

**Cultural Identity and Code-switching among
Immigrant Chinese Students, Parents and Teachers**

by

Vivian K. N. Lo

M.C.I.L. Chartered Institute of Linguists, U.K., 1990

M.B.A. University of Leicester, U.K., 1994

M.A. University of Gloucestershire, U.K., 1995

B.A. Simon Fraser University, 1999

M.A. Simon Fraser University, 2001

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APPROVAL

Name: Vivian Kwan Ngai Lo

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Title of Research Project: Cultural Identity and Code-switching among Immigrant Chinese Students, Parents and Teachers

Examining Committee:

Chair: Lannie Kanevsky

John Nesbit, Associate Professor
Senior Supervisor

Danièle Moore, Associate Professor, Co-Supervisor

Cécile Sabatier, Assistant Professor

Dr. Steve Marshall, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Education
Internal/External Examiner

Dr. Stephen Carey, Professor, Department of Language and
Literacy Education, UBC
External Examiner

Date: July 03, 2007

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Abstract

Language may be used to communicate, learn, and express identity. Adopting Chinese schools as a focal point, this dissertation explored how Chinese-Canadians establish their cultural identity through code-switching. This dissertation was guided by four research questions: (1) How is the prevalence of code-switching among Chinese teachers, parents and students at home and in school? (2) How do the teachers, parents and students perceive and compare the communicative, learning and identity-reflective functions of language? (3) How do they form their cultural identity through language use and code-switching? (4) What do they understand as, the relationship between language use/code-switching and identity formation? Several types of data were gathered: Three Canadian specialists in Chinese language education were interviewed; 203 students were recruited from six Chinese language schools in Greater Vancouver to answer a structured questionnaire; eight triplets of parents, teachers and students participated in class observations, home visits, and group discussions; and data were gathered from students' self tape-recording, written logs and instant messages. It was found that the students did the most between-turns code-switching, while the parents did less and the teachers did the least amount of code-switching. Most participants considered the communicative function of language the most important, the learning function less important and the identity-reflective function the least important. Some participants suggested that language may serve different functions simultaneously. I proposed that identity formation is dynamic and multi-faceted. The questionnaire results indicated that most students were proud of their Chinese cultural identity although the parents and teachers thought that the

students were not mature enough to understand the real meaning of identity. Most participants thought that no direct relationship was between language use and identity formation because people can use a second language to reflect or form their cultural identity. However, from a broad perspective, a close relationship does exist because people can use any language to reflect their cultural identity.

Keywords: cultural identity; Chinese language; imagined community; social networks; cultural capital; code-switching

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved mother, Sau Kwan Loh-Tse (1931-2006), who had endlessly supported me through most parts of my life. Her affection for her children and others was a source of profound benevolence showering all the people around her. Her peaceful countenance and unconditional kindness for other people will forever be remembered by those who had interacted with her. The following Chinese poem “The Moon Is Especially Bright Tonight” was written in remembrance of my dearest mother.



My mother and my younger son

Poem

今夜月光特別璀璨

今夜月光特別璀璨，
 她一拂長袖，
 漫天的銀沙在空中搖曳，
 為待嫁的小星添上新妝，
 為疲憊的夜空掃上粉黛。

她的胸懷，曾抱擁千百顆飢渴的靈魂，
 她的雙手，曾撫摸無窮盡痛楚的傷口，
 她的慈目，曾安定數不清紊亂的思緒，
 她的叮嚀，曾平服人世間糾纏的心結。

她 慢慢地提起欲行又止的步伐，
 淡淡地轉身驀然無語的回望，
 靜寂的萬籟目送她踏著迴旋的銀光安然歸去。

The Moon Is Especially Bright Tonight

The moon is especially bright tonight.
 She extends her long sleeves and
 The sparkling silvery powder covers the whole sky.
 The powder decorates the star who is going to marry, and
 Puts cosmetic on the face of the weary night.

Her benevolent bosom has cared for numerous thirsty souls;
 Her gentle hands have soothed countless painful wounds;
 Her caring eyes have tranquilized the turmoil in many disturbed sentiments and
 Her ingenuous words have untied many knots in people's heart.

She slightly lifts up her hesitant step,
 Quietly looked back glancing over the sleeping land once more, and
 The silent night witnesses her to tread on the spiral silver beams
 Returning to the place
 Where she came from.

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My parents' love is the cornerstone of my life goals and missions. My brother, Dr. Brian Lo, is my unforgettable companion and advisor during the different milestones of my life-long learning. The last but not the least is my thanks to my family that has occasionally endured my short temper, but continuously supported my study for years.

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Chapter One

RATIONALE

A: What's up? 你近來怎樣 ?

B: Not bad. 明天我有 exam。

A: 我就 much better. I have no exam right now.

B: 你就好 ! Poor me!

People who are bilingual or multilingual often alternate languages in their everyday conversations, that is, code-switch, when talking to others. Code-switching occurs in the metropolitan cities all over the world where people interact in different languages. In the urban areas of Canada where multiculturalism is advocated and fostered, utterances that interweave English and various Chinese languages are commonly heard.

Because bilingualism and multiculturalism are common phenomena, it is important to understand patterns of language mixing and why they occur. Do people code-switch to communicate meaning, to learn new vocabulary or to convey to others a cultural identity? These are the questions that propel investigations in this dissertation.

Although Chinese-Canadians become the largest minority group in Vancouver, I could not find relevant studies conducted in Vancouver regarding the use and learning of Chinese and how those Chinese-Canadians use languages. When I say Vancouver, I mean the Greater Vancouver located at the lower mainland of British Columbia in Canada, especially including concentration of Chinese-Canadians living in the suburban

municipalities of Richmond, Coquitlam, Burnaby, Vancouver and North Delta. The importance of such research is not limited to developing an understanding of a single ethnic group in a specific cultural context. Rather, investigations of a heritage language and its associated immigrant culture can help us understand the practice and functions of heritage languages used by other immigrant and minority cultures.

Bilinguals usually choose a base-language to interact with their interlocutors, and they are able to switch the base-language whenever the situation, topic, interlocutor or function of the interaction varies (Grosjean, 1995). This phenomenon, known as “language mixing,” consists of two different processes: *code-switching* (CS) and *borrowing*. CS is “shifting (switching) completely to the other language for a word, a phrase, a sentence,” whereas borrowing is “taking a word or short expression from the other language and (usually phonologically or morphologically) adapting to the base language” (Grosjean, 1995, p. 263). Therefore, CS is considered “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p. 7).

As globalization results in a concomitant increase in mobility and expansion of personal and business networks, people from different cultures will experience increased opportunity to use a variety of languages to interact with one another. CS emerges through the daily multicultural interactions of people all over the world. The practice of CS has aroused researchers’ interest enquiring why, when, where and how people use different languages in daily conversation (Rampton, 2001) and how race and gender influence the selection of languages (Milroy, 2001). Researchers have further urged that the investigations of languages or linguistics “should not be confined to the study of the conceptual function of language, but should also include its social function or

communicative use” (Romaine, 1982, p.1) so that the multifaceted aspects of language are revealed.

Because this dissertation focuses on how Chinese-Canadians code-switch between Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) and English (the language spoken by most people of the mainstream in Canada besides French), and how they develop their cultural identity through the use of these languages, it is useful to build up a basic understanding about the development of the Chinese languages (e.g., Mandarin and Cantonese) and Chinese culture in Canada as the background knowledge that will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Two.

Research Summary

This dissertation was guided by four research questions: (1) How do Chinese parents, teacher and students code-switch at home or in school? (2) How do the participants perceive the communicative, learning and identity-reflective functions of language? (3) How do the participants establish their cultural identity? (4) How do the participants perceive the relationship between language use and identity formation?

I contacted the Office of Research Ethics and obtained the approval to conduct the research of this dissertation. Then I approached the Principals of the major Chinese schools in Greater Vancouver such as those in Vancouver, Coquitlam, Burnaby, Richmond and North Delta and sought for their support to carry out the experiments in their schools. With the consent of those principals, I contacted the parents, teachers and students who agreed to participate in this dissertation. Meanwhile, I also contacted the three specialists in Chinese education to arrange interviews with them.

For the first stage of experiments, I recruited 203 students from various Chinese schools to complete a questionnaire that contained 32 questions investigating their CS

patterns. Interviews were conducted across 8 triplets of teachers, parents and students. I likewise interviewed three specialists in Chinese education at this stage.

At the second stage of experiments, I interviewed the eight parents and teachers again asking them more in-depth questions after I got insights from the results of the questionnaire and first interviews. Then, I conducted 8 home visits, 8 class observations, 2 group discussions, arranged for students' log writing and self tape-recording and later collected their instant messages. Altogether, about 100 people engaged in the second stage of experiments. Finally, about 300 people got involved in the two different stages of experiments of this dissertation.

For the selection of research methods, I adopted the approach of "broad-based design" (Merrell, 1999) that underlined a general notion of stitching multiple methods (different research methods such as interviews, questionnaire, survey, observations, log writing, self tape-recording, instant messages), multiple sources (different participants such as teachers, parents, students, specialists, community leaders), and multiple settings (different environments such as home, school, the community, internet communication).

Quantitative methods such as *factor analysis* (FA) and *chi-square* test were used to process data obtained from the structured questionnaire and some data from interviews, class observations and home visits. Qualitative methods such as direct interpretation and *conversation analysis* (CA) were employed to analyze the data acquired from the remaining parts of the experiments except those from the questionnaire.

For the students who completed the questionnaire, their average age was 13.96 years and 104 of them were boys, 99 were girls, and 67 of them were born in Canada.

After the data from the questionnaire were processed with SPSS, eight factors were extracted as follows: (1) Utilitarian CS ($N=195$, $\alpha = .791$); (2) Chinese Pride ($N=201$, $\alpha = .771$); (3) CS for Weak English ($N=195$, $\alpha = .768$); (4) Speaking English ($N=201$, $\alpha = .846$); (5) Politeness ($N=203$, $\alpha = .744$); (6) Family Chinese ($N=201$, $\alpha = .619$); (7) Avoid speaking Chinese ($N=200$, $\alpha = .575$), and (8) CS for Weak Chinese ($N=200$, $\alpha = .679$).

The chi-square test was used to compare the proportions of within-turn CS and between-turns CS. For children, the proportion of within-turn CS was greater than the proportion of between-turns CS. In parents, the proportion of within-turn CS was also greater than the proportion of between-turns CS. 68% of the CS in children was within-turn CS and 32% was between-turns CS, whereas 80% of CS in parents was within-turn CS and 20% was between-turns CS. The amount of CS produced by teachers was too little for significant comparisons.

From the qualitative methods, altogether 847 units of conversation were recorded and transcribed for the interviews (first stage) with students, parents and teachers, and 238 utterances for the class observation, 330 utterances for home observations and 122 utterances for group discussions.

In regard to the first research question about investigations of CS behaviors, data gathered from interviews and observations disclose that students and parents had more CS practices than teachers. Students made more between-turn CS than their adult counterparts, and the teachers made the least amount of CS, either within-turn CS or between-turns CS.

For the second research question concerning the functions of CS, most participants considered that the communicative function of CS was the most important, the learning function less important and the identity-reflective function the least important.

For the third research question about the reflection of cultural identity, the participants had varied and extreme opinions, with some considering it unnecessary to tell others one's cultural identity, but the others thinking that the manifestation of cultural identity is very important.

For the fourth research question regarding the relationship between language use and identity formation, most participants considered that there was not a necessary relationship between these two elements because a person can reflect his or her identity with any language other than his or her heritage language. However, from a broad perspective, there should be a positive relationship between these two elements because no matter what language is used, it is also a kind of languages. Language is a pivotal tool in conveying to others a person's cultural identity.

The significance of the findings of this dissertation is that it illustrates how the participants formed multiple cultural identities and relate them with the use of languages so that the voices from a group of minority people can be heard and their needs can be met. Although the participants speak different Chinese languages (Mandarin and Cantonese), they formed a single imagined community because they use the same written script and conglomerate by an illusion of cultural unity triggered by Confucianism. Educators, administrators and policy makers may refer to the information contained in this dissertation to plan for the teaching materials, curriculums or language policies. Besides, knowing more about how others think and behave helps people find a reflection of themselves, thus promoting mutual understanding and respect between different peoples that have become the essence of multiculturalism.

Since this dissertation concentrates on examining the prevalence of language use among Chinese students, parents and teachers in Vancouver, it is worthwhile to gain a deeper understanding about the cultural background of Chinese people and their languages so that a holistic picture of the issues can be portrayed. Discussions on these aspects can be found in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

Chapter Two

CHINESE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGES

Chinese Peoples and Their Languages

To understand Chinese languages, we need to have a preliminary understanding about the cultural background of Chinese people.

First and foremost, China is a huge country consisting of many ethnic groups. The five major ethnic groups are—Manchus, Hans, Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese Muslims (an ethnic group of Chinese people who believe in Muslim) (Shaughnessy, 2000). In China, the Hans occupy the largest share of the total population. From a linguistic point of view, the languages spoken in China are categorized into Chinese and non-Chinese languages.

Throughout this dissertation, “the Chinese language” refers to the language used by most Chinese people in a general sense. “Chinese languages” refers to certain specific languages spoken by Chinese people at different regions within or outside mainland China such as Mandarin and Cantonese. One of the focuses of my research is on code-switching among Mandarin- or Cantonese-speakers about the use of their Chinese language (Mandarin or Cantonese) and English. I focus on elaborating these two Chinese languages because they are the two most popular Chinese languages in Vancouver and I do not have any bias on other Chinese languages. For the sake of simplicity, I often use “to speak Chinese” to stand for “to speak the Chinese language” in a general sense in this dissertation.

Chinese languages mainly include Mandarin (the national language practiced by more than half of the Chinese people), Cantonese (mostly used by people living in Hong Kong and southern part of China), Hakka, Min, Gan, Xiang and Wu. Mandarin covers various types of sub-categories such as Northern, Lower River, Northwest and Southwest Mandarin. Non-Chinese languages include Mongol, Tibetan, Kazakh, Uighur and Zhuang (Shaughnessy, 2000, p.21).

As Mandarin and Cantonese are the two major Chinese languages practiced in the Chinese community in Vancouver, a brief introduction of the characteristics of these two languages may help the reader grasp the dynamics existing between them. The early Chinese community linked to the railway construction settled in British Columbia in the 1880s and reached a population of around 3,500 at that time (Wickberg, 1982). The Chinese workers who immigrated to British Columbia in the early post-colonial period were mostly Cantonese speakers from the British colony, Hong Kong and the southern part of China where transportation to the West was more convenient. Cantonese continued as the dominant Chinese language in Vancouver during the 20th century because the people of Hong Kong, living under the British Colonial rule, had greater mobility than Chinese people living in the Mainland China. Therefore, most early Chinese settlers in Vancouver spoke Cantonese (Tam, 2000).

The case was quite different in the People's Republic of China (PRC) where the Communist Government employed strict control over the internal and external migration of its citizens. People could not freely move out of the country until the policies were loosened after the "re-opening of the doors" in 1970s (Cheng & Lestz, 1999). The economic prosperity pushed forward by Deng Xiaoping through redefining the Cultural

Revolution and economic reform led to the continuous “opening of the doors” to the Western world. As a result, more Chinese people have become able to migrate to other parts of the world such as Canada. The statistical data reveal that there have been an increasing number of Chinese immigrants entering Canada from mainland China (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). In Taiwan where the political development has become more open and economic situation more prosperous in recent years, a considerable number of Taiwanese-Chinese immigrated to Canada lately.

In the past, Cantonese dominated in the local Chinese community. For example, two radio channels, AM1320 and AM1470 use Cantonese as their major medium for communication although they also broadcast through other languages such as Mandarin, Japanese and Punjabi. The two largest Chinese newspaper groups in Vancouver, Sing Tao Daily Limited and Ming Pao Daily, generally serve the Cantonese speakers coming from Hong Kong for they mostly adopt the written form of traditional Chinese widely used in newspapers in Hong Kong. The Chinese mass media play a significant role in reflecting the Chinese sub-culture supported by their market.

As more Chinese immigrants are coming from Mainland China, there is a change in the structure of the Chinese mass media—more Chinese newspapers such as Global Chinese Press News and Dawa Business Press chiefly serve the immigrants from mainland China in adopting the written form of simplified Chinese language commonly used in mainland China. World Journal was also established to meet the specific needs of immigrants from Taiwan by using the language widely used in Taiwan as Chinese people living in various regions may use slightly different vocabulary and sentence patterns. The Chinese TV channels in Vancouver, Fairchild TV and M Channel are simultaneously

promoting both Mandarin and Cantonese-speaking programs although they put more emphasis on Cantonese-speaking programs in the past. These phenomena indicate the implicit competition between Mandarin and Cantonese in the Chinese community of Vancouver. Researchers may be curious to know how the competition or dynamics may emerge between these two Chinese languages in the Chinese community of Vancouver.

Regarding to the above concerns with the two Chinese languages, it is my objective to explore whether variations exist in the patterns of CS between Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking participants. It is a sub-goal of this research to explore whether Chinese participants who practiced mother tongue, either Mandarin or Cantonese, will perform different code-switching patterns between Chinese and English and will construct different cultural identities.

These questions require background knowledge regarding the development of Chinese languages in Vancouver, and it is hoped that the discussions in the following sections will muster evidence in this direction.

Development of the Chinese Languages in Vancouver: Past, Present and Future

This section describes the past, present and future development of the Chinese languages such as Cantonese and Mandarin in Vancouver and how this development is valued by the people of the local Chinese community. Scholars (e.g., Berard, 2005; King & Ganuza, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 1997; Pavlenko, 2006) supported that a close linkage exists between the language used by speakers and the cultural identities held by those speakers. Therefore, the way Chinese-Canadians promote their native languages in Vancouver will give important clues towards understanding the culture of their ethnic group and their current cultural identities.

It is thought that the first Chinese school in Vancouver to promote Chinese was founded a century ago (Tam, 2000) and its Chinese name was 域多利華僑公立學校 (Victoria Chinese Public School). At the very beginning, Cantonese was the main language taught in most Chinese schools (Tam, 2000) as the early Chinese immigrants were Cantonese-speakers. Starting from the 1970s, an increasing number of students have been attending Chinese schools. This increase accelerated in 1995 when the significance of “Mandarin” was accentuated as it became an accepted subject in the provincial examinations for the high school students in Vancouver. As time went by, the importance of Cantonese declined and, in recent years, its position in the Chinese community has been replaced by Mandarin.

The change in the positions of Cantonese and Mandarin might be attributed to the following reasons. First, as Mandarin was officially recognized as a provincial subject by the Ministry of Education, parents would encourage their children to study Mandarin instead of Cantonese to gain credits for entering the local universities.

Second, according to the recent statistical data, more Mandarin-speaking immigrants have been settling in Canada (20,796 in 1996 increasing to 37,320 in 2005) but comparatively fewer Cantonese-speaking immigrants are entering Canada (32,572 in 1996 decreasing to 5,452 in 2005) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). The latest information shows that the number of people from Mainland China applying for emigration to Canada increased by 35.85% in the third quarter of 2006 compared with the same quarter in 2004 (“No Decrease in the Number of Applicants,” 2006).

Third, Mandarin has become a more useful language as the political and economic power of the PRC has increased. Individuals of various ethnic backgrounds like to study

Mandarin, which is the national language of China, to satisfy their curiosity, to travel to places where Mandarin is widely spoken (e.g., Mainland China, Taiwan, Singapore etc.), or to increase their employment opportunities. Even in English-speaking countries like Canada, people of the mainstream culture may find it easier to explore the market in the Chinese community, or build up a closer connection with people of the minority group if they have some understanding about their culture and language.

Fourth, government officials from Mainland China (via the Consul of the People's Republic of China in Vancouver) and Taiwan (via Taipei Economic & Cultural Office in Vancouver) have been actively promoting Chinese education in Vancouver. They sell Mandarin text-books and other teaching materials to Chinese schools at low prices, sponsor Chinese teachers to attend seminars in Vancouver, Mainland China or Taiwan and provide funds to organize activities for teachers in Vancouver. They support the promotion of Mandarin rather than Cantonese as Mandarin is the official language in both places.

Fifth, grasping the languages of other countries may facilitate the exchange of academic and cultural matters. China has a population of 1.3 billion people (Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office, 2004) that is about a quarter of the world's total population. Attracted by the rich endowment of historical and cultural resources in China, cooperation plans have been developed between China and other countries for the purport of promoting world peace and mutual benefits. China is likewise trying to take a more active role on the world's stage such as the responsibility of organizing the Olympic Games in 2008. Learning a national language, to a certain extent, can be a key to open the door of the culture that interlocks the language to both Chinese and non-Chinese people.

