>	<p>Go to China</p> <p>Learning from the child</p>
<p>Vann</p> <p>Mother's side: His grandfather was born in China and moved to Vietnam when he was 3 years old. Vann's grandfather grew up in Vietnam in a Chinese community. He most often spoke Teochew, Cantonese, and Mandarin when he was in Vietnam. He can speak Vietnamese but didn't speak it much. He married a Chinese girl and had Vann's mother. He had his own business in Vietnam, but because of the civil war, in 1980, he had to flee the country when his mother was six years old. He came to Australia as a refugee. He always referred himself as Chinese, so does Vann's mother.</p> <p>Every time Vann went to visit his grandfather, his grandfather told him Chinese stories, such as the Monkey King. Vann loved it. His grandfather also told him stories about Vietnam, about how successful the Chinese people were and how Vietnamese government treated them badly.</p> <p>Vann is half-Chinese and half-Australian. His mother was born in Vietnam and could speak only Teochew back then because her father only taught her Teochew. After coming to Australia, she studied English very intently and didn't really have time to learn any Mandarin. Vann's mother and grandfather encourage Vann to learn Mandarin because Vann is half Chinese. Vann has never been to China, but he wants to go to China one day.</p>	<p>Chinese background</p> <p>Immigrating from Vietnam</p> <p>High Chinese ethnic identity</p> <p>Exposure to Chinese culture at home</p> <p>Wants to go to China</p>

<p>Father's side: Grandfather was born in Wales and met Vann's grandmother in Australia. No uncles and aunties could speak Welsh.</p>	
<p>Bridget Mother's side: Grandparents were originally from Italy, born in Australia and can speak Italian and English fluently. Her mother can speak a little bit of Italian. Her parents think it is good to learn another language. Bridget studied Japanese in her old school. Parents are interested in her Mandarin learning but never ask her to speak Mandarin. She likes Mandarin. She wants to learn Indonesian and French when she goes to high school. Her grandparents taught her Italian but she can't remember any.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Italy Follow up by words Quit Mandarin</p>
<p>Sarah Her father was born in Samoa but lived in Tokelau. She is one of 7 kids. They all can speak English. Sarah's father went to New Zealand moving to Australia when he was 20. A couple of years ago, Sarah's cousin taught her the Samoan language, but now she has forgotten it. Sarah's stepfather is from Samoa. Her parents put them in the Mandarin program because they think it will help them get jobs in the future. Her brother is in kindy. He is really into Chinese. He always speaks Mandarin at home and counts from 1 to 10 in Mandarin. Her mother doesn't need to ask her brother to practice Chinese because he is always counting. Sarah helps her brother learn Mandarin.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Oceania jobs Sibling really into Chinese</p>