Sixth, basically all Chinese people are using a similar form of written language although the style, word choice and sentence structure might differ slightly from region to region. Through the same written language, they can communicate no matter what spoken Chinese language they are using. Practically, most Chinese people are using a similar set of Chinese characters that originated from the same source of classic Chinese although Chinese people in different regions may have modified the characters to meet their specific needs. However, people find it easier to learn Mandarin because Mandarin is a language whose spoken form is accurately represented in its written form. In contrast, the spoken form of Cantonese is not accurately represented by written Chinese and this factor deepens the difficulty in learning Cantonese. Moreover, the pronunciation system of Cantonese is more complicated than that of Mandarin (e.g., Mandarin has four stresses but Cantonese has nine stresses.). Cantonese contains many phonemes that have no written forms.

The above discussions explain why Mandarin is more important than Cantonese in China and why Mandarin has become a popular language for the Chinese minority outside China in non-Chinese speaking regions, like Vancouver nowadays.

If the term “Chinese” is considered a construct that offers insights to a re-thinking of selfhood or how Chinese people view themselves in a Western society of Canada, it is essential to foster “a re-thinking of subjection, self-invention and an ethics of responsibility towards others in areas of identity politics in our time” (Koh, 1999, p. iii) with the use of languages such as Chinese and English that is one of the main themes of this dissertation for the manifestation of such identity.

To portray how Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver use language to manifest their cultural identities we have discussed the development of the Chinese languages in the local

community through three lenses: the past, present and future development of Chinese languages in Vancouver. As Chinese schools are thought to play a pivotal role in promoting the Chinese language and culture, it is worthwhile to understand how they develop and fulfill their responsibilities. For each of the three stages, I interviewed a key person who is recognized within the Chinese community as a representative of a specific stage of development of Chinese schools. These interviews will help draw a more complete background picture for this dissertation from the point of view of key participants. The interview questions for the three representatives or specialists in Chinese education are provided in Appendix A.

A Retrospective View on How the Chinese Language Developed in the Past

To go into the details of the historical development of Chinese schools in Canada, I interviewed Dr. Miriam Yu who was one of the pioneers in promoting Chinese education in Canada in the past three or four decades. I went to Yu's office in a morning in October 2006 and recorded her answers to the questions that were faxed to her before the meeting. The interview was conducted in Cantonese and the exact discourse was recorded verbatim in the original language used by the interviewer and interviewee. English translations were added to the bottom of Chinese transcriptions that were used for discussions and this format has been adopted throughout the whole paper to meet the needs of both Chinese and English readers.

Yu graduated from the University of Michigan in 1972 with a doctorate degree in Educational Psychology. She was one of the five founders who established the Canadian Association of Chinese Language Schools in 1982, the President of British Columbia Chinese Schools Association from 1998 to 2002, and the Director of Chinese Cultural

Centre of Greater Vancouver for the previous six years. She was elected as the Chair of the Board of Directors of this association in 2007.

She started after-school Chinese classes for Chinese children in Manitoba when she began to teach in Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1972. At that moment, she borrowed classrooms from the University and provided free Chinese education to Canadian children of Chinese ancestry. She recruited parents as teachers and solicited funding from the federal government. Yu was responsible for the administrative operation of the Chinese school.

When I asked her why she was motivated to develop Chinese programs in Manitoba, she replied,

如果我們想中國人有面子，有獨立性，我們一定要從文化和語文入手，文化離不開語言。

(If we want Chinese people to have our “faces,” we need to secure our independence. To achieve this, we have to start with culture and language. The culture of a place cannot be separated from its language.)

The above reply shows Yu’s belief in the close relationship between language and culture. She meant that to promote one’s culture, one must begin with language. She promoted the Chinese language to pursue the independence and dignity of people of Chinese descent in Canada.

According to Yu, the Canadian Association of Chinese Language Schools had gathered people from five regions of Canada to form a united organization to develop Chinese education throughout the whole country. The five regions included the four provinces in the eastern part of Canada in which Yu was the representative, Dr. Cary Chien the representative of the western part of Canada and other representatives from Alberta, Winnipeg and Toronto. Twelve years ago, Yu moved to Vancouver to enjoy her retirement

days and likewise took a very active role in promoting Chinese language education in the local community.

This organization shows a strong coherence among Chinese people to promote the Chinese culture and language within different provinces of Canada. Other minority groups such as Indo-Canadians also have specific patterns of beliefs influenced by their ethnic background (Klassen, 2004). When new immigrants enter Canada, “they bring with them a cultural baggage that contains a unique set of values, attitudes, socialization beliefs and behavioral norms required by the country of origin” (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998, p. 451). This shows that Chinese people are not the only ethnic group in Canada who tend to preserve the culture of their original country.

When enquired about the characteristics of the early development of Chinese education, Yu mentioned that three decades ago, they had to provide free Chinese education to the Chinese community; otherwise, parents would not register their children for Chinese programs because while they highly valued the learning of English, they overlooked the value of studying Chinese. At that time, more students would learn Cantonese. In recent years, Chinese-Canadian parents have taken greater incentive in arranging their children to study Chinese and are willing to pay the tuition fees. Yu’s comments highlight the following transitions:

1. In the past, Chinese parents in Canada highly valued English but ignored the importance of Chinese. However, they become increasingly aware of the importance of the Chinese language.
2. In the past, Chinese programs needed external funding to run free programs. However, now schools can collect tuition fees because parents are willing to pay.

The above two points indicate the change of attitude, and perhaps economic circumstances, among Chinese parents. When asked to explain the reasons for this change, Yu answered,

這裡華人的口不斷的增加，特別是來自中國的新移民，所以更多人學國語，加上中國政府成立得好，總領事館跟華人僑團的溝通也很好，得到很多支持和幫助。
(The population of Chinese people is increasing here, especially the immigrants from Mainland China, so more people speak Mandarin. In addition, the Chinese government is well operated. The Chinese Consulate also has effective communication network with the local Chinese community groups who can obtain plenty of help and support from it.)

Yu's reply gives us the information that more Chinese-Canadians have been learning Mandarin these days because more Mandarin-speaking immigrants have settled in Canada and required more Mandarin courses for their children. Moreover, the provision of resources and continuous support from the Chinese Consulate benefits the local development of Chinese education, especially Mandarin.

When explaining the organization of early Chinese schools, Yu said that the early Chinese schools in Canada were operated by parents, and the teachers were also recruited from parents. This indicates that Chinese parents took a more active role in running the Chinese schools in the past. Most Chinese schools nowadays are operated by professional administrators and instructors. Most instructors have received more specialized education in the language they are teaching. This reflects a change in the organization of certain Chinese schools.

When I asked Yu to comment on the present or future development of Chinese education in Vancouver, she was quite certain that the competition between Chinese schools will become keener in the future as the Mandarin-speaking parents may require a

high language standard from the Chinese instructors. She simultaneously predicted that there will be an increasing number of students shifting to learn Mandarin from Cantonese. Since China has become more economically and politically prominent, people will become aware of the usefulness of learning this language no matter what their ethnic backgrounds are. These answers tally with Yu's previous comments about the reform in school organization in that parents now expect higher teaching standards. There is also a shift from Cantonese to Mandarin programs.

In short, Yu's opinions illustrate changing phenomena in Chinese education within the past few decades. For instance, Chinese parents have altered their attitudes towards the value of languages in Vancouver from ignoring the value of Chinese to highly valuing the usefulness of learning their cultural heritage language. Chinese parents have increased their quality expectations and demand more professional Chinese instructors. Another change is related to the source of support. Yu said that Chinese education was supported by the Federal Government of Canada several decades ago, but is now greatly supported by the Chinese Consulate. The source of financial support may in some way influence the trend of development of a language although this issue is not an objective of the present paper. For instance, the Chinese Consulate only delivers Mandarin textbooks from China to Vancouver to meet the demand from Chinese schools. As a result, it has in one way promoted the teaching of Mandarin but ignored that of Cantonese.

When asked to estimate the number of Chinese schools in Vancouver nowadays, Yu said that

在溫哥華大概有兩百間中文學校，以前比較多講廣東話的移民，後來從台灣及中國的移民不斷增加，於是本來學廣東話的也學國語。

(In Vancouver, there are approximately 200 Chinese schools. In the past, there were more students who learned Cantonese. However, in recent years more students have been learning Mandarin as more new immigrants coming from Taiwan and Mainland China.)

In sum, the interview with Yu provided a useful description about the historical development of Chinese education in Canada, and how and why the Chinese language has flourished in recent decades.

The Present Development of the Chinese Language in Vancouver

I interviewed Mrs. Grace Ling to gather information about the current development of the Chinese language and Chinese education in Vancouver. Ling was an experienced educator for decades working for the Department of Education in Hong Kong. She has been a teacher and principal in Chinese Schools after having immigrated to Vancouver about 20 years ago. The interview was conducted and recorded in Cantonese.

When asked to describe the characteristics of Chinese schools in Vancouver, Ling focused on illustrating the characteristics of students. She had the impression that

教學的對象一般是土生的孩子，他們的父母不重視中文，只是需要孩子到中文學校學一點中文，學得好不好也沒有關係，老師教得比較辛苦，因為少了家庭的支持。

(The targets of our schools are usually children born locally. Their parents do not emphasize on the learning of Chinese but only require their children to learn a little Chinese and do not care about the result of learning. Therefore, the support from parents will be limited and teachers have to put in more effort to encourage students to learn Chinese.)

In describing the family backgrounds of the students, Ling estimated that about ten years ago the majority of her students came from Hong Kong and more Cantonese classes were required. Their parents wanted their children to learn traditional Chinese characters that were commonly used in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Nowadays, more of her students

came from Mainland China. They prefer learning the simplified Chinese characters that are widely used in China and the major regions in South-East Asia. Simplified Chinese is also more welcomed by young Chinese-Canadians because they find it much easier to learn. Many prefer learning simplified Chinese because both traditional and simplified Chinese are allowed in most public examinations. Ling's comments indicate the major reasons for changes in Chinese languages learned by students.

Commenting further the family backgrounds of her students, Ling added that

很多第二代的移民家中都是講中文的，但是近來越來越多第三代的移民，他們在家中多是說英文，孩子學中文可能只是為了跟上一代溝通。

(In many families of the second generation, most family members still speak Chinese at home. However, in the families of the third generation, most of them probably speak English at home. Their children learn Chinese because they need to communicate with their grandparents.)

According to these comments, some young Chinese-Canadians have little concern with the transmission of the Chinese culture. Parents enroll their children in Chinese classes so that they can communicate with the seniors within their families. They learn Chinese for practical communication in the family. Ling's answer at the same time diverts our focus to the relationship between the background of children's family and the purpose of learning Chinese. People of immigrant families of the second and third generation mostly speak English at home and their proficiency in mastering Chinese is more limited. Moreover, parents brought up in these families will probably not require their children to have a high proficiency in Chinese like other immigrant communities whose native language is not English or French. We may predict that Chinese-Canadians of future generations will have a more distant relationship with their native language and culture.

Ling mentioned that there are also a number of non-Chinese children learning Chinese in her schools. Their parents usually will not require them to make a significant progress in Chinese, and are happy if their children have fun in their learning and be willing to continue with their study. Increasingly, Ling's words suggest that while some young Chinese-Canadians are not so enthusiastic in learning Chinese, some non-Chinese children not of Chinese descent have started to learn Chinese as their second language.

In short, Ling's comments on the current development of the Chinese language and Chinese education have provided us with useful information about the current changes in students' family backgrounds and their needs for Chinese programs. Ling has also pointed the debates on the teaching of traditional and simplified versions of Chinese characters. Since this is not a focus of this dissertation, this topic will not be further elaborated.

Nevertheless, educators and researchers may be aware that Chinese-Canadians brought up from families of different generations may possess distinct characteristics. They may view Chinese education from different perspective and have various expectations from it. Because this dissertation focuses on the study of language use and identity perceptions among immigrants of the first generation (i.e., parents and teachers) and the second generation (i.e., students), attention will not be paid to immigrants other than these two generations.

Looking Forward: Future Trend for Chinese in Vancouver

The interviews reported in the previous sections indicate that Chinese language education in Vancouver has not been static, but rather has shifted in several dimensions: from Cantonese to Mandarin, from parent-run to professionally administered, and from free to tuition-supported. To gather information about its expected development in coming

years, I contacted Christine Wong who is the Director of a learning centre that was established two years ago. In her belief about Chinese language education, Wong represents the new generation of administrators involved in this field. The interview was conducted and recorded in English and additional information was provided through emails.

When asked about the purpose of her Chinese programs, Wong replied that she intended to “promote Chinese culture” and “build up a unique program that belongs to this generation and meets the needs of this generation in Vancouver.” She explained that she is “bringing new concepts in teaching and learning by believing that education is a life-long process and their programs offer the flexibility to help learners meet their ever-changing challenges and obstacles.”

Wong emphasized flexibility in meeting the changing needs of the learners so that they can learn more effectively. Wong’s programs are tailored to suit the specific needs of her students. She leads a group of teachers who plan for their own curriculum and design their teaching materials.

She interprets the functions of Chinese schools as places where Chinese people learn their heritage language. In addition, they also “represent a spirit of tradition with which the overseas Chinese can feel a sense of belonging” and through the connection of these schools, Chinese-Canadians are able to communicate with people of the mainstream. In other words, Chinese schools can act as a place where people’s cultural identities may be condensed and reflected. They are at the same time acting as bridges connecting the Chinese and Western cultures. Instead of simply providing Chinese education, Wong has the ambition to promote the Chinese culture to people of the mainstream.

When talking about the future roles of Chinese schools in Vancouver, Wong foresaw “some significant changes in the organization of institutions offering Chinese education.” Chinese schools will no longer be considered places that only provide after-school activities and their courses are no longer for Chinese people only. Chinese schools will offer courses from a more professional perspective and with diversified learning objectives. Chinese schools will produce more “interactive products and online learning tools.” Chinese programs will also be more challenging and creative in the design of teaching and learning materials. Wong aims to achieve a number of reforms in the design of curricula, learning methods and learning media of the Chinese programs. She perceived the provision of Chinese education from various perspectives for meeting the ever-changing needs of the learners in terms of its “contents,” “wrapping” and “presentation.”

When invited to imagine an ideal future model for Chinese schools, Wong suggested that such a model would be impossible because stakeholders may have distinct beliefs and objectives for learning Chinese and no school would be able to cover all the emergent needs. She claimed that she would be more interested in “working out an effective program” in which “flexibility and open-mindedness are two significant components.” Her goal is to provide Chinese programs in the local community that promote Chinese culture so as to reflect the real faces of current Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver.

In summary, the interviews with Yu, Ling and Wong offered key background information on the following questions: Why are there so many Chinese schools in Vancouver, and so many young Chinese-Canadians studying Chinese in those schools? Why do Chinese parents register their children to study Chinese courses? What are the

factors that stimulated the development of Chinese in Canada in the past and how is its present and future development? Why do Chinese people promote the Chinese language in Vancouver and how do they perceive and develop their cultural identity with reference to the promotion of the Chinese language and education? The answers to these questions are directly or indirectly related to the main objectives of this dissertation which are concerned with how young Chinese-Canadians use languages in their daily life and how they establish their cultural identities through their usage of languages.

Current Studies on the Chinese Language in Vancouver

As the Director and Vice-president of the British Columbia Chinese Schools Association from 2002 to 2006 and its President from 2006 onward, I had the opportunity to conduct research prior to this dissertation to investigate the learning of Chinese among Chinese students in Vancouver so that a clearer picture of the local situation could be reflected and significant issues identified.

In Lo and Mahasneh's (2005) study, about 230 Chinese students were recruited from several Chinese schools in Vancouver and were invited to complete a questionnaire that explored their goals in learning Chinese language. The researchers speculated that the participating students would not simply study for the mastery and performance goals (Ames, 1992) but proposed that there might be another type of goals—family-oriented goals. The study focused on the importance of families in crafting specific goals in the learning of Chinese to follow parents' instruction, or to bring pride to their families, or because other siblings also studied Chinese, and so on. The results showed that the subjects valued mastery goals the most, secondarily the family-oriented goals, and valued the performance goals the least. These results, to a certain extent, reflected how the subjects

connected their study of the Chinese language to the way they viewed the value of their parents' words and instructions. This finding was also consistent to the claim that Chinese people are considered collectivistic and respect *collective goals* (Triandis, 1995). Family goals tend to be collective goals. Families are the first social instance where children learn their language and get in touch with their cultural values, and where they begin to mold their cultural identities by grasping the notion that “the behaviors and noises that people make have meaning” that are “purposeful and useful in social interaction” (Bonvillain, 1997, p. 217). The research in this dissertation takes a further step forward in the search for the relationship between the use of languages and the formation of people's cultural identities in social interactions.

In another study (Lo, 2006), about 130 Chinese students were recruited to complete a questionnaire that investigated their patterns of help-seeking strategies in learning Chinese in Vancouver. I interviewed eight triplets of students who were studying the Chinese language in Chinese schools, their parents, and Chinese teachers. I found that about two thirds of the student participants had come across significant difficulties in learning Chinese, and 19% of the participants did not like learning Chinese because they found the programs boring; 16% thought that they did not have sufficient time to learn Chinese and 9% could not see the need for learning this language. To arouse learners' interests in learning Chinese, I proposed eight ways to help learners tackle the difficulties in learning this language:

1. To review the curricula of Chinese programs with reference to the actual and specific needs of learners since the needs of learners in the Western world should be different from those found in Chinese-dominated societies;

2. To develop programs for learning how to use dictionaries and other tools that facilitate the learning of Chinese to train students to be independent learners;
3. To develop curricula with local information so that learners may foster a sense of belonging with the learning materials;
4. To review the teaching methods so that they foster creativity and self-efficacy;
5. To help learners understand the benefits of learning Chinese language both to enhance their future adaptation and career, and to preserve a cultural asset;
6. To strengthen the training for Chinese teachers who will become more aware of the learners' capability, need and interest and who will be equipped with skills relevant to conducting effective lessons;
7. To support the development of computer software that facilitates the learning of Chinese and familiarizes students with software tools that are increasingly used to write in Chinese;
8. To establish a developmental fund that continues to subsidize research projects on Chinese education to give insights to advance its continual development.

The above suggestions were made in accordance with the problems encountered by the students and it was hoped that these suggestions could provide a platform for further discussions on improving and promoting Chinese language education in Vancouver.

To make learning Chinese more interesting and ease the difficult process of learning Chinese characters for young children or non-native speakers, Lo (2006) developed a project on the teaching of Chinese characters by using mnemonic strategies. It was proposed that with the help of pictures, stories and relevant illustrations, learners were helped to establish more efficient learning methods themselves in memorizing the shape of

certain Chinese characters so that the boring method of rote-memory could be replaced by methods created by learners themselves and they may be the creators and owners of their knowledge.

The above projects disclose the phenomenon that Chinese-Canadians learn Chinese for purposes that might be different from those appearing in Chinese-dominated communities such as Mainland China and Hong Kong. Their needs for learning a minority language and their learning approaches vary from individual to individual. For instance, young Chinese-Canadians do not need to use Chinese in their daily life, so their learning motive will not be as high as those living in Chinese-dominated regions. Certain young Chinese-Canadians are willing to learn Chinese to comply with the expectations of their families. As they are located at a city where the West meets the East, they may encounter many cultural conflicts because Easterners and Westerners will certainly view things quite differently and they have to adapt to environmental changes and tackle all possible challenges. Learners of the Chinese language in different places have their specific and unique needs.

Change in Sources of Chinese Immigrants and Their Use of Languages

The fundamental principles of Canada's early immigration policies were clarified by the Minister of Immigration in 1955 in the following declaration:

We try to select as immigrants those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves to Canadian life and to continue to the development of the Canadian nation. This is why entry into Canada is virtually free to citizens of the U.K., the U.S., and France so long as they have good health, and good character. (Richmond, 1967, p. 3)

It appears to us that the early immigrant policies were not favorable to people other than those from the U.K., the U.S. and France. The Chinese-Canadians who later became the largest visible minority had gone through many difficult moments before their “history, grievances, and contributions” were fully recognized (Wickberg, 1982). This situation changed in the 1980s when the Canadian government started to recruit “economic refugees” from Asian countries such as Hong Kong (Mandel, 1994). It is believed that “Canada’s immigration policy has also traditionally been subordinated to our foreign policy, or, more correctly, to that of our main trading partner” (p. 249).

The record tells us that the earliest emigration of Chinese people from China to Canada began in 1858 in forms of coolie brokers (laborers) and chain migration (migration through blood relationship) (Wickberg, 1982). These immigrants were mainly from the South and Southeast China, and most of them spoke Cantonese. From the 1940s to 1970s, the Canadian government was endeavoring to welcome immigration from Britain, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and other European countries and immigration from Asian countries was not encouraged (Richmond, 1967). The unbalanced immigrant policies became loosened after the implementation of policies of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework in 1971, the Task Force on Canadian Unity in 1979 and the Canada Act in 1982 (Mallea, 1990) and a change in immigration policy to attract “economic” immigrants who entered the country with financial resources (Mandel, 1994).

The number of incoming Chinese immigrants grew rapidly after 1980s, with Cantonese-speaking immigrants dominating in the local Chinese community until 10 years ago when the pattern changed. There was a drop in the total number of immigrants from Hong Kong where most people speak Cantonese and a rise in the total number of

immigrants from Mainland China where most people can speak Mandarin (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005).

This change might be attributed to the fact that Hong Kong residents were affected by the economic recession that spread through Asia in 1997. Financial difficulties reduced their incentive to rebuild their homes in a new country. Moreover, many adapted to life in Hong Kong after it was returned to China, and found fewer political changes than they had previously feared.

The situation for residents of mainland China is quite different from that in Hong Kong. After the economic reforms that were implemented in 1970s (Spence, 1999), China experienced rapid economic development, and began taking a more important role in the world trade. She has become an essential trading partner to the U.S.A., Canada and many Western countries. According to the latest information, China's economic growth was intentionally slowed down to 10.5 % in the second half of 2006 owing to the overheated economy in the first half of 2006; that is, the economic growth of the nation was even higher in the first half of the year (China's economy to grow 10.5 pct, 2006). The annual fixed asset investment will be expected to grow by 26.5 %, retail sales by 13.7% and exports by 24.5%.

These figures illustrate that China has secured a huge share of economic growth, although the distribution of wealth is still quite uneven, many Chinese people are experiencing greater wealth (Shun, 1989). The rising wealth and education levels is enabling some Chinese to migrate to countries where they believe to be safe, stable and prosperous, and where they can pursue an affluent lifestyle free from the excessive pollution and environmental degradation caused by industrial development as this is the

kind of life they prefer (Deng, J., Walker, G. J. & Swinnerton, G., 2006). As a result, more and more Chinese people have been migrating to the Western world and to countries such as Canada. This may be an obvious reason that explains the rise in Chinese immigrants going to Canada from Mainland China (Li, 1998).

The continued growth in the number of Chinese immigrants has increased the complexity of the local Chinese community. As new groups enter to fill the role of “first generation of immigrants” for the local community, there is emergence of the second, third and even the fourth generation of immigrants within the Chinese community. It is unclear how people from the different generation groups differentiate beliefs about their culture and language, their cultural identity, and their need for Chinese language education.

One of the interviewees, Ling, mentioned that parents from the second generation normally do not expect their children to attain a high standard of achievement in Chinese. They will be happy if their children can learn a number of Chinese characters or if they are willing to continue with their study in Chinese. It is likely that people from different generations set different objectives for their children’s learning and provide varying levels of support. These are important points for educators and researchers to consider when developing and appraising heritage language programs.

As stressed by Ling and Wong, to plan the curricula for learners, educators in Chinese education have become aware of the needs of students of non-Chinese descent. Other Canadian students may require further adjustments to the curricula and learning materials because they have less experience in Chinese culture.

Implications of Chinese Language Education and Cultural Identities

According to Yu's estimate, there are about 200 Chinese schools in Vancouver and the largest has more than 4000 students. Of course, other linguistic and cultural groups are also promoting their heritage languages such as Korean, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, and Romanian and so on, although their numbers are smaller than those who are learning Chinese in Vancouver. Nevertheless, the research and development in Chinese education may lend support to the advancement of education programs for other heritage languages. Learning from the experience of other cultural groups is an important aspect of Canada's multicultural society.

Research on the language can be multifaceted for it contains a wide range of variables. It may be concerned with philosophies and models (Rybak, Wan, Johnson & Templeton, 2002), age groups (Holm & Dodd, 1999), use of different Chinese languages such as Mandarin and Cantonese (Tardif & Wellman, 2000), differences in places of origin but with similar cultural backgrounds such as mainland China and Hong Kong (Chen, Anderson, Li, Hao, Wu & Shu, 2004), gender (Gan, Humphreys & Hamp-Lyons, 2004) or differences in cultural and language backgrounds (Ji, Zhang & Nisbett, 2004).

Because it is impossible to integrate all variables in this dissertation, I included the variable of different Chinese languages (i.e., participants spoke Mandarin or Cantonese at home), places of origin (i.e., participants were from mainland China, Taiwan or Hong Kong) and socioeconomic background (i.e., there were student, parent and teacher participants).

Code-switching and Its Functions

One of the aims of this dissertation is to study how young Chinese-Canadians practice different languages in daily life. Researchers and scholars have varied opinions on the functions of Code-switching (CS); for instance, it can convey meanings and social relations (Kang, 2003), achieve literary effect and exercise self-consciousness (Toribio, 2004), repair, emphasize, clarify and confirm meanings (Milroy & Wei, 1995), differentiate “we” from “they” (Ng & He, 2004), possess intrinsic and inferential values (Edwards, 2004), play a significant role in coping strategies of learning (Muller & Beardsmore, 2004), or display multiple inter-group relations (Ramat, 1995).

Grosjean (2001) defined CS as “the alternative use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation” (p. 145). Speakers change codes or varieties of language according to first, the needs of the setting (e.g., time and place) and situation (e.g., family gathering or a lecture), second, the backgrounds of the participants in the conversation (e.g., e.g., their age, sex and socioeconomic backgrounds), and third, the topic of conversation (e.g., work or sports) and the function of the interaction (e.g., a request or greetings).

According to Grosjean (2001), CS may shoulder a broad range of functions. First of all, some bilinguals report that they change languages when “they cannot find an appropriate word or expression” or when the language practices does not have ‘the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed” (p. 150). In other words, people code-switch because they cannot search for sufficient lexical resources from one language that can fully express their expressions and need to look for auxiliary words from another language.

Second, people's changing languages can be meaningful when it is employed as a verbal strategy (Grosjean, 2001). It is suggested that CS may act as an indicator of "the speaker's momentary attitudes, communicative intents, and emotions" and "a means of conveying linguistic and social information" (p. 152). If we agree that interacting with others is an art, then CS definitely introduces complexity to the art form. When a bilingual changes languages, it reflects an intentional choice, or a reflection of attitude and emotion brought forward by the practice of CS but not made explicit. An interpretation of the mechanism behind CS might help us understand the motive of the interlocutors or speakers.

Third, the use of minority language can be considered a symbol of a "we code" as it is usually engaged with in-group or informal activities playing a constitutive role in communication (Rampton, 1999). A minority language is an ethnic identity marker that accentuates group or cultural identity, and that the use of a heritage language through CS may rouse a sense of belonging and coherence among the in-group members (Grosjean, 2001).

Fourth, Grosjean (2001) believed that CS can "amplify or emphasize a point" (p. 153). For instance, CS may be used to terminate the interaction, to show approval or disapproval, to add force to the statement or to end an argument.

Fifth, CS may be used as a means to "exclude someone from a portion of the conversation" (Grosjean, 2001, p. 154). Needless to explain, one can change languages to exclude people who do not know the language.

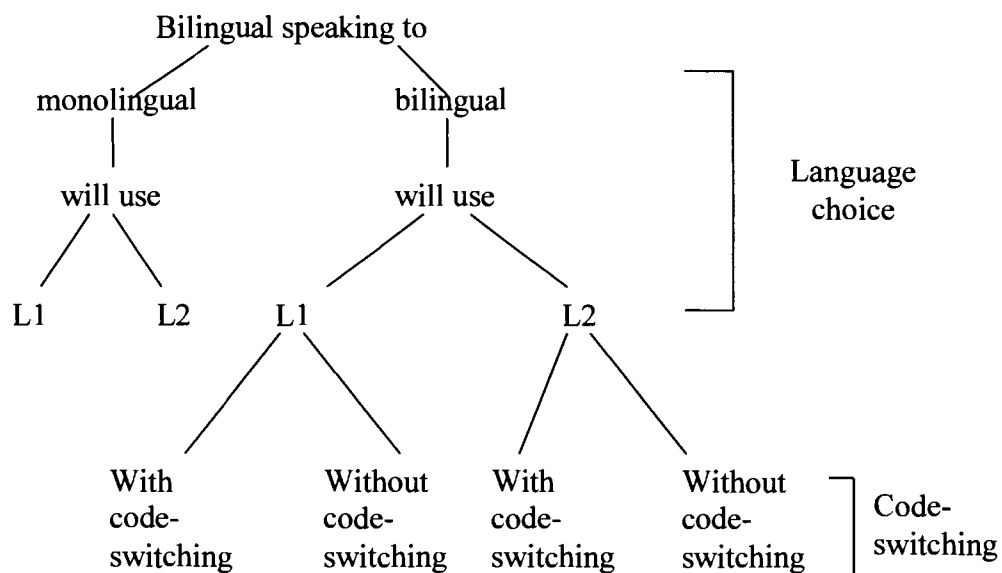
Sixth, CS can be used to signal a change in roles, authority or social status (Grosjean, 2001, p. 156). This incident is especially likely to occur when the language itself

has a specific level of social status. Speakers can also change languages to equalize social status.

In addition, CS is thought to be able to shoulder varied functions such as quoting what others have said, specifying the addressees, affirming what has been said or recalling past events (Grosjean, 2001, p. 155). Milroy and Muysken (1995) portrayed the functions of CS by presenting to us *situational switching* (initiated by a change in the situation), *metaphorical switching* (with an aim of commenting on the situation), *conversational CS* (within a single conversation or utterance) and CS as “a socially agreed matrix of contextualization cues and conventions” (p. 9).

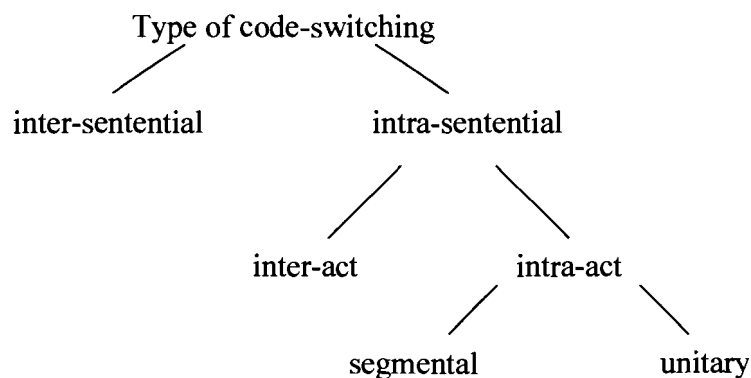
Grosjean (2001) used the following diagram (Figure 1) to illustrate how monolinguals and bilinguals code-switch.

Figure 1 Language Choice and Code-switching (2001, p. 129).



In regard to the types of CS, Dabène and Moore (1995) devised a model to describe the different types of CS in a conversation. The following diagram (Figure 2) was borrowed from their model and had been abridged for meeting the needs of this dissertation.

Figure 2 Types of Code-switching (Dabène & Moore, 1995, p. 35).



Intra-sentential CS refers to CS within an utterance, whereas *inter-sentential CS* refers to CS between two different utterances. Dabène and Moore (1995) considered that the differentiation between inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS is not easy because in an oral corpus, “incomplete sentences are predominant” (p. 32). As a consequence, it will be more appropriate to “base our analysis on the notion of act” (p. 33). An act in conversation means an utterance. To explain the meanings of segmental and unitary CS, Dabène and Moore claimed that segmental CS modifies “a segment of an utterance or a single item,” (p. 33) whereas unitary CS may be called a *loanword* or *insert* since “only one element is affected” (p. 33).

Heller (1995) defined CS as a “means of drawing on symbolic resources and deploying them in order to gain or deny access to other resources, symbolic or material” (p. 160) and it possesses “certain kinds of value” (p. 160). The concepts of CS can be

interpreted into two layers—the occurrence of CS in individuals’ repertoires; that is, “to understand why it is available as a resource to some and not to others” (p. 161) and the appearance of CS “at specific communities at specific historical moments, and not at others, and how it can either persist or fade away” (p. 161). It prevails in the organization of social life within the community. That is, CS needs to be examined from the individual’s and social perspectives. Language is believed to be “inherently political” as it enables individuals to gain access to the “production, distribution and consumption of symbolic and material resources” (p. 161), and therefore, language is used to acquire economic and social power.

Education is thought to be “the key site for the construction of social identities” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 2). Linguistic differences in education are perceived as an issue of “symbolic dominance” and linguistic practices are considered part of the “struggles over controlling the production and distribution of resources and over the legitimation of relations of power” (p. 2). Language is pivotal to our lives as it controls the construction of knowledge, determines the access to other resources and masks the relations of power embedded in the above processes. Heller and Martin-Jones described how the symbolic value, functions and power of language can help us to understand the nature of CS.

When the study of language extends from the individual to the social stratum, it is necessary to mesh individuals’ actions with the community, in particular the *speech community* which is the background and “the origin of the social norms that determine the appropriacy of speech, producing social meaning above and beyond referential intelligibility” (Rampton, 2000, p. 2). Rampton also proposed the concept of “boundaries by saying that our “here-and-now social action plays in the production of ‘small’ but new

communities” and we are interacting with strangers inside or outside the community and “at the *boundaries*” (p. 1). The occurrence of speech community and boundaries enables people to “identify inauthentic members” (p. 3) and amplifies the notions “in-group” and “out-group” members in the speech community, thus motivating researchers and sociolinguists to research on intergroup or intragroup stereotypes in the social psychology of language (Rampton, 2001). Furthermore, this type of research stands in need of greater clarification and concern in the variety of languages used in a community, the intra-community diversity and the balance of power between researchers and research subjects so that social researchers would advance their “political goals—greater freedom, equality and justice—as well as our intellectual ones” (Rampton & Richardson, 1997, p. 150).

To investigate the interactions between an individual and other people, Milroy (1980) focused on the *total linguistic repertoires* (all utterances presented by people) and *social networks* (connections between people) that involve “direct and careful observation of the manner in which people use language in its social context” (p. 1) and may be considered the “primary interaction” (p. 15) of individuals facilitating the observers to visualize how the speakers “manipulate the linguistic resources available to them” and “carry powerful meanings and so resistant to external pressures” (p. 19). Milroy and Gordon (2003) used the terms *closed network*, *strong network* and *weak network* (p. 117), *high-density personal network structure* and *low-density personal network structure* (Milroy, 1980, p. 20) to specify the varieties of language that are subject to maintenance through pressure exerted by informal ties of kin and friendship and analyze the “structural and content properties of the ties that constitute egocentric personal networks” (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 119).

The study of the functions of CS helps us create a deeper understanding of the stories behind the use of different languages among bilinguals and the stories may be richer than what we expect. Some people may have the preconception that bilingualism is identical to biculturalism. Grosjean (2001) told us that this might not be the case as some bilinguals can be monocultural although they have the chance to be exposed to different cultures. As a result, to understand the thoughts, emotions, traits and characteristics of bilinguals or multi-linguals is not an easy task because it is not simply the acquisition of traits from different cultures. Bi- or multi-linguals may accept or reject their previous or new cultural traits or may even develop brand new traits of their own.

As Grosjean (2001) suggested, some immigrants may develop “a strong sense of identification and personal worth” (p. 161) , not find a comfortable identity in any group, or combine the two cultures to “make a new cultural group” (p. 162). Therefore, it is valuable to investigate how linguistic and cultural minorities build their cultural identities in a multicultural society. What attitudes do they develop about their languages? What multiple identities are reflected through their use of languages?

Constructs of Theory in This Dissertation

Research on language switching can be so broad that there surfaces a need for building constructs or dimensions for steering investigations. Scholars proposed a *cognitive and mentalistic orientation*, a *social and contextual orientation* (Bayley & Regan, 2004) and a *sociocultural orientation* (Bucholstz & Hall, 2005) as lenses to observe phenomena occurring in the learning and use of language. A linguistic study follows the cognitive and mentalistic orientations when it investigates psychological development in learning language, such as the use of CS as a learning strategy (Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003), or as a

device by which “the novice request[s] a target language action format from the language expert” (Kasper, 2004). A linguistic study may be categorized as social and contextual oriented when it investigates the use of CS in moderating human relationships as in relation signaling a power difference (Esdahl, 2003), promoting public life (Simire, 2003), or in setting up a textualization cue (Chan, 2004). A linguistic study may be considered socioculturally oriented if it explores the relationship between discourse and the formation of identity, such as the relationship between the practices of CS and the establishment of multiple identities (Kim, 2003), and link between discourses in different languages and the formation of a shared “Hong Kong Identity” (Tsang & Wong, 2004).

CS can take different forms. It may occur between the turns of different speakers in the conversation, between utterances of a single turn or even within a single utterance (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). CS may likewise take place under varied situations, such as at home and in the community (Milroy & Wei, 1995) or at school (Kasper, 2004; Mondana & Doehler, 2004). As a consequence, researchers have studied the processes of CS from varied perspectives; for example, Ng and He (2004) investigated the within-turn and between-turns CS; Auer (1995) studied the situational parameters that determine the language choices; Grosjean (2001) examined attitudes toward CS and Muller and Beardsmore (2004) investigated multilingual interactions in plurilingual classes; Kasper (2004) explored students’ situated identities and social memberships, while Heredia and Altarriba (2001) discussed the costs and benefits of CS and the role of language dominance in CS.

Language and Identity

Besides looking at the functions of CS as a tool to learn, scholars have started to scrutinize its use in other perspectives. Current researchers have added more resources to explore CS from the socioculturally oriented perspective—how people’s use of languages or discourses is related to the history of the speakers and their cultural background at large (Bucholstz & Hall, 2005; Berk & Winsler, 1995).

Certain researchers believe that when people make particular language choices to respond to others in dialogues, they are actually reflecting to others the kind of identity they wish to possess or express at that specific moment (Milroy & Muysken, 1995).

According to Pavlenko (2005a), the meaning of *identities* is interpreted as follows:

the terms *identities* and *subject positions* will be used interchangeably to refer to discursive categories (that is, identity options) offered by a particular society in a specific time and place and to which individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, self-characterize, and claim social spaces and prerogatives...” (p. 197).

According to Heller (1999), in the process of identity construction or re-construction, the old politics of identity give its owner a chance to fight for what he or she wants in three ways:

1. it is being challenged from within, as unity gives way to diversity, that is, there is a need from the inside of an individual urging the individual to change;
2. it is being challenged from outside, as the old structures give way to new organization and value, that is, new things outside motivate the individual to change; and

3. it is being challenged by its own success, as the authenticity of its past gives way to entry into the modern world, in other words, the individual gains experience from past events and makes change (p. 5).

During interactions, “speakers use one or other of the choices available to them to express aspects of a fluid social identity as they move through a multidimensional sociolinguistic space” (p. 7). It is noticed that the language used by a group of people can act as “a symbol of an underlying image of group purpose and identity” (Ghuman, 1995, p. 233). It is also emphasized that CS must be valued “for the speaker’ identity in the social context where it occurs” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 483). People are innately predisposed to adopt CS as a means to negotiate his or her position, role and then identity in a community. Speaking generally, people’s language choices display the personal, social and group identities they wish to convey to others.

Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver

British Columbia of Canada has a total population of 3,907,735 and the largest minority group, Chinese-Canadians, has 365,490 (Statistics Canada, 2001).

It is worthwhile to investigate how and why Chinese-Canadians make their language choices between English and Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) under different situations and how they interpret their identities through and with their use of languages. Findings in this aspect may give useful information to policy makers in education.

In the past, many studies focused on exploring the issues of CS between two Western languages such as Spanish/English (Toribio, 2004), Finnish/English (Lumme & Lehto, 2002) and English/French (Clément, Baker & MacIntyre, 2003). Although there were studies in regard to bilingualism or CS between Chinese and English, most were

concerned with the acquisition of English as a second language (e.g., Li, 2004), the maintenance of Chinese as a native language (e.g., Xiao, 1998), the willingness to communicate in ESL (English as a second language) (Wen & Clément, 2003), the acquisition of Chinese as a second language (e.g., Huang, 2003). We still lack information regarding the formation of people's identity through the use of CS.

CS involves two or more languages, each interconnecting with the specific culture of the people who speak it. The practice of CS and formation of people's identities varies from interlocutor to interlocutor, from situation to situation and from culture to culture. As this dissertation puts a large proportion of its emphasis on CS in school and at home, its findings may provide us with additional information in these directions. Through this dissertation, we may obtain more information regarding the relationship between the use of languages and the formation of cultural identity among Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver, hoping that the data may also give us insights that explain situations occurring in another Chinese community in other parts of the world.

Chinese People and Confucianism

If we intend to investigate the thoughts and behaviors of Chinese participants, it is essential for us to have a glimpse at the impact of Confucianism that penetrates the various strata of life among Chinese people. Previous studies that targeted at examining interpersonal relationships (Yum, 1988), behavior patterns of social intelligence (Willmann, Feldt & Amelang, 1997), patterns of intergenerational communication (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000) and all forms of social community activities (Lee, 2002) among Chinese people have given insights on understanding how they think and behave. These studies simultaneously create a better reflection of people's lives in reality.

A sub-goal of this study is to explore the influence of Confucian concepts and values on Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver. Some researchers may be interested to know if Confucianism still shed light on Chinese people's patterns of behaviors and their presentation of identities, and how these concepts and values may have transformed themselves into new ones when emerging within a Western culture. Confucian concepts are broad and not easy to examine, and therefore, this dissertation only make a preliminary start to explore how they can be observed.