<p>Charlotte All of her family speaks only English. Her mother thinks learning a new language will be fun. Her mother knows how to say "nihao." Her sister was learning Mandarin, but now she is in high school learning French. Her grandmother knows a little bit of Japanese because she went to Japan several times. Charlotte wants to study Japanese in high school.</p>	<p>Monolingual family Quit Mandarin</p>
<p>James Mother's side: born in Australia. One of James' aunties married an Irishman. Father's side: Maltese. James' father can't speak Maltese and neither can James. His mother wants him to speak a second language fluently. She doesn't ask about his Chinese learning.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Malta</p>
<p>Maisie She is Irish on her mother's side and Scottish on her father's</p>	

<p>side. Her sister is learning Mandarin too. She has conversation with her sister in Chinese.</p>	<p>Siblings learning Chinese</p>
<p>Riley Mother's side: grandparents were born in Canada and can speak only English. Riley's mother was born in Canada and also speaks only English. Father's side: both grandparents from New Zealand. Riley and her brother were born in Australia and both learning Chinese. When Riley's mother was in school, she learned a second language. Parents are really happy for her to learn a language and they want her to continue.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Canada Sibling learning Chinese</p>
<p>Elva Father's side: they all came from England. Father immigrated to New Zealand and Elva's uncle went to Melbourne. In New Zealand, her father met her mother. Father's side all speak English. Mother's side: grandparents are from the Philippines. When they got divorced, grandmother and her children moved to New Zealand. Elva's mother was then in her 20s. Her mother took a few years to learn English while in New Zealand. Previously, she spoke only Taluka. Her English is good now but she still has a recognizable accent. Elva can speak only a tiny bit of Taluka. The family doesn't talk about Mandarin. Because her mother knows two languages, she wants Elva to know two languages too, which is why she put Elva in Chinese class. Elva's mother is not really enthusiastic about Chinese, though. She always says, "It is Ok, just try your best." When Elva speaks Chinese, her mother will say "good job," but doesn't ask about the meaning. Elva has a Chinese neighbour but they don't talk to each other. Sometimes they go to a Chinese restaurant, but her parents won't ask her to order dishes in case she orders the wrong things.</p> <p>Elva says Mandarin is not her favourite language. Spanish is her favourite. She is learning Spanish online right now because she wants to go to Spain. She's interested in Spain because her 17-year-old sister really wants to move to Spain. Elva started looking at it and decided it is a good place. All of the kids in the family are learning Spanish. In high school, she is going to take Spanish.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe and the Philippines No action support Follow up by words No Chinese speaking opportunities provided by parents Chinese speaking opportunity provided by neighbor, but never uses it Sibling's influence in Spanish Switch to Spanish</p>