Although a wide range of studies had been engaged in exploring how Chinese students learned Chinese in Western countries (e.g. Chow, 2001; Huang, 2003; Liao & Fukuya, 2004), there are a shortage of current studies that inform us how Chinese people perceive their identities through the use of Chinese and English in school settings or in other aspects of their social life in a Western community. Therefore, another purpose of this dissertation is to scrutinize the perception and influence of Confucian concepts and values for Chinese people living in a Western society.

Research Questions of This Dissertation

People are always curious to know who they are, their positions in society and symbolic components of their identity (Trueba & Zou, 1998) so that they hold their power and control their own destiny. This dissertation hopes to investigate how Chinese participants define or re-define their cultural identities in a Western city, Vancouver, through their use of languages, in particular Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) and English as I could not find relevant information in current studies.

To have a focus and direction for the study, the following four research questions will guide its development.

The first research question is—how and when do the Chinese participants code-switch at home and in school? How do the participants change languages between Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) and English? How do the participants change languages between Mandarin and Cantonese? How do the participants perceive their cultural identities?

As I intend to explore the relationship between the use of languages and the formation of cultural identities, I assume that there might be some sort of connection between these two elements and try to first gather data regarding the patterns of language use in the participants. Chinese people may display different patterns of language use when living in Chinese-dominated regions such as mainland China or Taiwan, and living as minority members in non-Chinese communities such as Canada, Britain or France. For example, how often do the participants code-switch within an entire utterance (in-turn CS) or code-switch between two different entire utterances (between-turns CS)? How often do people of the younger generation (e.g., children) make between-turns CS when compared with people of the older generation (e.g., parents) (Milroy & Wei, 1995)? How do the participants code-switch when conversing with people from different backgrounds? How do the participants practice varied types of CS in different contexts (e.g., at home and in school)?

The second research question is—how do the participants perceive the purposes of languages? Is the way they perceive their own identities the same as the way other people perceive their identities? By achieving this objective, I try to investigate how and why the participants practice different languages from an insider's points of view because I am also a Chinese-Canadian, but at the same time, I observe their patterns of language use from an outsider's point of view because I am a researcher. In the end, both views are compared. To

make it clearer, this research question searches for the reasons that initiate the participants to change this use of languages and language patterns, and analyze in what way these might be related to their perception and formation of cultural identities. For instance, they alter languages for the purpose of learning new knowledge (e.g., a learning purpose in the classroom), communicating with others (e.g., a communicative purpose in daily interaction) or conveying to others their cultural identities (i.e., an identity-reflective purpose showing one's cultural identity). To what extent do their patterns of CS reflect the purposes of their CS? Do they exhibit CS that is originated from a combination of different purposes in their repertoires of communication or do they display CS mainly for a specific purpose?

The third research question is—how do they establish their cultural identities with reference to the CS of Chinese and English? This question aims at exploring whether they have their unique way of expressing their identity as members of a minority group in a Western city and this is a major theme of the present paper. How do people of differing age groups display various relationships between the formation of identities and the use of Chinese and English? How do Chinese parents, teachers and children express their identities in varying ways such as consciously or unconsciously, and what are the rationales behind these variations?

The fourth research questions purposes at digging up more information to answer—how do the participants relate the use of languages and their formation of a cultural identity. What does this relationship imply? How can the pattern of relationships generate representations that may be used to explain similar situations or behaviors that appear in other minority groups? This is a sub-goal to explore how the participants think about the influence of Confucianism on the process of their identity formation. How do the

participants perceive the influence of Confucianism in their daily life? How do the participants perceive the impact of Confucianism on the way they build their cultural identity?

The above four research questions are constructed on the assumption that a relationship may appear between participants' use of languages and their formation of cultural identities. I intend to explore whether this assumption is valid, and in what way or to what extent this relationship exists. The four research questions within the present study aim at digging evidence to clarify doubts in this aspect. The reader may find the literature review on code-switching and cultural identity in the following two chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter Three

RESEARCH ON NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

Definitions of Code-switching (CS)

Code-switching (CS) is an important aspect of bilingualism. Investigation of CS has reached a new level of sophistication in recent decades. CS had only peripheral significance in the 1950s and 1960s, when there was limited focus on syntax and sociolinguistic aspects of bilingual speech, but is currently recognized as able to “shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior” (Auer, 1998, p. 1).

Before discussing the nature of CS, I need to explain to my reader the meaning of code first. A language can be perceived as codes through which messages are conveyed, and it is the persistently metaphorical use of the spoken language that transforms its nature as codes (Fitzgerald, 1975). The musical features of a language may be mapped onto the utterance that creates a separate code through which a message is delivered.

Susan Ervin-Tripp was one of the earliest researchers who looked at the issues of language choice from the perspective of social dimensions in the 1960s (Grimshaw, 1997). She intended to identify how the ethnicity of interviewer, language of interview and topic influenced the selection of code. The process of decoding begins when the listener of an utterance interprets the phonological, referential semantic and sociolinguistic components

of the language code and tries to understand how these elements are patterned within the structure of the narration as an event (Sanches & Blount, 1975).

The use of codes leads to a combination of various codes giving rise to the terms of code-mixing, code-switching, style shifting, language shifting and register shift. Code-mixing is the “incorporation of linguistic material from a second language into a base or matrix language” (Bonvillain, 1997, p. 360). Code-switching (CS) is the “alternative use of bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p.7). Style-shifting refers to the change of formality levels within the same language (Ramat, 1995) and language shift indicates the phenomenon in which minority people show inability to maintain their homes as an intact domain for the use of their first language (Romaine, 2000). “Register” is referred to the style of language used by people with a certain occupational background. Register shift can be understood as the change in specific vocabulary items associated with different occupational groups (Holms, 2001). All these topics are worth our attention if we are prepared to have a closer look at the modern functions of languages in daily activities. However, due to the limited space in this dissertation, I intend to concentrate my discussion on the CS prevalence and phenomenon among Chinese participants in Vancouver, and its relationship with the establishment of their cultural identity.

Before the discussions on CS and bilingualism, it is also useful to pay attention to the issues of monolingualism and dual monolingualism. Monolingualism refers to the use of a single language (Grosjean, 2001; Romaine, 2000), whereas dual monolingualism refers to the separate use of two different languages (Abudarham, 1998; Ducan, Parent, Chen, Ferrara, Johnson, Oppler and Shieh, 2005). A bilingual usually speaks two different

languages under a single situation, but a dual monolingual may speak two different languages under two distinct situations respectively. The ability of a society to maintain two languages for its distinctive purpose is termed as *disglossia* (Fishman, 1999). To put it succinctly, I focus on studying the bilingual speaks found in the Chinese community of Vancouver in this dissertation.

When attention is shifted back to CS, it is considered a part of verbal action that possesses and produces communicative and social meanings. For the purpose of attaining a more thorough understanding of CS, attention should be paid to “the details of its local production in the emerging conversational context which it both shapes and responds to” (pp. 1-2). In other words, to investigate the practices of CS, researchers need to study who uses CS, and how, when, where and under what situation it is created.

It is claimed (Myers-Scotton, 1997) that CS takes place in discourses which, “in the same conversational turn or in consecutive turns, include morphemes from two or more of the varieties in their linguistic repertoires” (p. 217). Myers-Scotton suggested that the goals of practicing CS are to compensate for lack of proficiency to continue the opening language, to stir interpersonal relations, to signal and interpret speakers’ intentions and to reflect the dynamics of competition between ethnic groups. Myers-Scotton (1993b) differentiated the models of CS into two categories. Macro-analyses explore the linguistic variations derived from the sociological attribute of the speaker and the situation, whereas the micro-analyses focus on the relationship between individuals’ use of linguistic resources and their context.

According to Grosjean (2001), the process of language choice among bilinguals consists of two stages. In the first stage, a bilingual speaker decides the use of a base

language, and in the second stage, the speaker determines whether or not to change his language choice.

Gardner-Chloros (1995) described CS to be “a much broader, blanket term for a range of interlingual phenomena within which strict alternation between two discrete systems is the exception rather than the rule” (p. 68). Auer (1995) considered CS “a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such as the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign is in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such” (p. 116). According to Heller (1995), CS is “a form of language practice in which individuals draw on their linguistic resources to accomplish conversational purposes; those resources have value in the terms of the various existing marketplaces” (p. 161).

The Nature of CS

In any bilingual or multilingual country, “not all languages have the same political capital; this depends on how languages are allocated to official and other public functions in a society” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 35). It is often the government and institutes of higher education that decide on the status of specific languages. Those who wish to maintain power and privileges via linguistic choice set up the “elite closure” (p. 35) and as that an elite can “close off access to power by other groups through official language policies that they often control” (p. 35). Historically, the terms “majority” and “minority” are first applied to ethnic groups and later to languages and speakers of those languages (Kendall, Murray & Linden, 2003). Sometimes, the phenomenon of ethnocentrism may exist in a bilingual or multilingual society in which there exists a “tendency to regard one’s own culture and group as the standard, and thus superior, whereas all other groups are seen as inferiors” (Kendall et al., 2003, p. 314).

The contradiction and conflict of the minority conditions create a specific discursive struggle—the schools, as key sites for “the production of nation” (Heller, 1999, p.19), maintain “a monolingual zone” to ensure the continuous dominance of the majority language and exclude the languages that the policy makers consider “aliens.”

This raises questions about the goals and missions of public and private education. It is generally agreed that a school is a place where people can gain access to the skills and knowledge that will facilitate them to participate in the modern and globalized world (Heller, 1999). Can the implementation of stratified linguistic policies, such as those implemented to develop cultural unity, assist us to materialize our goals and mandates in the widely diversified and multicultural world? Sometimes, it is not easy to seek answers for such kind of controversial questions, but for those who commit to language education, they may find it meaningful to ponder the ultimate answers of these questions.

At the threshold of the 21st century, minorities are in “a good position to market their linguistic capital” (Heller, 1999, p. 29). It is suggested that through the allocation of resources in schools and education, they can “position community members advantageously in the new internationalizing political and economic order” (p. 29). The study of multiculturalism, code-switching between languages, and the disparity between the majority and minority languages, may help to construct this new order.

After Milroy and Gordon (2003) synthesized a number of studies conducted by researchers such as Zentalla, Gumperz, Auer, Wei and Myers-Scotton, they drew the following conclusions about the practice of CS. First, as the choice of code is heavily network-dependent, the co-existence of different languages in the community repertoire may give rise to multiple codes. Second, the choice of code is systematically linked to a

series of distinctive gender- and age-related networks. Third, speakers' use of linguistic choice (discourse strategies) can be extracted from particular contextualization cues. Fourth, the communication purpose of the cue can be understood by "insider" addressees but often not by "outsiders."

It seems the above studies suggest that the use of CS reflects specific phenomena among humans, no matter it is a struggle of power between people (Heller, 1999), the occurrence of elite closure (Myers-Scotton, 2002) or the contrasting situation between the majority and minority (Kendall et al., 2003). On the contrary, Swigart (1992) believed that it is inappropriate to create an assumption that "the use of two languages within a single conversation violates a norm and must therefore be explained" (p. 83). Instead, CS has become a fluid and natural mode of speech among urban bilinguals who change languages fluently without any special purpose or intention. People code-switch simply because CS is a part of their verbal expressions in their daily lives.

The analysis of CS phenomena triggered by the previous studies provides me some guidelines to understand the situations found in the local Chinese community. I should be aware of the reasons why people code-switch, the consequences of their practice of CS and how people perceive and value the existence of CS. These factors are useful in giving me more information to portray a clearer picture of the main themes of this dissertation.

Existence of CS

In the modern world, the alternative use of different languages, or CS, is very common in bilingual and multilingual cities that support social and economic mobility. CS can be analyzed from various perspectives. It may exist in several forms, including (1) intra-sentential is referring to switches within a sentence; (2) inter-sentential is referring to

switches between sentences; (3) tag-switching is referring to switches between short phrases; (4) emblematic switching is referring to switching between words that contain symbolic meanings; and (5) extra-sentential CS referring to switching between an utterance and the tag or interjection attached to it (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p. 8).

Some researchers explore the different types of CS practiced by various people under distinct situations. For example, Milroy and Wei (1995) explored how Chinese participants across different generations practiced CS inside and outside home environments. Ng and He (2004) studied the frequencies of within-turn CS (CS within an utterance) and between-turns CS (CS within two consequent utterances) occurring in tri-generational family conversations in New Zealand. The researchers found that within-turn CS occurred more frequently than between-turn CS did in participants' families. Besides, the ratio of between-turns CS to within-turn CS was higher for grandchildren than for either their parent or grandparent counterparts. The researchers investigated which age group of the subjects employed CS more frequently and which type of CS were more frequently utilized. The above two studies begin to answer the question of who will practice CS and where it is created.

Grosjean (2001) illustrated the four factors that prompt the occurrence of CS:

1. the setting and situation (e.g., at home or in a party) that indicate where and under which situation CS is produced;
2. the participants in the interaction (e.g., their gender, ages and occupations);
3. the topic of conversations (e.g., work or sport) that incorporates CS; and
4. the function of the interaction (e.g., requests, thanks or apologies) initiating CS and why CS is initiated.

Myers-Scotton (1999) proposed the ways that help to decide whether or not a speaker will code-switch. For example, the speakers have to consider the linguistic constraints (e.g., physical, economic, legal and psychological constraints) they are facing, the social norms prevailing in the community, the collective expectations and understandings of the linguistic choices, the conformity controlling in-group members in the community and the limits of choices themselves.

CS that appears in varied situations and for different reasons may be interpreted distinctly. For instance, Mondada and Doehler (2004) investigated how students used CS in classrooms and promoted the effectiveness of learning, while Toribio (2004) examined the existence of CS among scholars and professionals. CS also takes many different forms when it is adopted by people of differing ages and educational backgrounds, for distinct purposes and under various settings.

Orientations of CS

Bayley and Regan (2004) suggested that the use of languages may arise from two orientations: a cognitive and mentalistic orientation and a social and contextual orientation (p. 323). These scholars stated two dimensions for viewing CS—referring to cognitive and mentalistic orientations, CS can serve the purpose of displaying people's thoughts and ideas and can likewise be used as a tool for learning (He, 2004). With reference to social and contextual orientations, CS can help people to communicate with each other more effectively (Ng & He, 2004) and reflect contextual phenomenon (Don, 2003). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) proposed the third dimension—sociocultural orientations that emphasize on the relationship between the formation of identity and the use of language.

Cognitive and Mentalistic Orientations of CS

For cognitive and mentalistic orientations of CS, researchers focus on investigating the variables that influence the production of different languages made at the same time, expand the knowledge of second and third language acquisition, and understand how different forms and structures of languages can be altered and affect tense marking (Wolfram, 1985). There are investigations on cognitive resources required during the process of comprehension and integration of different linguistic factors such as phonological, grammatical and semantic information (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001).

A study conducted by Martin, Krishnamurthy, Bhardwaj & Charles (2003) that is concerned with using CS for a learning purpose analyzed lexical borrowings, changes in vocabulary and word grammar patterns while children were making language choices between different languages. Through the practice of CS, students were helped to learn more effectively.

Grosjean (2001) believed that people code-switch as

they lack facility in one language when talking about a particular topic. They report that they switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed (p. 150).

Under this situation, people code-switch because they lack cognitive resources for one language and try to retrieve knowledge from another language to compensate for their deficiency in the starting language. Grosjean (2001) further suggested that a bilingual may be simply too tired to search for an exact word in one language and therefore code-switch to minimize effort. Other researchers also agreed that bilinguals code-switch as “they do not know either language completely” (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001, p. 165).

Toribio (2004) argued that CS is able to facilitate the “strategic and efficient use of linguistic and cognitive resources” (p. 134). In his paper, he gave examples to elucidate that CS is a conscious use of language choice on the part of the speaker and through the process of CS speakers extend their abilities. This conscious use of language choices may indicate a desire to create a verbal impression or effect through the juxtaposition of two codes.

It is recognized that the expressions and transformation of CS could even be more sophisticated when bilinguals change from formal to informal vocabulary. In other words, when bilinguals code-switch in different settings, such as at home, in the school or in a shopping mall, they might use different categories of vocabulary. When there are two distinct language systems, the CS between them, under both formal and informal situations, may take varying forms. For instance, Chinese and English have great differences in the systems of grammar, sentence structure and vocabulary system and many other linguistic aspects. As a consequence, it is valuable to grasp how Chinese-Canadians code-switch between Chinese (an oriental language) and English (an Indo-European language) because CS between two extremely distinct sets of language systems (e.g., Chinese & English) may qualitatively differ from CS between two more similar sets of language systems (e.g., English & French).

Social and Contextual Orientations of CS

Social and contextual investigations of CS emphasize on how social and situational factors initiate and influence the patterns of CS. Viewing CS from this perspective, researchers study how CS facilitates human communication, acts as a contextual cue, provides social meanings and so on.

Focusing on the social and contextual perspective of CS, Heller (1995) considered language a tool to help people to bargain for power. People code-switch to achieve specific conversational purposes in their social lives. She added that language practices are inherently political insofar as “they are among the ways individuals have at their disposal of gaining access to the production, distribution and consumption of symbolic and material resources” (p. 161). CS sometimes enables an individual to secure the power by rejecting, disrupting or opposing the actions of other co-participants.

Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003) described how CS can function in an avoidance strategy or achievement strategy. They proposed that speakers may code-switch for the purpose of avoiding a difficult target language form. On the other hand, if speakers code-switch to keep the conversation flowing without having to pause or interrupt the delivery of messages, this type of CS is considered an achievement strategy. Their study of first-year learners of Danish who were bilinguals or multilinguals of Danish, English, Polish and German showed us that CS is a useful strategy in promoting communication and social negotiation.

Chan (2004) categorized motivations of CS broadly into “pragmatic” and “non-pragmatic.” With pragmatic motivations, CS mainly takes the role as a “textualization cue” to display communicative effects or inferences. With non-pragmatic motivations, CS may convey social purposes such as the declaration of social roles/identities or reflecting psychological phenomena such as disclosing the internal state of the speaker. Chan also stressed that the contextualization of CS (signaling of contextual presuppositions) only provides an incomplete account of the pragmatics of CS because (1) CS is better characterized as a “framing” device rather than a “signaling” device where “the highlighted

contextual presuppositions are retrieved through pragmatic inferences irrespective of the switched code” and (2) some instances of CS “do not seem to be contextualization cues at all” (p. 14). Chan argued that CS is more powerful and plausible when acting as a “textualization” cue.

The study conducted by Ng and He (2004) and by Milroy and Wei (1995) are quite similar in the way that they both investigated how CS (between English and Chinese) took place at home across family members of three generations (grandchildren, parents and grandparents) in New Zealand and England respectively. Ng and He (2004) focused on the Communication Accommodation Theory in which language divergence indicates social disapproval, distancing or misidentification, whereas language convergence shows approval and social identification with addressees. They gave examples to illustrate how this theory existed. They also examined differences in frequencies on within-turn CS and between-turns CS across all three types of participants and concluded the interpretive function and identity tokens of CS facilitating the communicative flow among family members. The researchers declared that CS was “a consequence of contrastive bilingual abilities across generations and in turn provided resources for assisting communication across generation” (p. 43). That is, CS has a function of facilitating communication among people of different age groups and of different language abilities vertically. The researchers proposed that CS likewise holds an interpretive function with which it helps people to understand the meaning of messages a speaker really intends to deliver to others.

CS can likewise create new micro situations instead of passively functioning as a contextual cue. For instance, bilingual speakers may “defy the expected performance to impart extralinguistic message through language alternation at specific choice points of his

or her utterance to impart new themes and construct new micro-situations” (Al-Khatib, 2003, p. 409). In fact, bilinguals feel incapable of thoroughly expressing themselves in the monolingual system and hence they need to create new linguistic messages, new themes and new micro-situations within the bilingual or multilingual system. In this case, CS mainly facilitates a fluent flow in the circulation of human thoughts and verbal interactions among bilinguals that monolingual systems are unable to sustain.

Edwards (2004) thought that CS can be governed by social-situational or grammatical constraints and possess some intrinsic communicative or inferential value. The researcher suggested that it occurs in families where it becomes “the markers of socio-psychological distance” (p. 137). Edward also observed that CS can express how the users sense the power of a language, its affective weight, their feelings and pride toward it.

The above studies illustrate how CS serves the social and contextual functions. However, CS is also evident in the way it facilitates the demonstration of people’s cultural identity. The next section indicates how CS serves this function.

Sociocultural Orientations of CS

Sociocultural investigations of CS are concerned with the relationship between language use and people’s cultural identity. From the viewpoint of sociocultural linguists, the examination of language should be placed in “the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Theoretically speaking, sociocultural studies of languages include the disciplinary subfields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, socially oriented forms of discourse analysis, linguistically oriented social psychology and developmental psychology. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) advocated integrating these diverse approaches under a single label by

acknowledging “the full range of work that falls under the rubric of language and identity and to offer a shorthand device for referring to these approaches collectively” (p. 586). In particular, these subfields study the *formation* of people’s cultural identity through the use of language.

An interdisciplinary perspective assists researchers and scholars to analyze identity as “a centrally linguistic phenomenon” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586) because an identity does not emerge at a single analytic level, but appears at multiple levels simultaneously. Sociolinguists consider that a close relationship exists between identity formation and language use, and language becomes a pivotal element in reflecting an individual’s internal mental state. As a consequence, the formation of identity can be traced by searching for information from the social ground such as discourse within which people’s identities are built, maintained, or altered. Since the processes of discourse are changing at all times, the formation of identity is also subject to change as it is initiated by changes in discourse.

Is the identity formed within a monolingual the same as that within a bilingual/multilingual? Is the identity formed within a bilingual whose first language is the dominant language similar to that within a bilingual/multilingual whose first language is a minority language? The present dissertation focuses on the use of languages within a group of Chinese-Canadians whose first language is one of the Chinese languages. It is thought that in minority language settings, “the identity of minority groups and individuals is constructed as being in some way deficient” (Blackledge, 2001, p. 54). For the dominant group, anything about the minority groups may be considered “a source of inconvenience and frustration” (p. 54). Members of minority groups are inclined to shift to the dominant language for pursuing “economic opportunity” and “socioeconomic mobility” (Myers-

Scotton, 2002). How do minority people use a language, either the dominant or minority language to reflect their cultural identity? What role does their use of the majority and minority languages play in their identity formation?

With the possibility to use more than one language in a conversation, identity formation will certainly be more complicated than when only a single language is available. Myers-Scotton (2002) believed that the pattern of CS can “index the speakers’ desire to project themselves as persons with the identities associated with more than one language” and as a result, they are projecting to others a “dual identity” (p. 45). Toribio (2004) thought that CS is a “conscious choice on the part of the speaker” (p. 135), imputing particular stylistic goals to specific code-alternations such as CS in reported speech, making emphasis and elaboration. It was believed that a bilingual “does not alternate her languages for lack of knowledge of structures or lexical items in codes to achieve some literary effect,” but actually, it is “an exercise of self-consciousness” (p. 136). According to Toribio, people code-switch for the purpose of conforming to an in-group or community norm because “not mixing languages in certain circumstances would be considered irregular and socioculturally insensitive” (p. 136). To put it succinctly, CS performs special functions during the process of identity formation and the way bilinguals establish their identities should be distinct from the way monolinguals build their identities.

A number of current studies investigated how bilinguals form their identities through the use of language and CS. For instance, Lee (2003) examined how people established multiple identities in a multicultural society of Malaysia where people are using different languages to represent various types of identities. This study showed the existence of multiple identities. Tsang and Wong (2004) studied how people in Hong Kong created a

shared “Hong Kong identity” with the practice of English and Cantonese. Being a British colony for over 100 years, the people in Hong Kong developed a type of identity different from Chinese people in other Chinese-dominated societies. This study investigated how people use comic discourses in public to present their discontent about public affairs. The result of this study indicated that languages play an obvious role in displaying people’s identity that transformed alongside the political development of society. King and Ganuza (2005) explored how Chilean adolescents developed their identities in Sweden with CS and how they held their ethnic identities in the dominant culture. This study reported how minority people negotiated for reserving their ethnic identity under the pressure of the dominant culture. These studies give us different implications about people who use the dominant and minority languages to reflect their cultural identities.

Meaning of Culture

The study of language from a sociocultural perspective is a great challenge to researchers because they examine language at the “intersection of language, culture, and society” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586).

When talking about cultural identity, we need to understand the meaning of culture. Triandis (1995) tried to define culture as individuals’ memory that includes the things that have worked in the past. The “things” can be “words, shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, and values” (p. 4). When classifying the “things” in terms of contrasting labels, we need to prevent oversimplification and reduction that obliterates the completeness and complexity of the phenomenon of culture. Obviously, this task is challenging to researchers and scholars if they aim at accomplishing their studies in a responsible manner.

With reference to the relationship between language and society, such as the social history of language, scholars have suggested that we need “an agenda for treating language as an object, a resource, for historical inquiry in its own right” (Porter, 1991, p. 2). Building the bridge linking language and society may be another great consideration for researchers. To simultaneously deal with the three components of language, culture and society, researchers need to develop pragmatic and holistic techniques. However, there is a lack of studies using such techniques. The present study tends to close this gap and critically examines how Chinese-Canadians perceive their cultural identity from a sociocultural perspective.

Speech Community and Social Networks

When we focus on discourse and CS, we must be aware that they do not occur in isolation, but rather, in a social context. A social network is a theoretical construct that assists in characterizing a social context. Milroy and Wei (1995) described the theory of social networks by referring a social network as “a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another” (p. 138).

Macro-level constructs such as class, gender and ethnicity show researchers useful information to unveil consistent sociolinguistic patterns (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). To understand the relationships between language and the global social categories, we need to observe “the specifics of local practice and local conditions...with which speakers operate in their daily lives” (p. 116) and these are concerned with the micro-level analysis. In order to develop a theoretical understanding of the discourses produced by various participants within a speech community, all participants are considered possessors of a “linguistic repertoire” within which they are “linguistically heterogeneous” but “functionally

homogeneous” as “each individual assigns a distributional function to each code” (Dabène & Moore, 1995, p. 35).

Milroy and Wei (1995) examined the differing linguistic characteristics of age-related social networks. They found that the participants in their study used CS that included “interactional patterns associated with conversational use of the two community languages [English and Chinese]” (p. 147). Using *conversation analysis* (CA) to interpret their data, they found that CS is used for preference making, self-repair (modification of meaning), or pre-sequence (a type of conversational structure that prefigures or clears the ground for a later interactional episode. They proposed that CS serves the functions of word-finding, self-editing, repetition, clarification, confirmation and so on (p. 151).

Milroy (1992) proposed that alteration of language systems originates in “casual and everyday usage rather than in the more monitored and self-conscious styles” (p. 148). Changes in languages may be initiated by the prestige of the speakers who think that their ethnic languages are “socially inferior varieties” (pp. 149-150). Prestige leads to the pursuit of power and charm (Myers-Scotton, 2002). According to Milroy (1992), there are two types of prestige—firstly, it is the “local prestige” that is agreed by members of a community, and secondly, it is the broader sense of prestige that “is predicated on the hierarchical organization of society” (p. 151). For instance, when using a dominant language, a minority group member may acquire the prestige an ordinary person in the mainstream enjoys.

CS in Educational Settings

With reference to the functions of CS in classrooms, Martin-Jones (1995) mentioned that the use of a second language in a classroom is usually for the following

purposes: (1) translation of meaning; (2) making a “we code” for inculcating a sense of belonging among speakers of the same language; (3) showing procedures and directions; (4) making clarifications and (5) checking for understanding (p. 94). These goals are in agreement with the learning and communicative functions of CS.

With CS, students may explore the contrasts within different types of discourses and negotiate or renegotiate joint frames of reference in different languages. CS is one of the “possible contextualization cues or communicative resources for constructing and interpreting meanings in context” in daily life (Martin-Jones, 1995, p. 98). Thus, in this section I emphasize the cognitive and social dimensions of CS in educational settings.

Cromdal (2001) investigated how young children used simultaneous bilingual speech to gain exclusive rights to the floor in multiparty play episodes in the school. In this study, participants were recruited from an English school in Sweden and their activities during recess time were videotaped. Sequential analyses were employed to examine CS that took place when students were engaged in play activities. The results showed that participants used different methods to deal with disagreements, resulting in various outcomes of overlap negotiation (speakers speaking different languages at the same time). The researcher concluded that the linguistic contrast arising from CS may enhance the opportunity of a second language speaker to acquire the floor and the effectiveness of this “turn security device” would depend on how well the sequential placement performed or how effective the piece of CS was used to continue with the argument. Cromal examined CS from a social and contextual perspective.

Viewing CS from a holistic perspective, Kang (2003), analyzing CS among Korean-Americans in the school setting, drew the conclusion that CS can demonstrate the existence

of a social hierarchy that serves to mitigate potential conflicts within Korean communities. Hierarchical relationships based on power, age and solidarity are embedded in the Korean language grammatically and the use of CS in discourse among Koreans may “introduce particular social norms that guide the observable actions used in navigating meaning and social relations” (p. 299). In Kang’s study, the researcher delineated how potential conflict was tackled in Korean-English bilingual interactions. He called for more attention to the multicultural nature of CS taking into account “local ideologies of personhood, knowledge and social interaction, and the culturally specific views on language, meaning and intention” (p. 301) instead of emphasizing the intention and meaning of CS. Kang implemented his study through a sociocultural perspective from which he examined the culturally specific aspect of language. Like the interpretations of Myers-Scotton’s (1988), CS symbolizes the speaker’s desire to put forth different sets of rights and obligations “to be in force for the speech events” (p. 162) and signals the formation of a new negotiation and an unmarked choice. Power is required and manifested during this process of bargaining and negotiation (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Current studies of CS emphasize the sociocultural perspective. The sociocultural investigation of CS can “integrate rather than isolate various forms of mental functioning and various scholarly orientations [and] overcome the debilitating effects of disciplinary specializations” (Wertsch, 1998, p.111). From the socioculturalists’ point of view, language needs to be examined in the way it is “interrelated with other aspects of social and individual activity” (p. 115); that is, it is desirable to examine the use of language in a naturalistic environment while children participating in their regular activities.

Fishman (1999) proposed that language planning and policies are pivotal in fostering (or hampering) and modernizing (or archaizing) the language(s) of a community's repertoire. It is suggested that language planning may reflect status planning that results in the appearance of biases, ideologies and attitudes to a language (Fishman, 2006). On one hand, language usage and planning help bring forward social change, but on the other hand, they reinforce or stabilize social change. Thus, educators need to help their students familiarize the huge variations in human characteristics and the wide variety of language communities all over the world. As educators and educational professionals, we should be aware of the implementation of government policies that deepen or lessen the authority of a certain language, and we expect to be informed of the rationales behind such policies that are unbiased and fair to people of various cultural backgrounds.

However, there is a lack of research on how young Chinese-Canadians use CS in school settings, especially in Chinese schools where they learn their heritage language. The expected functions of Chinese will certainly be different from those of English in Canada and it is worthwhile for us to explore how they use their heritage language in daily life situations.

Some Questions about CS

As we have seen, CS can facilitate communication, cognitive development and identity formation in bilinguals or multilinguals. Certain scholars wonder if the practice of CS might widen the gap between people of different ethnic groups as they continue practicing their native language instead of completely abandoning it and adopting the new language. Holding a different point of view, others suggest that "no social group, not even the domestic household, is internally linguistically homogenous in practice" (Lo, 1999, p.

461). The degree of linguistic permeability and variation accepted by people of the in-group or out-group will influence the formation of cultural identity. In fact, recognizing the discrepancy in languages and membership in a speech community is the first step in acknowledging, understanding and appreciating the differences between people from different cultures.

Another question is whether language is “codable” (Alvarex-Cáccamo, 1998). The pendulum of debate swings to and fro regarding the codability of languages. There are abundant findings showing that “the alternate use of recognizably distinct speech varieties in discourse may have accountable meanings,” and by understanding the coding system, we may create more information about the rationales and mechanism behind the use of languages. However, a counter argument is that do we need to learn the other language before communicate with people of another ethnic group? Do people who can code-switch more effectively communicate with people of another ethnic group than those who cannot code-switch? According to Hornberger (2003), because of the uniqueness of a certain language, “bilinguals switch languages according to specific functions and uses” (p. 14) and this special linguistic configuration signifies “a special, salient case of the general phenomenon of linguistic repertoire” (p. 14) that is common in the current world.

There are major studies (Cenoz, Hugesen, & Jessner, 2001; Cummins, 2001; Dagenais, 2003; Grosjean, 1998) reflecting that bilingual, trilingual or multilingual practices are beneficial to children’s linguistic, conceptual and overall development. The above discussions indicate that researchers’ preconceptions about the issue may influence the way they view, design and implement their investigations. For instance, if researchers have the preconception that bilingual and multilingual education is not beneficial to

children's development, they will hesitate to start any project researching on topics in this aspect. The attitude of researchers, people's prejudice on minority languages, and their unnecessary stereotypes and discrimination on minority people might influence the focus and direction of research on CS and minority languages (Macionis, 1999).

Research findings also indicate that people code-switch for many different purposes, such as responding to embarrassing situations (Bond & Lai, 2001), conveying to others an individual's personal or cultural identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), negotiating conflicts within constraints of social hierarchies (Kang, 2003), creating a common access between concepts of the first and second languages (Blot, Zarate & Paulus, 2003) and even desiring to use CS as a strategy to understand human nature at a deeper degree (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001). As a result, the functions of CS are multifaceted and can be positive and creative.

According to Grosjean and Miller (1994), when people start to learn a new language (L2), they are actually located at "various points along a situational continuum" and acquire different levels of proficiency at varying points of the continuum. If a person is situated at an early point of the continuum, speaks limited amount of L2 and needs to speak a certain amount of L1 (first language), is it appropriate for others to criticize this person for having code-switched? Do we expect this person to speak very fluently the L2 at the beginning of his or her learning of the new language? If CS is practiced under this situation, is CS "productive" or "unproductive"? We have to answer a number of questions before we are certain that CS is really "unproductive," but there are many studies indicating that CS has helped people to express themselves in a setting where their L1 is different from that of the mainstream (e.g., Heredia & Altarriba, 2001; Kang, 2003).

Some researchers (e.g., Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Day, 1999) suggested that the acquisition of the second, or third, or more languages is a capital to children and beneficial to language education because it can be a means of “securing their children’s access to various imagined language communities” (p. 269). A bilingual or multilingual is able to reach resources endowed in different language communities so that he or she acquires more language resources than a monolingual does. The cultural heritage contained in each language may also enrich the total amount of “capital” the bilingual or multilingual gains.

Language, CS and Identity

In addition to the studies on syntax and cognitive aspects of CS, researchers have been examining how people perceive their “selves” or “identity” through the sociocultural perspective as more voices have been aired for the pursuit of personal autonomy and self-awareness in the modern world.

To affirm the close connection between language and the self, Porter (1991) claimed that

Language could help fashion collective identity. But it could also function as the midwife of individual identity, the bearer of autobiography. In recent explorations of the growth of self-awareness, one of the thorniest problems facing historians lies in explaining the emergence of modern conceptions of the ‘self’ (pp. 11-12)

We are curious to know—who we are (i.e., self-concepts), who we are in terms of the roles we take (i.e., individual identities), who we are in a collective (i.e., group-identities), who we are with reference to our ethnic backgrounds such as skin color (i.e., ethnic identities) and who we are with reference to our culture at large (i.e., cultural

identities). The concept of self that is closely related to the formation of identity will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation.

Language is not merely a method of communication or expression (social and contextual orientation), or a propeller of cognitive development (cognitive and mentalistic orientation); rather, it is a tool that “constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future” (sociocultural orientation) (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 1).

According to scholars’ opinions, linguistics is considered a descriptive science that has “no place for value-judgments” (Milroy & Milroy, 2003, p. 10). Although the functions of language may be viewed from different orientations, it is claimed that linguists’ attention has hinged much on understanding the nature of language but unwisely ignored its social functions and characteristics such as the notion of prestige in language. More acute examination of how people view and value languages may help us to portray a fuller picture of the relationship between the use of languages and identity formation.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) supported that, through CS, people make code choices to negotiate interpersonal relationships and “signal their perceptions or desires about group memberships” (p. 478). As a consequence, language can be swiftly used by speakers to show their personal and group identities.

In the modern world where different languages are commonly used, people may wonder how bilinguals, trilinguals or multilinguals foster their identities in accordance with the languages they are concurrently practicing. If we have the conception that a close connection exists between the use of language and the formation of cultural identity, will

bilinguals build two different identities when using two languages? How do bilinguals preserve their old identities, transform their identities or develop new identities when they are code-switching?

Hoosain (1991) suggested that “the structure of anyone’s native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view acquired as the language is learned” (p. 169). His opinion delivers to us a message that a person’s native language plays a pivotal role in affecting how a person observes the external world. There are likewise *carry-over effects* (p. 168) brought forward from a person’s native language to his or her second language, thus echoing the proposition that the impact of the native language is powerful.

However, Ji, et al.’s (2004) study suggested that in some way the influence of the first language less strong than culture in affecting people’s thinking. This study examined how bilinguals (speakers of Chinese and English) from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore perceived the basis of human relationships with language. Bilingual Chinese from Hong Kong and Singapore showed less language effect than those from mainland China and Taiwan. It was suggested that a mixture of English and Chinese languages and a mixture of Chinese and English ways of living have deeply rooted in the life of Hong Kong and Singapore and affected their inhabitants when they were young. It was proposed that the cultural impact of the first language is attenuated when a second language is learned at an early age.

Indeed, more questions about the thought and behavior patterns of bilinguals, trilinguals or multilinguals appear when the issue is viewed from different layers and from different perspectives. For instance, what is the influence of the newly learned language(s) on the speaker? When should bilinguals learn their second language so that they gain the

greatest amount of benefit? What is the best setting for bilinguals to learn their additional languages? How do ordinary people value the languages they use everyday, although scholars consider language to be value-free? There might be a number of variables that heighten the intensity of sophistication for bilingual or multilingual studies. Provided that the newly learned language has really exerted some sort of influence upon the users, it is valuable to know how and to what extent this influence has affected them.

As evidence shows that the use of language may influence speakers' thinking, the relationship between CS and identity formation is far more complicated when it is exposed to various cultural impacts. In recent years, researchers have been investing more effort in investigating the significance of CS in the fields of psychology and education such as the outcomes of language contact and inter-lingual transference (Toribio, 2004), base-language effect and cross-linguistic flexibility (Grosjean & Miller, 1994), the use of CS as a communication, learning and social negotiation strategy (Arnfast & Jørgensen, 2003), the discussion of embarrassing topics in a person's first and second languages (Bond & Lai, 2001) and the practice of CS as a textualization cue (Chan, 2004). Nevertheless, I could not find relevant studies that analyze the relationship between CS and formation of cultural identity among Chinese-Canadian participants.

Kamwangamalu's (1992) study is somewhat closer to this direction as it explored the connection between the use of different English accents and the projection of social identity in a multilingual city (Singapore), but its objectives are still different from those of this dissertation. Therefore, a main objective of this dissertation is to exactly research on the CS patterns of Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver, and how they might have formed their cultural identity with reference to their use of languages. After digging up in-depth

information on CS, the reader may find the literature review on cultural identity that is another main theme of this dissertation in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH ON FORMATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Concepts of Self and Identity

To understand how people form their cultural identities, we need to first grasp the nature of self and identity. Plato believed that “the individual is both a ‘concrete individual’ and a ‘constituent member’ of society rather than a mere part of the organic world” (Hall, 1963, p. 16). According to Hamachek (1987), modern psychological notions of the self first appeared in the late 19th century when William James wrote his remarkable chapter “The Conscious Self.” However, the theoretical understanding of the self failed to progress until the rise of psychology in the 1950s which gave scholarly respect and recognition to the construct of self and self-concept. Since then, the idea of self has been considered “the central core of the person,” and became one of the “unifying principles of personality for psychologists and educators” (p. 166). Today, how do scholars define self or consider people’s self-concept?

Being able to recognize yourself as a distinct entity is a necessary first step in the evolution and development of a self-concept, the sum total of beliefs you have about yourself. The second step involves social factors [that] other people serve as a mirror in which we see ourselves. We often come to know ourselves by imagining what significant others think of us and incorporating these perceptions into our self-concept (Brehm & Kassin, 1991, p. 48).

According to Hamachek (1987), the self is a person’s total subjective environment and contains a distinctive center of experience and significance. The self constitutes a

person's inner world that is differentiated from the outer world comprising all other people and things. It is thought that behind nearly every emotion, there is a hidden cognition that affects the ways we think and analyze events, and manipulates the emotions we have.

Csikzentmihalyi (1993) defined self in terms of its functions. He argued that once self-reflective consciousness has flourished, the brain not only experiences separate needs, drives, sensations and ideas, but also "the totality of these impulses as forming a distinct self, capable of taking charge of the domain of consciousness, and deciding which feelings or ideas should take precedence over the rest" (p. 23).

Being an existentialist, Sartre (1992) declared that the self cannot be "a property of being-in-itself." The self refers "precisely to the *subject*" (p. 123). He believed a relationship occurs between a subject and an individual, and this relationship "is precisely a duality, but a particular duality since it requires particular verbal symbols" (p. 123). In his opinion, a self cannot be understood as "a real existent" because the subject cannot be the self. When the subject overlaps with the self, the self may disappear. An individual cannot be a self without the addition of verbal symbols or meanings.

Other scholars perceive the meaning of self from a perspective that is less philosophical and more social. According to Cooley (1902, cited in Triandis, 1989), the self comprises all the statements attached with a person explicitly or implicitly, and is signaled by the words "I," "me," "mine" and "myself." Triandis (1989) gave us a broad definition of self that describes all aspects of social motivation, such as attitudes, beliefs, intentions, roles and values. He presented three types of self:

- (1) the *private self* which cognitively models the traits, states, or behaviors of the person;

- (2) the *public self* which cognitively models other's view of self;
- (3) the *collective self* which cognitively models states and traits of groups of which the person is a member.