<p>Lydia Father's side: grandparents were from Macedonia, speaking Macedonian. Her grandparents moved to Australia and her father was born here. Her father can speak fluent Macedonian. Lydia can speak a little bit. Her mother was</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe Multilingual</p>

<p>originally from Serbia. Her mother’s native language is Serbian, which is different from Macedonian but she can understand it. Her mother can speak three languages. At home they speak Macedonian and English. Lydia’s sister also studies Mandarin. Lydia’s parents just enrolled Lydia in Mandarin class without telling her. Her parents don’t follow up. Lydia thinks her parents are interested in learning a new language but just don’t have time. Her grandmother learned English from shopping at stores when she moved here. Lydia wants to learn Italian when she goes to high school.</p>	<p>Sibling learning Chinese</p> <p>No action support</p> <p>Going to quit mandarin</p>
<p>Taylor</p> <p>Father’s side: her grandmother was born in Germany and can speak German, English, and Ukrainian fluently. Grandmother’s mother was from Ukraine and can speak Ukrainian and German. She has no idea about her grandmother’s father. Taylor’s grandmother moved to Australia, where her father and uncle were born. They all can speak a bit of Ukrainian. Grandfather was from Scotland.</p> <p>Mother’s side: grandmother is Greek and can speak Greek and English. Grandfather is Austrian and speaks Austrian and English. They both moved to Australia and met in Australia. Her mother was born in Australia; she speaks only English, as well as her siblings. Taylor sees her grandmother often, which is why she knows how to speak Ukrainian. Taylor has been learning Mandarin for six year. She thinks it is good for getting a job. Her parents always tell her to try her best. Her brother also studies Mandarin. They speak Mandarin sometimes together.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Family member is multilingual</p> <p>Jobs</p> <p>Sibling learning Chinese</p>
<p>Sheena</p> <p>Sheena was born in Australia. Her parents were from China, met each other in high school, and came to Australia together. When Sheena’s parents were in high school, they heard news about how people earned a lot of money in Australia and ended up there happily. Sheena’s parents had a “going abroad dream” and hoped to become Australian citizens one day. In 1988, her parents sold some furniture in Shanghai and borrowed money from relatives to come to Australia to study English. They are very proud that they achieved their dream and that Sheena and her sister were born and bred in Australia.