There exists an abundant psychological literature that delineates the self from various angles, such as the study of self-regulation (Zimmerman, 2000), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993), academic self-concept (Pajares, 1996), spontaneous self-descriptions (Rhee, Uleman, Lee, & Roman, 1995), writing self-beliefs (Pajares, Miller & Johnson, 1999), self-ingroup relationship (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988), conceptions of culture and individuals (Kashima, 2000), and the individual-social antinomy (Cole & Wertsch, 1996). The collective depth and breadth of these studies demonstrates that researchers have entered into the investigation of self with expectant zeal.

Viewing the self from another perspective, Martin and Sugarman (2001) proposed that the self is “related to a particular identity, embodied being, and deliberative, reflective agency in ways that give it an existential and experiential grounding” (p. 107). To know “oneself,” we must “penetrate the background of the life-world,” and “grasp and apply, possibility for being” (p. 112). Martin and Sugarman raised a significant point for us to ponder—the relationship between the self and identity. How does an individual perceive one's self and how does this perception influence the way the person establishes his or her identity?

Young people experience momentous changes in their teenage years such as puberty, the promotion to larger and diversified schools, the engagement of sexual and peer relationships and expanded knowledge of adult society, each of these motivating teenagers

to define who they exactly are (Berger, 1998). To describe identity or self-identification, Berger contended that

The first step in this process of self-definition is usually an attempt to establish the integrity of one's personality, that is, to see one's emotion, thinking, and behavior as consistent from one situation or relationship to another. Later, the adolescent's search for identity broadens, as the young person attempts to integrate his or her sense of self with the many roles that are associated with becoming a young adult (p. 137).

The above definition shows that the process of self-identification is not only determined by a single person, but the mutual influence of a group of significant others. This describes how self-identification takes its form. The process of self-identification expands when the person becomes aware of the different roles he or she takes. This reflects that the process of self-identification might operate in parallel to develop a number of selves that comprise and distinguish one's unique identity (Brehm & Kassin, 1993, p. 437). With these selves, the person is able to perform distinct roles, establish different types of attachment with various groups and adapt a broad set of attitudes, each relating to a rather specific setting, subject or social role. If a type of selves will lead to the development of a form of identity, it can be speculated that different types of selves will result in the formation of different identities. If a person holds different selves simultaneously, it is possible that this person may possess multiple identities.

The theories of self and identity show that if we desire to thoroughly know how a person establishes his or her identity, we must consider the influences of significant others. Thus, viewing identity through a sociocultural lens is a meaningful approach. Accepting that the self may be comprised of multiple identities as a result of the various roles taken by

the individual, under which situations will a person form multiple identities? What is the mechanism through which a person transforms his or her identities?

Changes in Identities

In Erikson's psychological theory (Waterman, 1982), a young person's identity is the accumulation and reinterpretation of his past experiences together with a reflection of traits generated from the people to whom he is closely related. Cottle (2001) thought that people begin seeking attachment and recognition when they are babies. When we give recognition to a person, we have already placed him "on a higher level" (p. 83). In the process of granting an individual recognition, we are actually "confirming one's old being simultaneously launching a new being" (p. 83); that is, the individual develops through the influence of other people's views and opinions.

As young people spend much of their time at school, Toohey (2000) believed that the interpretation of human identity entails the formation of identity in school settings and therefore we cannot ignore the development of self in the school community. There are various factors that collectively build young people's "school identity" such as school activities, teachers' instructional conversations, representations made by teachers, parents, specialists, other young counterparts and the young people themselves. We are inclined to establish our identities through interactions with other people. Language thus plays a role in helping young people build their identities through social interactions in school settings.

Zou and Trueba (1998) recognized the changes in the perception of identity and claimed that

The very roots of our ethnocentrism and its potential conflicts in interacting with people from other backgrounds are inculcated early

in life with the formation of the self concept and are re-enforced or changed as we adapt to different circumstances (p. 21).

Their explanation is that a person establishes his or her “enduring self” that is established in the earliest stage of socialization during the formative years. As time goes by, this self may grow and transform itself as the person matures or moves into different settings, environments or cultures. After the major adjustment attributed to the changes in the environment, there appears a “situated self” that allows us to continuously redefine our self-identity and to behave in different ways to cope with changes in the environment.

Besides the changes in self-concept that occur as the person matures, the self-concept of an individual continuously changes as the individual interacts with his or her social and cultural environment. Martin and Sugarman (2001) captured the dynamic quality of selfhood as follows:

The self is an ongoing, dynamic process of construction, a constantly emerging achievement made possible by appropriating the means to reflexively self-refer, including a socioculturally enable...theory of self (p. 104).

They thought “the contemporary self is a nonsubstantive, relational entity to be understood” (p. 107). In one way or another, a person is likely to change his or her self-concept in the presence of others and under the influences of his environment.

Côté and Levine (2002) explained identity change by delineating the three types of identity an individual might hold:

- (1) *ego identity* that refers to the more basic subjective sense of continuity that is characteristic of the individual’s personality;
- (2) *personal identity* that describes the more concrete perspectives of the individual’s experiences established in interactions; and

(3) *social identity* that denotes the individual's positions in a social structure.

Except for the ego identity that is likely to be affected by the disposition or personality of the individual, the formation of his or her personal and social identities are tremendously moderated by the individual's primary or secondary relationships with others, his or her social roles and cultural factors in the environment. A person's identity might change as a result of changes in relationships with other people and the environment. It is important for us to consider the mechanism through which a person's identity undergoes adjustment and how various identities are formed.

Multiple Identities

Trueba (1999) added depth to our understanding about identity by describing the formation of multiple identities. He interpreted that the presence of others helps us define our self-identity. However, as we grow continuously and interact with different groups,

We tend to look into our isolated selves and discover multiple layers of our personality and multiple identities developed in response to our engagement in making meaning with peoples from diverse cultures, language and social strata (p. xxvii).

With reference to the situations in bi- or multi-lingual societies, Shardakova and Pavlenko (2004) declared that many multilingual speakers "experience significant identity conflicts in the target language community" (p. 25) when they feel a discrepancy exists between their original identity and the identity they are expected to establish in the new community. As a result, some of them may display "denial or misunderstanding of their identities" (p. 25). Tensions often occur between national and minority languages and between the national identity and the original identity of multilingual speakers. In the presence of tensions, people of minority groups may

transform their existing identities or construct their unique multi-layered identities. It is believed that a close relationship occurs between the use of linguistic repertoires and the formation of identities (e.g., Pavlenko, 2003; Pavlenko, 2005b). Under this situation, people tend to develop multiple identities with reference to the changes and requirements in environment.

Although language is essential in molding people's cultural identity, other factors such as "race, class, ethnicity, religious affiliation, (dis)ability, sexuality" (Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004, p. 30) are significant in affecting the process of identity formation. This dissertation will focus on the impact of language use on identity formation.

Culture and Identity

In the past, researchers were more concerned with viewing identity formation in terms of the life-course development of individuals (Côté & Levine, 2002), with more emphasis on the "continual struggle with one's inner conflicts" (p. 3). However, current researchers have paid more attention to the dynamic development of human identity, with particular interest in its interaction with contextual, social and cultural factors.

Focusing on the influence of cultural factors, Vygotsky (1926/1997b) discussed how speech triggers thinking and the development of concepts under cultural influences. He proposed that the internalization of cultural forms of behavior or thoughts involves the reconstruction of psychological activity on the basis of sign operations. The developmental changes in sign operations occur in language and aspects of external or communicative speech as well as egocentric speech become internalized to be the basis of inner speech. This claim reflects the important role taken by language in transforming external speech that contains various cultural artifacts into inner speech and thought.

Trueba (2002) observed the importance of understanding cultural factors before attempting to explain how people master codes and concepts. In a given cultural setting, a person tries to define his “identity in different ways in order to function effectively in different cultural settings” (p. 8). When people settle in a new cultural setting, they have to redefine themselves to function effectively in new social, cultural, linguistic, and economic contexts so that they define themselves in multiple ways. Thus, the analysis of coding and concept formation cannot be disentangled from the cultural settings where the codes and concepts take place.

Cultural Identity, Acculturation and Multiculturalism

When people settle in a place, they form their unique identity under the influence of the culture enclosing them. Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985) explained how people form their cultural identity as follows:

The cultural identity of the group is kept up by constant reference to the reservoir of its culture. The term culture itself, taken to mean more than the cultivation of the mind, is applied to a system which informs the whole social activity of a nation, people or group. Cultural identity is used to designate a distinctive way of life—a lived culture within political, economic or more specific educational and social structures (p. 3).

In the early 20th century, social scientists started to recognize the importance of studying cultural contact between disparate groups (Trimble, 2002). Because immigration is a common phenomenon, acculturation becomes an important concept in explaining the experience of minority groups and political conflicts found in multicultural societies. According to Coleman (2003), acculturation is the “process of assimilating the ideas, beliefs, customs, values, and knowledge of another culture through direct contact with it, usually after migration from one place to another” (p. 6).

Deepening the theory of acculturation, Castro (2003) observed that positive and negative effects may result from the process of acculturation. The positive effect is an adaptation that consists of “a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, high self-esteem, and the achievement of efficient cultural and social competencies” (p. 9). On the other hand, the negative effect is like adaptation that comprises of “anxiety, depression, feelings of anomie, psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion” (p. 9). Scholars believe that the psychological changes experienced during the process of acculturation might influence the well-being of individuals and this potential problem also deserves our attention.

J. W. Berry interprets acculturation from a different perspective (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). He proposed four distinct acculturation positions: *assimilation* reflecting identification mostly with the major culture, *integration* indicating high identification with both cultures, *separation* caused by identification largely with the ethnic culture and *separation* caused by low identification with both cultures.

Phinney (2002) noted that people are likely to change their group identity when living in a new country. According to Phinney, group identity is “one’s identity or sense of self as a member” of a group (p. 63) and is a fluid and multidimensional understanding of self and cultural background. Several factors affect how people form their group identity. These include the self label people use to identify themselves, their subjective feelings toward a specific cultural group, and the level of their group identity development. A minority language will be more highly valued when it has a salient characteristic of the group’s cultural identity (Cenoz, et al., 2001). For instance, Mandarin is the national

language of Chinese people who tend to preserve this language even though they are living in a non-Chinese speaking country such as Vancouver.

Referring to the meaning of ethnic groups, Romaine (1989) considered that they are often “defined as belonging to a linguistic minority on their basis of their mother tongue” (p. 21). She suggested that a minority language serves as a communicative function for the older generation, but it serves as a symbolic one for the younger generation who are brought up in a dominant culture. When people of the older generation intend to pass their native language on to their children, there might be a possibility that a language can be revived. This phenomenon is termed “ethnic revival” (p. 50). It is thought that the use of a minority language is only “one factor in identity maintenance” and “it differs in the extent to which it plays a part in language movement” (P. 255). Romaine’s description about the promotion of a minority is similar to the situation in Vancouver. Chinese parents who register their children to study in Chinese schools do not want their children to acquire it simply for its communicative function, but also for the function of maintaining their cultural identity.

Trueba and Zou (1998) described the process through which people of various minority groups pursue their new identities in the host countries. When they abandon their home countries and towns of origin,

they carry with them a worldview, a lifestyle, a language and a family structure that they try to maintain in the host country...In fact, as immigrants and ethnic groups reaffirm and redefine their identities in contrast with groups as well as mainstream peoples, they seem to hold power, to control their destiny, and to succeed in their risky ventures as immigrants (p. 1).

During the process of acculturation, how do people of a specific minority group, such as Chinese-Canadians, Canadians of Chinese descent, maintain or change their self labels or cultural identity in the local community? When people of differing minority groups establish their own cultural identities, how do they position themselves in the mainstream society? Will they tightly grasp their cultural identities or hold multiple identities when interacting with people of different minority groups under varied situations?

Verkuyten (2005) argued that multiculturalist policy helps enhance understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity, and thus, minority group identities and cultures are acknowledged and respected. The ideology of multiculturalism supports the maintenance of culture by minority groups and the diversification of culture in an equitable way. With reference to the situation in Canada:

The Government of Canada will continue to partner with the provinces and territories to facilitate information sharing and address racism and multiculturalism issues where there is joint responsibility. The Minister of State (Multiculturalism) will consult annually with stakeholders to assess progress in breaking down barriers to opportunity and participation (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2007).

In Canada, the goal of the multicultural policy is to “preserve basic human rights, increase citizen participation, develop Canadian identity, reinforce Canadian unity, encourage cultural diversity and eliminate discrimination” (Mallea, 1990, p. 9).

Fillmore (1999) showed special concern with the linkage between language and cultural identity. She questioned whether a people can really be connected to their culture, history and heritage without their own language. She suggested that children will find it difficult to relate to their family members, connect to their community and acquire the cultural support they need if they are not allowed to use or hear their heritage language. She

described how certain African native people thought and felt after having disconnected to their homeland for a number of years.

Certain scholars (Cenoz, et al., 2001) suggest that the maintenance of minority culture and languages in a multicultural environment can motivate children to communicate in various languages and enhance learning. In fact, minority languages are valued as a ‘salient’ characteristic of cultural identity (p. 5).

The study conducted by Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) explored how Chinese biculturals in the U.S.A. viewed their two cultural identities as “compatible” versus “oppositional” and measured accultural predictors of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). The researchers found that variations in BII were comprised of two constructs: perception of distance (vs. overlap) and perceptions of conflict (vs. harmony) between the two cultural identities. People of minority groups located at different settings may display their unique characteristics under different situations. The result of the study indicated that cultural conflict and cultural distance reflect distinct personality, acculturation and sociodemographic antecedents.

Another study (Yeh, Ma, Madan-Bahel, Hunter, Jung, Kim, Akitaya, & Sasaki, 2005) that recruited 13 young Korean-Americans participants used qualitative analysis to investigate how these new immigrants adapted their lives in the United States and how they experienced their process of acculturation. Results indicated that the participants were expected to shift their identities to accommodate to the differing expectations that existed across distinct interpersonal contexts. Participants also reported that they struggled to attain a balance between American and Korean cultural values and norms, and they obtained help

from social support networks such as from families and friends to tackle the stress arising from the process of acculturation.

Pyke (2005) analyzed 32 interviews with grown children of Korean and Vietnamese immigrants in which they were asked about different acculturation situations. She found that elder children who had higher social status and obligation as first-borns, were bound more closely to their family's culture than their younger siblings who were more assimilated into mainstream culture. Those assimilated siblings considered their traditional older siblings as "generational traitors" for their aligning with parents, whereas the traditional siblings described their assimilated counterparts as "black sheep" for their challenging traditional practices and parental roles. The researcher also discussed how dissimilarity in the process of acculturation created different perceptions about traditional housework between the two groups of participants. To understand adaptation of immigrant families, the researcher advocated investigating acculturation dissonance among siblings. As a result, researchers may obtain more information about how children in a family may be assimilated to different degrees although they are nurtured in the same cultural environment.

The above studies describe how members of minority groups adapt to the mainstream culture and how they maintain and transform their cultural identity. Their stories vary when the participants and settings differ. We may question how Chinese-Canadians as members of a minority group living in Vancouver view themselves and evaluate their positions in a Western Canadian society.

Multiple Identities, Speech Communities and Imagined Community

One of the main objectives of this paper is to explore the relationships between language use and the formation and affirmation of cultural identity. We seek to know whether Chinese-Canadians form and exhibit (or hide) multiple identities through the use of their multiple languages. Multiple identities may be formed as people speak English, Mandarin and Cantonese.

According to Pavlenko (2001), when living in a new country, immigrants tend to alter their identities during discursive assimilation which is an unplanned process of re-positioning and self-translation in a new country. Repositioning refers to the situation at which new immigrants have to search for a position in the new society so that they are able to re-build their comparative relationships with the others in terms of their power relations.

Self-translation is considered

the reinterpretation of one's subjectivities in order to position oneself in new communities of practice and to "mean" in the new environment since "the person can only be a meaningful entity, both to himself or herself and to others, by being "read" in terms of the discourse available in that society." (p. 133)

A community of practice refers to the active involvement of participants within the community and the participants' construction of identity in relation to the community (Handley, Sturdy, Fincham & Clark, 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Dabène and Moore (1995) proposed that the identification with a community language is the pivotal factor in group strengthening and stabilization because language can be "invested and recognized as the guide to kinship-interpreted group membership" (p. 23).

Pavlenko (2001) claimed that the relationship between the learners of a new language and the learning environment (i.e., the society) is dynamic and constantly

changing. When people find that their previous subjectivities cannot be coherently or legitimately reproduced in a new context, they try to change their behavior until their new subjectivities are accepted by others through power struggle between the ones who impose power on to others and those who receive power from imposers. Under this situation, a particular type of new social identities is formed. Pavlenko (2001) further explained the formation of new social identities referring to her conception of power:

One's subjectivities are not entirely a product of one's own free choice and agency: they are co-constructed with others who can accept or reject them and impose alternative identities instead. Often, depending on the power balance, it is others who define who we are, putting us in a position where we have to either accept or resist and negotiate these definitions (p. 135).

Pavlenko (2001) believed the above phenomenon is a painful process because the immigrants might locate themselves in discomfoting positions. They either accept new concepts through negotiation and compromise, or reject them through the maintenance of their former subjectivities. These processes take place under the presence and pressure of others manifested through language, as it is "the locus of social organization, power, and individual consciousness, and a form of symbolic capital" (Pavlenko & Pillar, 2001, p. 22). This kind of symbolic capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that "accrue to an individual or a group by virtual of possessing a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

Bourdieu (1993) used the term "cultural capital" to describe the phenomena of exchange among intellectuals and this capital mobilizes direct profits in the educational market. Every market, such as the linguistic market, has its "symbolic goods" (p. 83). The

availability of power and symbolic capital may affect people in the way they view themselves and establish their identity.

The focus is not merely placed on the influence of others when immigrants form their new or varying identities in a new context. Pavlenko and Pillar (2001) also emphasized “speech communities” that contain “a group of speakers who share roles and norms for the use of language” (p. 23). A speech community is “a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language” (Romaine, 1994, p. 22) and the boundaries between speech communities are usually social rather than linguistic. Therefore, to study people’s interaction within speech communities may give us more information about the roles, norms and identities held by members of the communities.

Dagenais (2003) in her study recruited 12 families of diverse cultural backgrounds for the purpose of exploring the constructs of language as “economic and cultural capital, transnationalism, investment and imagined communities” (p. 269). Economic capital is concerned with people’s financial and commercial activities and resources, and cultural capital has been previously discussed in this section. Transnationalism refers to the process through which migrants live in a social field of networks and have “obligations that extend across international borders” (p. 273). It stresses the economic, social and political connections that immigrants carry with them from place to place. “Investment” and “imagined communities” are manifested when parents invest in their children’s education because “they imagine language and educational resources will enable their children to gain membership in particular language communities in Canada and elsewhere” (p. 274). Dagenais concluded that valuable language resources may help children transcend national

borders because the maintenance of their family languages enables them to secure their membership and identity in their language communities. The construction of imagined communities promotes our relationships to particular communities so that we may draw on past and present experiences to quest for future opportunities. In Dagenais, Day and Toohey's (2006) study, a child of Chinese descent was able to "share her cultural and linguistic knowledge" and display a "literate multilingual" (p. 214) identity when interacting with other peers during two years' observation. Within an imagined language community, multilingual children, using the available resources, blend their home languages with the dominant language to create unique hybrid ones. Lu's (2001) research revealed that 35 Chinese parents registered their children to study in Chinese schools in Chicago because they desired their children to preserve a bicultural identity. Within the imagined communities of Chinese schools, it was hoped that a sense of Chineseness could be maintained and promoted.

The study of multiple identities gives rise to the speculation that some bi- and multilinguals may become, in some sense, different people when they change languages. Pavlenko (2006) conducted a study that provides us with more information about the influences that shape individuals' perceptions of the relationships between their using of languages and selves. Altogether 1039 bi- or multilingual participants were recruited to complete a web-questionnaire on "bilingualism and emotion." This study had the following findings: first, it was concluded that the respondents have distinct verbal and non-verbal repertoires and cultural perspectives determined by their cultural backgrounds. The responses given by the participants "frame the perception of distinct selves through the discourse of language socialization visible in lexical and punctuation choices" (p. 13).

The researcher used a triangulated approach to illustrate systematic variations in bilinguals' perception of selves and how they were perceived by their listeners. This hints an occurrence of difference between perception of selves and other people. Some respondents expressed their "true" selves that are single and unitary, no matter what languages have been used by the speakers. In other words, the change in languages has exerted no effect on the perceptions of the selves molded by the speakers.

In accordance to the major findings of the study, Pavlenko (2006) made the following two conclusions: first, language may "create different, and sometimes incommensurable worlds for the speakers who feel that their selves change with the shift in language" (pp. 26-27) and second, for some bilinguals, the two languages may be connected to "different repertoires, cultural scripts, frames of expectations, autobiographic memories, and levels of proficiency and emotionality" (p. 27).

The above findings offer insights about how the languages use and the formation of individuals' identities are connected. A change in language use may signal a shift in identities under various social or cultural contexts. The formation of multiple identities becomes more complex when people have varying feelings of their former and later selves when speaking L1 and L2, whereas some people will have no emotional change no matter what languages they speak. The presence of an imagined community reflects the provision of varied and rich language resources for speakers to enhance human relationships and promote language development.

Cultural Identity of Chinese People and Confucianism

When designing psychological or educational investigations, researchers often include Chinese participants in their studies (e.g., Fan, 2003; Liao & Fukuya, 2004) as

China has a huge population (more than a quarter of the world's total population) and many Chinese immigrants are scattered all round the world (Jenni, 1999). No matter where Chinese people live, they tend to possess their own cultural system and value (Lao, 1999) that is profoundly influenced by an ancient Chinese scholar, Confucius, who was born in 551 B. C., and considered the greatest educator and philosopher of China (Shaughnessy, 2000; Wilson, 1982). Most of his thoughts were collected and written by his disciples or followers, and compiled in books such as *The Analects*, *The Great Learning* and *Liki*. His thoughts demonstrate how he perceived the ideal identities of individuals and groups and how he identified relationships between individuals, and relationships between individuals and nature.

Confucian concepts are thought to be crucial in affecting the thoughts and behaviors of Chinese people and the way they view themselves and perceive others. As a result, these concepts can create a foundation for us to develop a deeper understanding of the way Chinese people perceive themselves as a group and form their cultural identity.

Chinese Identity in Confucianism

Weiming, Hejtmanek & Wachman (1992) argued that “one’s identity as Chinese emerges from correct ritual behavior—orthopraxy” (p. 9) delineating that Chinese people tend to explain their behaviors with reference to Confucian concepts even though they may not completely understand or accept his thoughts. They think that they are Chinese, and therefore need to behave in the way proposed by Confucius. In this way, Chinese people build their cultural identity and a sense of belonging to their collectives.

Works on Confucian concepts contain doctrines describing how individuals should behave properly to form their selves. For instance, Confucius said people should be

“reserved” because “the self-restrained seldom err” (Crofts, 1995, p. 20). They should also be “serene” by freeing themselves from doubt, anxiety and fear as “the noble man is calm and serene” (p. 39). In addition, they should be “moderate” that in the sense of moving to a middle point between two opposites. He taught his followers to learn from others humbly by saying “when you see wise people, think of becoming equal to them” (Cleary, 1992, p. 131). Kelen (1992) suggested that Confucius advised “moderation and restraint in all things” (p. 46). In Confucius’s opinions, “good” people are those who are reserved, calm, humble, moderate and self-restrained. Besides, Confucius enumerates five practices to depict the characteristics of humanity—respectfulness, magnanimity, truthfulness, acuity and generosity (Cleary, 1998, p. 4).

Identity is not simply consolidated by an individual, but also by the influence of others. Friedman (1994) stressed that “the constitution of identity is an elaborate and deadly serious game of mirrors. It is a complex temporal interaction of multiple practices of identification external and internal to a subject or population” (p. 141). Weiming, et al. (1992) added that Chinese people adopt and respect Confucian concepts because they desire to “foster the illusion of cultural unity” (p. 9). To put it succinctly, Confucianism has been used as tool to link Chinese people together because they think they inculcate in themselves a similar cultural background and identity when holding a similar belief. Confucianism becomes a symbol of cultural unity in Chinese people’s perception.

According to Coleman (2003), “illusion” refers to “a misperception or misconception of a stimulus object, image, event, experience, or problem” (p. 354).

Weiming and his colleagues might consider that Chinese people who use Confucianism, a kind of Chinese traditional philosophical thinking, to signify their cultural unity or identity

is a kind of misconception. I wonder what should be the proper symbols for people to manifest their cultural background. I am curious to know whether there are any standardized tools with which people should use to reflect their cultural identity.

Social Identity in Confucianism

Confucius depicted humans' social relationships with a metaphor of different layers. The basic layer is concerned with relationships fostered within families, for Chinese people often consider families the basic foundation of social organizations. His basic rule to people is to "show piety towards your parents and kindness towards your children, and they will be loyal to you" (Waley, 1992, p. 92).

Another layer is relationships between people in the community. Confucius suggested that people, in society, should "have order in the official ranks" (Yutang, 1994, p. 214). When they are regarding matters arising in the village, people must "have respect for order between the elders and the juniors" (p. 214). It is thought that these rules were created for the purpose of "promoting mutual confidence and social harmony and strengthening the social ties and bonds of friendships" (p. 238). However, Weiming, et al. (1992) argued that Confucian concepts about social concerns reinforce a "social hierarchy" that bestows the "continuity of relationships with one's parents long into one's adulthood" (p. 7). During the process of socialization, Chinese people are taught the virtues of self-sacrifice for long-term gratification and endurance, and the significance of dedication to the benefits of others in families or society.

Identity of Individuals within Nature in Confucianism

Confucius expanded his opinions concerning the relationships between individuals and nature that is not common in the Western world on the discussion of identity.

Confucius said

Man is the product of the forces of heaven and earth, of the unions of the yin and the yang principles, the incarnation of spirits and the essence of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire and earth). Therefore man is the heart of the universe (Yutang, 1994, p. 236).

Confucius contended that life in the universe never stops but continues forever. He claimed that the virtue of nature is reflected in the many-faceted world of men (Kelen, 1992). In the old days, Chinese people learned rites that were treated as “a system of etiquette betwixt man and Heaven, by means of which supernatural beings were kept friendly toward man” (Kelen, 1992, p. 24). Confucius advocated a kind of resonance or equilibrium between man and nature, and men are situated at the center of the universe. It was generally thought that Confucius’s thoughts reveal an overall orientation toward conciliation and harmony between individuals and society, and between individuals and nature, but rejects deep-seated forms of anxiety and disorder appearing in society (Weiming, et al., 1992).

Tension on Formation of Cultural Identity among Chinese People

Weiming, et al. (1992) argued on the tension caused by the Confucian value orientation with which the Chinese culture is viewed through two different approaches. The first approach assumes that “there can be a single culture which fully represents unifying values” (p. 18). This approach matches with Confucian concepts of describing that human beings are the center of the universe and everything evolves around the center in

equilibrium, stability and harmony. It advocates unity and hence leads to “a very rigid culture that is not capable of flexibility and change” (p. 18).

The second approach suggests that unifying values are abstractions that cannot be reduced to fixed cultural forms, and therefore, defended diversity within the elite culture as different ways of representing universal things. The difficulty with the second approach is that “the appreciation of cultural diversity will obscure the idea of unity” (Weiming, et al., 1992, p. 19).

As a consequence, it is too simplistic or superficial to conclude that Confucius only imposed one type of influences on the formation of cultural identity among Chinese people; rather, his thoughts are multi-faceted and affect people’s modes of thinking and behaving through various perspectives. The tension that emerges in his value orientation actually reflects the sophistication and richness of his concepts that have molded the mindsets of many Chinese people for centuries. It is interesting to explore whether Chinese-Canadians are still influenced by Confucian concepts nowadays.

Confucianism in Chinese-Dominated Regions Nowadays

Current scholars (e.g., Li, 2003; Weiming, et al., 1992) start to question, to what extent, if Confucian concepts are still powerful in stirring the mindsets of Chinese people in the modern world. Liu (1982) declared that

In reality, Confucian thought on mental development, together with other ideas in his system, has had a significant influence on the way people have thought about human growth and development and considered their own responsibilities in caring for and educating the younger generation. It has become a component of the cultural background of the society in which the Chinese have lived from generation to generation (pp. 392-3).

In another Chinese-dominated society, Taiwan, a nationwide survey (Ma & Smith, 2001) was conducted to investigate the impact of Confucianism across sociodemographic groups in the Taiwanese population for the purpose of examining its influence upon people's social and economic changes. The surveyors interviewed nearly 9000 households and the result shows that the support for Confucianism varied across occupation, residence, and place of origin, but it did not significantly differ across most socioeconomic groups. The doctrines of Confucianism are still influential to people's beliefs in the current society of Taiwan.

Chan and Lee (1995) believed that the influence of Confucianism is still significant in Hong Kong as "many of its ethical tenets have become part of the social norms in everyday life" (p. 86) such as a sense of order, or propriety, and in shaping the dynamics of daily conducts. However, they argued that there is tension or conflict of various beliefs that have been creatively channeled to part of the progress of the society that "is not an easy puzzle to unravel" (p. 87) for the tiny city of Hong Kong has been washed by Eastern and Western cultural currents in the past decade.

If we agree that immigrant people would probably undergo some sort of psychological adaptation during the process of acculturation when settling in a new country (Castro, 2003), we may inquire whether Chinese people still use Confucianism to symbolize their cultural unity or identity.

Variations in Two Major Chinese Languages: Mandarin and Cantonese

In China, people use Mandarin (or Putonghua) as their official language, and various regional languages such as Cantonese, Hakka, Min, Gan, Xiang, and Wu in different geographical regions (Shaughnessy, 2000). The two major languages practiced in China are Mandarin, spoken in the northern and middle part of Mainland China, and

Cantonese, spoken in the southern parts of the country (Shaughnessy, 2000). Depending on regions of origin, immigrants of Chinese descent may speak a variety of different Chinese languages. Nevertheless, Mandarin tends to be more commonly used by immigrants because it has been widely used in mainland China, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia.

Languages used in China can be extremely complex; for instance, there may be “mutually unintelligible regionalects” that are not so related to each other such as “Putonghua,” “Wu” and “Yue” that have different pronunciation systems. They can also be further sub-divided into “mutually intelligible dialects” related to each other, such as the dialects of Peking and Nanking related to Putonghua, Shanghai and Suzhou are associated with Wu, while Canton and Taishan are linked to Yue (DeFrancis, 1984).

A special feature of the Chinese languages is that they have a common written script, which was enforced between 259 B.C. and 210 B.C., and has been a major means of unifying a diverse country (Zhang, 2000). There might be variations in word choices, meanings of words, or even word order; however, the major structures of the written language are similar across China. Written Chinese language became easier to learn after the establishment of the “simplified” version of Chinese in mid 20th century. The simplified version is less complex and “ornamental” when compared with the “traditional” version of the language.

Also deserving of our attention is the discrepancy between the “written” and “spoken” forms. The written form of Mandarin closely corresponds to the spoken language. But a large proportion of Cantonese is not represented in the written language.

According to Schafer and Shively (1959), a regional language is “a form of speech distinguished and opposed to other ones” (p. 74). It can refer to

A form of speech, used by a certain community of speakers, distinguished from and opposed to other forms, which may be equal in standing and parallel in historical development or not, but also may be socially differing from others, like the standard or literary language as against spoken and special forms of speech used by limited social groups (p. 74).

Cantonese has been considered important because it “reserves the essential traits of Ancient Chinese” (Forrest, 1965). However, the continuous development and expansion of Mandarin has finally taken over the formerly dominant position of Cantonese. Cantonese may have declined in importance because it is more complicated (Forrest, 1965) and has more tones than Mandarin. Moreover, Cantonese has more phonic components than Mandarin. There is not a standardized and universally recognized phonic system for Cantonese, but a standardized phonic system exists in Mandarin (Hanyu Pinyin), and as a result, a new learner can learn the pronunciation of Mandarin more easily after having grasped the set of phonic symbols. Basically, Cantonese is a verbal language that is transmitted from generation to generation mainly orally between people, thus making its standardization and recording across community members more difficult.

An interesting point that has been overlooked by certain researchers is that Cantonese is mainly a “spoken” language with many non-written components. Thus, when Cantonese-speakers write in Chinese, they must adjust their thinking to fit the written form of the language. One important implication is that whenever Cantonese speakers have to transcribe their spoken language into a written form, they need to use the standardized written script that is recognized by most people. A discrepancy always exists between oral Cantonese and the written script because many Cantonese sounds have no written substitutes.

Research on the Chinese languages can be complicated because “Chinese speakers are exposed to a greater variety of character/word ordering in their various language activities” (Hoosain, 1991, p. 21). In the past, Chinese grammar was not taught in schools. Instead, students were advised to attend to “the interrelations of meanings of individual characters and the emergent meanings derived from their combinations” (p. 22). In fact, there is a lack of generally and widely recognized grammar rules to guide people’s use of written and spoken Chinese. As a result, users of the Chinese language may employ different methods to express the same meaning or may interpret the same meaning in different ways.

Since one of the main themes of this dissertation is to investigate the formation of identities with reference to the use of Chinese languages, one may wonder if Cantonese speakers will form the same type of identities as those who speak Mandarin.

One study (Tong, Hong, Lee, & Chiu, 1999) examined the relationship of social identities in people in Hong Kong and mainland China. Participants who claimed a Hongkong identity judged the Hong Kong speaker less favorably than those who claimed a Chinese identity. On the other hand, participants who claimed a Chinese identity judged the Hong Kong speaker more favorably when he spoke in Putonghua (Mandarin) than when he kept using Cantonese. This study tells us how Chinese participants perceived their counterparts who spoke another Chinese language.

Many studies have investigated bilingual issues among immigrants regarding the use of minority and majority languages such as Chinese and English (e.g., Holm & Dodd, 1999; Schunn & Vera, 2004), but it seems that researchers have to a certain extent

overlooked the investigation on comparing the use of two different Chinese languages spoken by the same minority group.

Chineseness and Chinese Diaspora

As the main objective of this dissertation is to study how Chinese participants use their heritage languages to manifest their cultural identity in a non-Chinese country, it is valuable to discuss the meaning of “Chineseness” and the phenomenon of Chinese diaspora.

According to Ang (2001), “Chineseness” is not a category with fixed components in terms of cultural or geographical perspectives,

but operates as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated in different sections of the Chinese diaspora. Being Chinese outside China cannot possibly mean the same thing as inside. It varies from place to place, moulded by the local circumstances in different parts of the world where people of Chinese ancestry have settled and constructed new ways of living (p. 38)

Ang (2001) declared that the meaning and content of Chineseness is flexible. The variations in the degree of Chineseness are caused by its interaction with the environments such as the local affairs where it exists. For instance, Cheng (1994) made detailed comparisons between Chinese immigrants living in Great Britain and the United States. The study concluded that immigrants from the two countries had different levels of occupational attainments and integrated themselves in the dominant countries differently. Cheng suggested that American-Chinese may have smoothly integrated into the American occupational structure, but male British-Chinese enjoyed cultural advantage over a certain type of jobs. Immigrants in both countries perceived and valued their Chinese backgrounds differently.

Diaspora refers to “the breaking up and scattering of a people” (Stevens, 1993, p. 320). Ang (2001) considered that both diaspora and multiculturalism depends on the constitution of minority groups. Ethnicity is a “powerful mode of collective identification in the globalizing world today” (p. 199). She thought that the study on diaspora of ethnic groups focuses on “sameness in dispersal” (p. 199), whereas the study on multiculturalism focuses on how ethnic groups are “living apart together” (p. 199). To put it in another way, diaspora “tends to pull ethnic identification out of the circumscribed space of the nation-state,” but multiculturalism tries to “contain ethnic group formation within the nation-state’s boundaries” (p. 199). Cheng (2004) proposed that the studies on Chinese people in diaspora are important because those studies can be compared with findings obtained in mainland China so that the cultural symbolism, identity and religion of Chinese people as a whole can be comprehensively understood. This comparison gives researchers more information about “the dynamics of cultural change and sociocultural adaptations” of humankind (p. 10).

Ang (2001) claimed that discourses of ethnicity reflect the desire of people from minority communities to “maintain their cultural identity” (p. 30). She used the term “hybridity” to represent the phenomenon of absorbing “difference into a new consensual culture of fusion and synthesis” (p. 198). Hybridity is not simply a process of amalgamation or merger, but rather, a sign of challenge and “intercultural exchange” (p. 198) that leads to profound and interrogative effects. Hybridity can be a long and complex process. Li (1998) described how male Chinese immigrants landed in Canada before the Second World War and were scattered in male-dominated communities. Cultural differences were common between the early Chinese immigrants and non-Chinese in the

dominant culture in the way they viewed gender differences, concepts of marriage, values of families and other cultural issues. In contemporary Chinese-Canadian communities, new features exist. For example, Chinese people are mostly bilingual as a majority of them speak a Chinese language at home (p. 108) and adopt the concept of “a husband-wife family” (p. 110) but in the olden China a husband could have more than a wife. With reference to the development of Chinese communities, Chinese immigrants live in a large number of bigger “Chinese enclaves” (p. 112), instead of living in a limited number of smaller Chinese concentrations many decades ago. This is part of the result of hybridity, effects of a long term intercultural exchange.

This dissertation tends to explore how Chinese participants use Chinese and English languages to self-represent themselves and display their dual or plurilingual identity through the process of hybridity. It might be interesting to explore whether Mandarin- and Cantonese-speakers in the present study form similar or different cultural identities. In other words, variations may not only occur between Chinese and English speakers, but also may exist between Mandarin- and Cantonese-speakers. As I cannot find sufficient data in current studies that tell me how similarly or differently Mandarin- and Cantonese-speakers may form their cultural identity, this dissertation may help dig up more information in this aspect.

Caution for Language Use in This Dissertation

The above discussion informs the methodology of this dissertation. First, I believe that it is worthwhile to recruit both Cantonese- and Mandarin-speakers as participants to explore if there are variations in identity formation between these two groups. When transcribing the interactions with the Cantonese-speaking participants, I must be careful in

interpreting the participants' actual meanings with their words so that I will not distort what the participants really intend to convey. The translation for Cantonese expressions will be more sophisticated because I need to transcribe the verbal form of Cantonese expression into a written form and then translate the Chinese written form into the English written form for further discussion. It is hoped that through careful transcription, the real meanings brought forward by the participants will not be misinterpreted or distorted under this "double-translation" format.

I also have concern with the recruitment of participants who speak different Chinese languages. People who speak the same language may come from different places, such as Mandarin-speakers who may be from Mainland China, Taiwan or even Singapore. When they grew up in different sociocultural backgrounds, their perceptions of themselves and others might differ. People who speak Cantonese can also be from Hong Kong, Guangzhou or Macau. Sociocultural differentiation within language groups was a factor I considered when designing my research.

Finally, there is the concern with multiple identities—When a person is able to interact with others in different Chinese languages, has this person fostered in himself/herself "multiple identities" already? Is this type of multiple identities the same as the type that occurs in people who speak English and one Chinese language? If this variation really takes place, how can I differentiate them? How do Chinese-Canadians compare the statuses of the two major Chinese languages used in Vancouver? Do they form distinct identities when using different Chinese languages and what types of identities they are inclined to construct?

Individualism and Collectivism

When comparing the perception of identities between the Western and Eastern cultures, we cannot ignore the construct of individualism–collectivism devised by Triandis (1995). According to him,

Individualism is a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives, are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and the contracts they have established with others, give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others.” (p. 2)

For the definition of collectivism, Triandis wrote,

Collectivism may be initially defined as a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives...; are primarily motivated by the norms of, and duties imposed by, those collectives; are willing to give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals; and emphasize their connectedness to members of these collectives” (p. 2)

Triandis’s (2002) understanding of collectivism is close to the main themes of Confucian concepts. First, both collectivistic and Confucian concepts agreed that an individual has an inseparable relationship with his collectives (e.g., families, clubs or ethnic groups). Moreover, all members are bound by the norms, the mutual beliefs or common understandings of something within collectives. Finally, all members highly value the goals of their collectives even though they might need to sacrifice their personal goals.

Triandis (1995) pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of being individualistic and collectivist. He believed that people in different parts of the world tend to be both individualistic and collectivistic although some of them may be more individualistic, and the others more collectivistic. He argued that individual and societal health issues are related to the balance of these two tendencies as “many problems of

modernity can be linked to too much individualism, whereas a lack of human rights can be attributed to too much collectivism” (p. 2). The concepts of individualism and collectivism may be helpful in describing how people form their cultural identity.

Code-switching and Identity Formation

Heller (1999) used the image of a voyager to symbolize the re-construction of a minority identity through linguistic resources in Canada. This image represents the freedom of linguistic minorities “to escape the constraints of an old way of life and to construct a new one” (p. 3). The minority groups need to redefine themselves to maintain their economic and political resources, and pursue their particular identity.

As code-switching is an essential component in bilingualism and the simultaneous use of two languages often occurs, there is a need to investigate the relationship between CS and the formation of identity. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995), when speakers make language choices in conversations, they are symbolizing the kind of identity they hope to communicate with others at the moments of interactions. In other words, while speakers are code-switching, they are actually expressing “aspects of a fluid social identity as they move through a multidimensional sociolinguistic space” (p. 7).

In regard to identity, Romaine (2000) stressed that people’s choice of languages is not arbitrary, and all speech communities are formed or organized in the same pattern. She elucidated that

Through the selection of one language over another or one variety of the same language over another speakers display what may be called “acts of identity,” choosing the groups with whom they wish to identify (p. 35).