</p> <p>Sheena doesn’t really like Chinese. She has never attended Chinese school after class. Her sister is learning French in school and comes home to teach it to Sheena and her mother. Sheena wants to learn French in high school. At</p>	<p>Chinese background</p> <p>Immigrating from China</p> <p>Happy to be Australian</p> <p>National identity of being Australian is high,</p> <p>Ethnic identity of being Chinese is low</p> <p>Mandarin speaking opportunities not provided often</p>

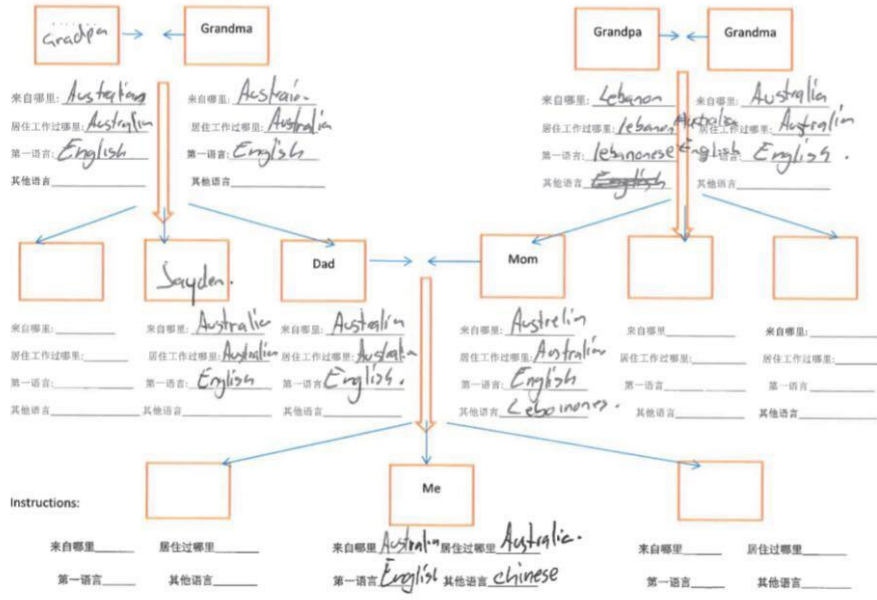
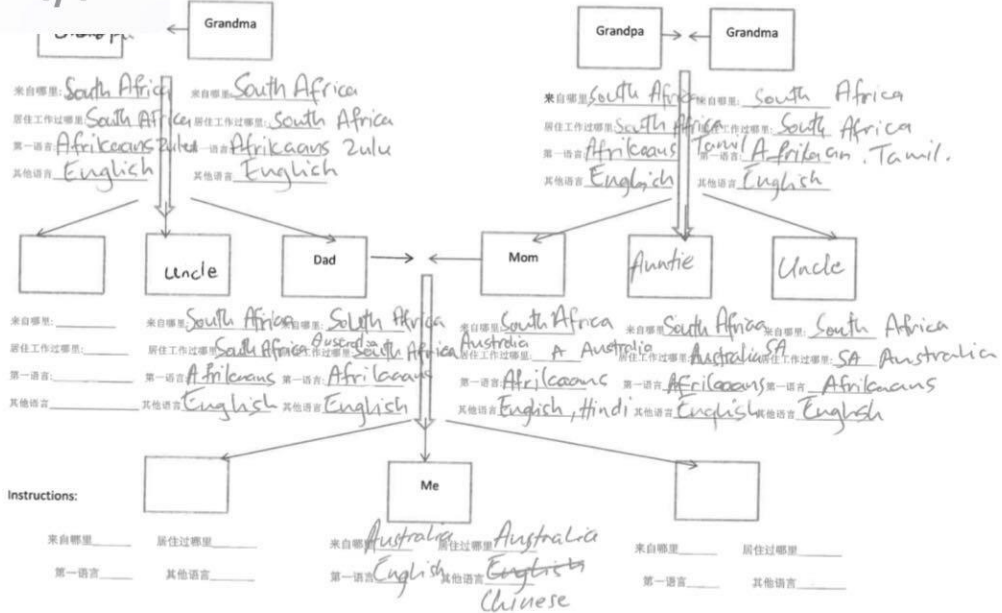
<p>home, they speak English. When Sheena's grandmother calls from China, Sheena needs to speak Mandarin to her, which Sheena doesn't like. Sheena refers herself as Australian.</p>	<p>Likes French Switch to French Sheena is Australian</p>
<p>Sean His mother was born in Australia and can speak only English. His father was born in Australia and went to Italy for work. His father can speak English and a little bit of Italian.</p>	<p>Monolingual</p>
<p>Matt Father was born in Ireland but can't speak Irish. Father's parents all can speak Irish but they mostly speak English now. Mother's side is all Australian. Matt's parents put him in Chinese class because they think it will be great for him to learn another language. Sometimes Matt teaches them Mandarin. Grandparent's neighbour can speak Mandarin. Sometimes Matt speaks Mandarin with him. He plans to continue learning Chinese in high school.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe Chinese restaurants influence Neighbour's influence</p>
<p>Joel Father side: grandparents were from Croatia, with Croatian as their first language. They moved to Australia when they were young and took a long time to learn English. His father and father's siblings were born in Australia, but their first language is Croatian. Mother's side: both from Croatia too. Joel's mother's Croatian is native and better than her brother. Joel only speaks a few words of Croatian. His grandmother gave him a book and encouraged him to learn. Sometimes his parents teach him Croatian. Joel's parents speak Croatian to each other at home to keep things secret from him. He doesn't like it but they still do it a lot. He thinks it will take a long time for him to learn Croatian.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe Not much support Sibling learning Mandarin</p>
<p>Daniel Mother's side: grandparents are from Russia. His grandparents can speak Russian. He moved to Australia when he was little. Daniel's mother was born in Australia and can speak a little bit of Russian. Not sure about father's side. He doesn't know why his mother wants him to learn Mandarin.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Russia</p>
<p>Ebony All members of the family speak English and all born in Australia. She is changing to Japanese in high school.</p>	<p>Monolingual family</p>
<p>Nai</p>	

<p>Everyone in the family speaks English. Great-grandparents were from Britain. Her grandfather learned a little bit of Spanish in high school. Her little sister is learning Mandarin in kindy. She went on the China trip last year (this will be explained in Chapter 8). She spoke Chinese with her classmate Amy when they were in China and many Chinese people were amazed. Her mother works for a Chinese doctor and she will speak Chinese to her mother's boss sometime.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Friends' influence</p> <p>Chinese boss</p>
<p>Amy</p> <p>Amy's mother is from South Africa and can speak Afrikaans. Amy can speak a little bit of Afrikaans. Her father is Australian and can speak only English. Amy loves Chinese language and Chinese culture. At home she does research on China with her mother. Amy sat next to Nai for a while. During recess and lunchtime, they always tried to have conversations in Chinese only. She went to China with the school tour and she loved the experience. When she was in China, she spoke a lot of Chinese with Nai She wants to be a zoo keeper when she grows up and thinks Chinese will be very useful since there are so many Chinese in Sydney.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Africa</p> <p>Loves Chinese</p> <p>Useful</p> <p>Chinese is used at home</p> <p>Friends' influence</p>
<p>Ella</p> <p>All family members speak only English. She has been learning Mandarin for 4 years.</p>	<p>Monolingual family</p>
<p>Lily</p> <p>Lily's grandmother was from Netherlands and travelled around a lot in Europe when she was young. Lily's uncle on her father's side was born in England and her father was born in Germany. The whole family moved to Australia. Grandmother's first language is Dutch. Her father lived all of his life in Australia. Mother's sides are all from Australia. Her uncle speaks a little bit Dutch but not her father.</p>	<p>Immigrating from Europe</p> <p>Parents not very supportive on action</p> <p>Sibling's influence in Spanish</p>
<p>Luke</p> <p>The whole family is from Australia. He has been learning Mandarin for 7 years. His parents don't follow up with his study. In the beginning, his mother thought learning Mandarin would be good for him and put him in the Chinese class starting in kindy. For the first year, Luke didn't like studying Mandarin but he stayed since his friends were all here. Now he is Year Six and still doesn't like Mandarin. His mother wants him to switch to normal class (not bilingual) but he doesn't want to because his friends are still here. His mother asked him not long ago: "Do you even like</p>	<p>Monolingual family</p> <p>Friend's influence</p>

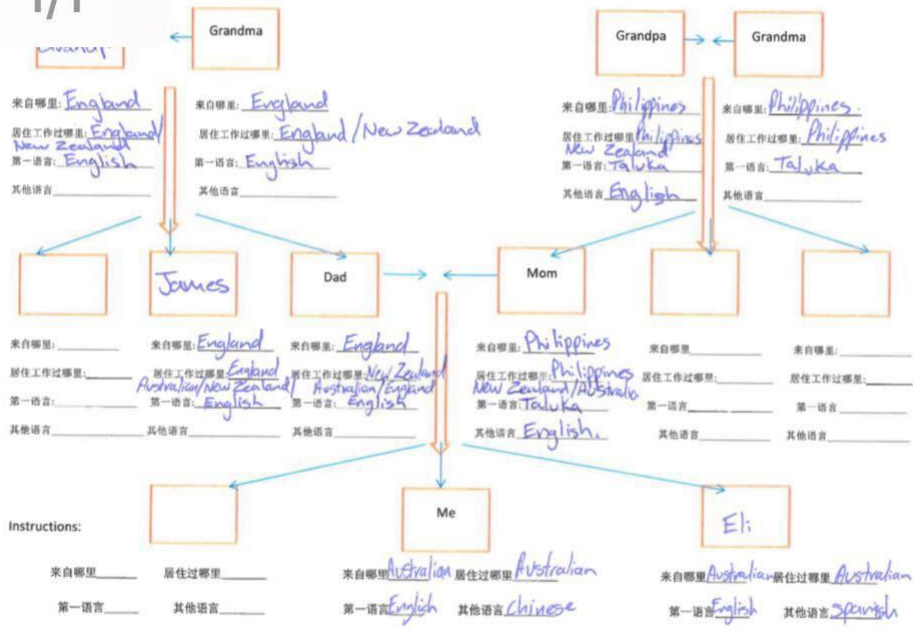
Mandarin?" He said to me: "Chinese is very boring, not fun at all."	
Thomas All family can speak only English. Thomas has been learning Mandarin for 3 years.	Monolingual family

Appendix 8 Family Tree Map

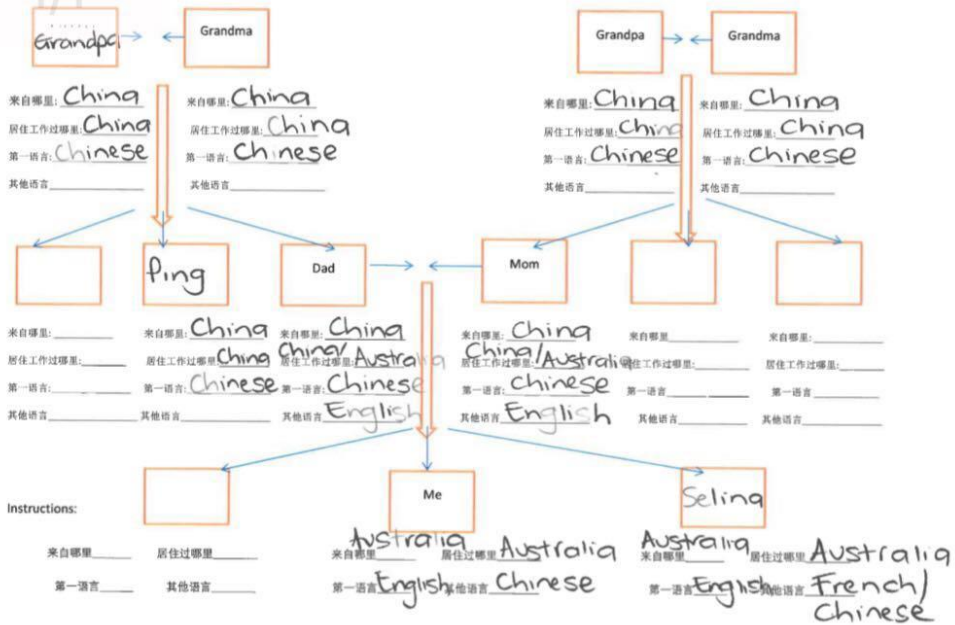
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