Acts of identity reflect that language choice is not arbitrary as speakers have the autonomy to change among their languages and varieties, and therefore all speech communities have different components (Romaine, 2000). Alongside this thought-line, language users should have the ability to “define what counts as competence, as authenticity, as excellence, and over who has the right to produce and distribute the resources of language and identity” (Heller, 2003, p. 474). These scholars emphasized people’s freedom to exercise their right to allocate various linguistic resources to construct the type of identities they prefer although in some way they might be restricted by power and struggle.

Romaine believes that we first need to understand the availability of languages and varieties in a particular context before attempting to understand the availability of choices to speakers within the context. In her sense of context, it can be as wide as the official or unofficial use of languages within a country, or as narrow as the use of languages within a market. She provided us with a clear concept about the acts of identity and the meaning of context within which different languages are being used and facilitated.

Auer (1995) stated that language choices can provide us information through two perspectives—on one hand, language choices are tied with histories of individual speakers and their preferences, and on the other hand, they are related to personal linguistic competences, linguistic history and complex bi-cultural identity. The use of different languages can reflect personal preferences of individuals on a personal level and perception of individuals’ identities in connection to different cultures on a cultural level.

Cultural Identity Formed by Bilinguals

From a broader perspective, Grosjean (2001) believed that language is closely connected to culture that is “acquired, socially transmitted, and communicated in large part by language” (p. 157). Some bilinguals may be aware that they are, to a certain degree, bicultural. Biculturalism, “the coexistence and/or combination of two distinct cultures,” (p. 157) is a highly complicated subject. Grosjean proposed that bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily coexist, for instance, people (i.e., bilinguals) who use two languages on a regular basis may be monocultural, whereas those (i.e., monolinguals) who only use one language in daily interactions may be bicultural. Under these circumstances, the identities possessed by bilinguals may vary as their perceptions, beliefs or values are different from those of monolinguals.

Grosjean (2001) likewise suggested that “integration of traits from two cultures may lead some people to feel that they do not belong to either culture” (p. 161). Some people might describe these bilinguals as “marginal” people who lack a personal or group identity; however, Grosjean suggested that these bilinguals can also have “a strong sense of identification and personal worth” (p. 161). Instead of seeking to belong to one of the cultural groups, bilinguals may feel at home in both cultures and feel at ease with people from both cultures and/or make up a new “cultural group”, that is, there may be different modes of combinations that illustrate how an individual possesses two cultures at the same time (p. 162).

In this case, these bilinguals may have established a new culture that is unique and specific; at the same time, they have also created a new personal identity, group identity and cultural identity. In sum, the investigations on how bilinguals form their identities can

be an exciting adventure because no results are predictable. As bilinguals often code-switch and language can be an act of an individual's identity, to study how speakers code-switch may help understand how they perceive or establish their specific identities locally in their interactions.

When talking about the production of CS within interactions, Myers-Scotton (1993b) claimed that two types of CS are commonly found in interactions—situational and metaphorical CS. Situational CS involves “change in participants and/or strategies” while metaphorical CS involves merely “a change in topical emphasis” (p. 52). It is thought that through discourses, speakers somehow create their intentional meanings, build their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms and share metaphorical meaning of the words they intend to convey to the interlocutors.

Trueba (1999) assumed that whenever a person code-switches, he or she takes another identity, deals with another group, manages other matters, and then moves on to a third or fourth group and makes another set of CS. People may intermittently code-switch during their daily interactions so that they are putting on multiple identities everyday or they take multiple identities at different stages of their lives. Again, CS may give us valuable clues about the multiple perspectives of human identity.

Researchers are investigating how people form their identities with the use of different languages under the impact of cultural differences. King and Ganuza (2005) examined the patterns of national, cultural, and linguistic identification among Chilean-Swedish adolescents in Sweden. The researchers focused on investigating how participants viewed their ethnic and national identities and their attitudes toward Spanish/Swedish CS with emphasis on both the minority and majority identities. The findings revealed that the

participants were constructing an identity that was both Swedish and Chilean that was close to a combined cultural identity. It was also concluded that the participants' gender, age of arrival the new country and contextual factors (e.g., legal status) were important in shaping the discourse and exerting varied influences on identity formation.

In Lawson and Sachdev's (2004) study, the participating 21 Sylheti-Bengali students were requested to use language diaries to self-report their daily use of languages between their mother tongue and English. Those diaries records participants' perceptions of their language choice over a period of time, thus providing the researchers insights on the basis for the language choices. The findings exposed that the home could be considered the most important site at which participants' identity was built and it was also the venue where their own-group language was most frequently practiced. The participants were inclined to identify themselves with their native language (i.e., Bangladeshi, Sylheti and Bengali) that was commonly used at home, but less inclined to identify themselves with their L2 (English) that was dominantly used out of their homes on many different topics. The researchers of this study believed that

languages may also be valued aspects of group-identity despite not being spoken by most group members and the revival of ancestral languages may become a central issue around which group members mobilize to affirm or redefine their group identities (p. 56).

This proposition shows that languages play a pivotal role in molding the speakers' identity.

Identity Formation among New Immigrants in Canada

How can immigrants form their cultural identity in Canada? Koh (1999) in her thesis interviewed people and collected data to investigate how Chinese-Canadians

perceived themselves. The researcher thought that we ought to reclaim' our "self-identity" and identify our own terms of reference and lived experiences. We have to define the purview of our ethnicity, be in control of when and how we relate to it, or else we will be overrun and burdened by it." (Koh, 1999, p. 118)

If we believe that Chinese immigrants establish specific type of identities in Canada, it is important to know how they do so. Possessing Chinese descent, I intend to trace how they form their cultural identities from both an insider and outsider's point of view and the role language plays in this process.

In the study by Costigan and Su (2004), after having immigrated to Canada, Chinese fathers and children (both were foreign-born) were found not to reduce their ethnic identity and traditional values although they actively participated in Canadian culture. Viewing the issue from another perspective, we may ask how Chinese immigrants perceive their cultural identity especially in relation to their heritage language in Canada. Xiao (1998) proposed that they learned Chinese in Winnipeg because of the norms present in their in-groups and pressure from their ethnic community. The researcher found that the participants in the study spoke a rich language repertoire that included a number of Sinitic languages, Cantonese, Mandarin and English. They performed a high level of competence in different Chinese languages that were widely used in their intimate and informal domains of the family and friendship networks.

Similarly, Chow (2001) linked the learning of Chinese language with the promotion of culture when he drew conclusions from his data that were collected from 76 Chinese heritage schools in Toronto. The purposes of building Chinese language schools in Canada were to inculcate cultural identity, train future leaders of their minority groups, reproduce

elites at community and national levels and increase the coherence of in-group members. It appears that the Chinese participants in his study had constructed an obvious connection between Chinese languages and Chinese culture. They connected the prosperity of their minority group and attachment with their culture to the promotion of their heritage language.

Overall, it can be concluded that the use of a language reflects and establishes a person's identity. For bilinguals, the dual code in language use even leads to a more complex relationship between languages and identities. It is useful to understand how identities of people are developed and influenced by languages and other cultural factors embodied in languages.

The use of different languages has become a world-wide phenomenon that elicits new forms of language patterns, new functions of languages, new forms of identities and new understanding of the world, and in turn sheds light on the impulse to launch in-depth study on the relationship between how people use languages and how they construct their cultural identities. In order to search for the required information, we need to use the appropriate methods. The following chapter aims at finding useful methods to research on the topics of present dissertation.

Chapter Five

METHODOLOGY

Literature Review on Research Methods

Current Research Methods Investigating CS and Identity Formation

This dissertation aims at investigating how Chinese-Canadians code-switch at home or in the school, how they perceive the functions of languages, how they establish their cultural identity through their use of Chinese and English, and how they relate their cultural identity with their use of languages.

CS is one of the main themes of this dissertation and it is likewise a common phenomenon in multicultural societies. Current researchers have put in resources exploring this phenomenon from various angles. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) studied CS with Rational Choice (RC) Models that give explanatory mechanisms for the ways people select different languages in their conversations. With RC theory, the researchers explained how interlocutors decide on the choices of language use. They audio-taped participants' conversations and transcribed them verbatim for analysis. They later categorized the language choices into "marked choice" and "unmarked choices." The former ones represent a conscious change in language choices, whereas the latter ones represent a natural and expected selection of language choices. Through this study, the researchers collected information regarding the dynamics of situations, goals of interactions, the presence of cues and interlocutors' expectations. This study does not only inform us how

people choose languages, but also their intention, purposes and expectations of changing languages.

Another main theme of this dissertation is the formation of cultural identity. Piller (2002) demonstrated the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods in his study that investigated the formation of identity and the factor of age in determining successful L2 learning. For the qualitative part of his study, he interviewed participants, recorded their use of languages and then transcribed the conversations verbatim. For the quantitative part, he used statistical methods to correlate the first years when the participants learned L2 and their proficiency in the use of different languages. The results reflected that certain participants had made heavy use of some sounds in L2 to represent their insiders' status. They also chose highly stereotyped accents when interacting in L2. In their daily lives, they were keen on using a range of stereotyped linguistic varieties in L2 hoping to pursue a rise in their social statuses. The statistical data indicated that "the age of first exposure to the target language is far less crucial to success than has so far been assumed" (p. 179). Piller's study models how quantitative and qualitative methods are effectively blended for describing a fuller picture of bilingual situations.

In recent decades, new perspectives of research methods that "integrate qualitative and quantitative techniques within a single analytical procedure" emerge in the field of educational psychology (Nesbit & Hadwin, 2006, p. 825). Statistical methods can also meet the objectives of naturalistic modes of inquiries, and statistical models may be derived from qualitative data. As a matter of fact, nomothetic assessment focuses on "actuarial and quantitative data, objective tests, and statistical prediction," whereas the idiographic assessment on "individual and qualitative data, projective tests, and clinical judgment"

(Merrell, 1999, p. 19). The tight combination of both research methods is able to describe situated phenomenon more thoroughly.

Furthermore, remarkable advances appear in methods for assessing children and adolescents. One major element in these advances is the undertaking of “broad based designs” (Merrell, 1999, p. 20), often described by study terms as *multi-method*, *multi-source*, and *multi-setting* assessments. If a study is conducted with a broad-based design, data are collected through multiple methods (e.g., using direct observation, questionnaires, interviews, record reviews, frequency, self-report measures, logs), multiple sources (e.g., from children, adolescents, parents, teachers and school administrators, or community-based informants), and in multiple settings (e.g., home, school, play place or community center). The essential feature of this design is that by using “various assessment methods with different informants or sources and in several settings, the amount of error variance in the assessment is reduced” (p. 20).

The following discussions summarize the methods that were used in previous studies to investigate the use of languages and the formation of cultural identity.

Methods Investigating Language Use and Identity Formation

Observation

Observation is a common research method widely used in studying human behaviors “by observing how people act or how things look” (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993, p. 384). In a study that uses naturalistic observation, “an attempt is made to study the normal behaviors of people or animal as they act in their everyday environments” (Goodwin, 1995, p. 333). In some naturalistic studies, observers are hidden, without interfering the natural sequence of activities the participants are engaging so that the observers are able to collect

data that naturally occur in practical settings. For linguistic studies, certain researchers (e.g., Friendland & Penn, 2003) supported the use of a profound and intricate interpretation of turns, turns and patterns of an interactive collaborative language whose focus is on naturally occurring data rather than preconceived checklists. To gather relevant data, researchers should be “totally immersed in the immediate and local actions and statements of belief of participants” (Janesick, 1998, p. 43).

Although observation is considered a qualitative method in collecting data (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993), the data gathered can be processed qualitatively (e.g., by researcher’s direct interpretation) and quantitatively (e.g., by statistical methods). This echoes Nesbit and Hadwin’s (2006) opinion that statistical inferences can be incorporated with naturalistic approaches for illustrating real situations effectively. Current researchers have widely used observation in their studies. Mondada and Doehler (2004) carried out naturalistic observation through which teacher and student participants’ conversations were recorded in actual classroom environment without disturbing the natural flow of class activities. In Duff’s (2002) study, the researcher observed how student participants used and made sense of their languages throughout learning and social activities in the school. Likewise, Milroy and Wei (1998) observed and recorded how Chinese family members used two languages (English and Chinese) among people from various social circles for distinct purposes under different situations. It is hoped that through naturalistic observation, participants’ awareness of the presence of researchers may be minimized so that participants act and react naturally. As a result, researchers can collect information that reflects the real situations.

Besides naturalistic observation, there is participant observation whose power is to “get the investigator as close to the action as possible” (Goodwin, 1995, p. 334) and consequently, participant research may acquire first-handed insight that is inaccessible to hidden observers. Through participant observation, researchers have closer interactions with participants. In Lu’s (2001) study, the researcher, joining activities with participants, observed and investigated how Chinese-American participants perceived their identity in Chicago and viewed their relationship with local Chinatown. The results revealed that different people may have established different image on Chinatown and built various relationships with it when forming their cultural identity. Although the degrees of relationship could be varied, the nature of those relationships was positive.

Another researcher, Morgan (2004) conducted participant observation to investigate the use of teacher’s identity as a pedagogical method to co-construct mutual understanding and relationships between the teacher and his students. In the previous two studies, the researchers directly interacted with participants who were completely aware of the existence of researchers. With this method, researchers may have a deeper understanding of participants’ feelings and thoughts trying to view things from participants’ perspectives, sharing their feelings and interpreting phenomena from an “insider’s” point of view.

The approach of observation can also be used in educational research. Hasan (2006) analyzed and evaluated spoken discourses in bilingual classrooms at a university. The researcher looked at the following mechanism of classroom interactions: the use of questions, initiations, repetitions and expansions. The discourses were observed and recorded with the use of video- and audio-recorders and later transcribed verbatim for future analysis. Dagenais (2003) implemented ethnographic research in her study by

videotaping family conversations within twelve immigrant families of diverse origins to assess the existence of imagined communities, a symbolic community that encloses the interactions between interlocutors, and functions of languages. Dagenais and Day (1999) investigated the representation of identity possessed by three trilingual French immersion students through an ethnographic stance. In other words, participants' behaviors were observed longitudinally within a period of time so that researchers could observe any changes in behavioral patterns during that period of time. Toohey (2001), using three years' time, studied two young English language learners of Polish and Punjabi Sikh origins who had disputes, co-constructed meanings and developed understandings among themselves through the use of the second language of English. Again, this study reflected how participants' behavioral patterns changed or remained constant within three years' of observation. This kind of long-term observation provides researchers useful information about children's continuous development within a period of time.

Researchers of the ethnographic analysis view language use and language learning from the standpoint of "language socialization," on which language is perceived as "one of many social practices that students learn as they participate in the social activities of their communities" (Dagenais & Toohey, 2002, p. 1).

For analyzing data obtained from observation methods, the researchers first transcribed the field notes, categorized the data according to the common themes and made direct interpretations. Varied methods were used to facilitate the analyzing process, such as the Implication Scale for Observed Language Choice (Milroy & Wei, 1998) that records when and where utterances/CS take place and the Sequence Analysis Model (SAM) (Ng & He, 2004) that indicates the frequencies of different types of utterances and elaborates

variations in utterances among different groups of participants. Mondada and Doehler (2004) used the method of conversation analysis (CA) to analyze how the teacher participant asked students questions to trigger discussions on the acquisition of the second language (French) in class. Dagenais and Day (1999) first related participants' home language practices to their family contexts, and discussed the relationships between language use and context from family to family. Then the researchers interpreted how trilingual identity was formed from participant to participant under the influences of those relationships. A wide range of methods have been employed to gather data about language use.

Since the method of CA is rather unique and has been widely adopted in the linguistic or sociolinguistic studies, I would use the following paragraphs to explain it in greater details.

It is thought that CA provides researchers a uniquely tailored method to create a deeper understanding about the simultaneous use of different languages. Rampton (1998) mentioned that

There has been a lot of emphasis on code-switching as a routine practice in everyday conversation. Increasingly, this characterization of code-switching has been informed by Conversation Analysis (CA), itself an enormous valuable resources, making available techniques of analysis with an outstanding record in the discovery of order and skill in phenomena rejected by traditional linguistics. (p. 309)

Past studies show that CA has been broadly employed in the analysis of CS. For instance, Friedland and Penn (2003) interpreted the dynamics of medico-legal interviews using CA to identify both facilitators and inhibitors of a successfully mediated interview. This method focuses on naturally occurring data and analysis that are guided by the data rather than preconceived checklists. The interviews in this study are audio-taped and later

transcribed verbatim with CA notation and then analyzed with reference to CA principles such as repairs, turn takings and topic management.

Milroy and Wei (1995) explored the dimension of CS behavior within a general CA framework. Their paper summarized that inter-speaker variations were closely linked to interlocutor types, and speakers adopted different network patterns with particular interlocutors. Their framework helped describe how interlocutors' relationships were connected through verbal interactions, and how networks of a group of people were constructed.

CA can similarly be used to meet a wide range of purposes. Mondada and Doehler (2004) employed CA and the sociocultural theory to enhance the understanding of learners' practice of their second language within a socio-interactionist perspective. In other words, tasks are not accomplished by the learners only, but also collaboratively organized by learners and teachers promoting different types of classroom talks and structuring various opportunities for learning. CA is effective in reflecting learning activities, interactional patterns and human relationships among learners and between teachers and students in classrooms.

CA is also useful in portraying the use and learning of a second language. He (2004) focused on exploring the "uses" and "nonuses" of CA for language learning such as Chinese. CA has made different contributions to linguistic education by promoting teaching and learning of a second language and facilitating oral language assessment. However, CA does not "address introspective, unobservable matters that may be important to language learning" (p. 568). CA is actually not designed for documenting learning over a considerable period of time; that is, it may not be considered a tool for recording a change

in learners' behaviors. Therefore, when researchers intend to stitch CA into the research methods of their studies, they should be aware of its strengths and weaknesses.

Although observation has been considered a useful method in sociolinguistic studies, its drawbacks unavoidably occur. For instance, the conditions within the observation setting are usually absent of control and observers' bias will influence what and how participants are observed. Moreover, *subject reactivity*, a phenomenon shows how researchers, with their prior knowledge, might influence participants' performance during the process of data collection. To prevent the occurrence of the above drawbacks, Goodwin (1995) suggested using the inter-observer reliability to reduce the level of observers' bias. For achieving this target, two or more observers are arranged to observe participants' behaviors. In addition, differing measures like audio or video-recordings can also be used to prevent the appearance of subject reactivity.

With reference to the needs of this dissertation, observation method can be used to collect data regarding how participants code-switch at home and in the school in their daily life situations.

Interviewing

Interviewing is likewise broadly used in sociolinguistic studies. Fontana and Frey (1998) categorized interviewing methods into three main types: Structured interviewing, unstructured interviewing and group interviews. Yin (1994) distinguished interviews according to their functions: (1) interviews with open-ended nature, (2) focused interviews, and (3) interviews alongside formal surveyors.

Structured interviewing refers to a situation in which an interviewee responds to a series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories (Fontana &

Frey, 1998). There is usually little room for the variations in the responses except in the infrequently used open-ended questions inserted in the interviewing process. The interviewers need to demonstrate interest in listening to what the interviewees reply to reward the respondents to continue with the conversation.

The formats of structured interviews can be varied: interviews by telephone, face-to-face in households, intercept interviews in shopping malls, and interviews involved in survey research are grouped into this type of interviews. Structured interviews enable researchers to obtain quick answers to standard questions and the consolidation of answers is easier than those got from unstructured interviews.

Unstructured interviewing provides in-depth information to researchers in qualitative analysis. According to Fontana and Frey (1998), structured interviewing aims at “capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behavior within preestablished categories,” and on the other hand, unstructured interviewing tries to “understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any prior categorization that may limit the field of inquiry” (p. 56).

Participants are free to tell their stories (Morse, 1998). However, interviewers need to follow a certain set of questions derived from the main theme of the study (Yin, 1994). In addition, group interviews are designed to dig up information that individual interviews cannot provide, or group interviews are used when individual interviews are impossible to perform.

Campbell and Russo (2001) reminded us of the existence of *interview effect*, a phenomenon that might exist when interviewers produce systematic differences in their interview interpretation with reference to their personal racial, religious or social

backgrounds. With this effect, interviewees are affected by interviewers' voices and wordings, thus being emotionally guided by the interviewers when answering questions. Many studies regarding education included interviews as their research methods (e.g., Duff, 2002; Kyeyune, 2003; Pak, 2003).

Berard (2005) carried out an educational research project on "politically salient identity categories" with particular emphasis on class and race/ethnicity. He researched on his topic by mainly using the news interview excerpt that interviewed Mary Daly, a feminist professor who refused to accept male students to study in her women's studies courses. The researcher adopted the method of "ethnomethodological analysis" to explore how "identity can be respecified more widely and more finely by situating identity within natural use and social interaction" (p. 67). Again, Berard demonstrated that interviewing is useful in collecting data about language use and identity formation in naturalistic settings.

For analyzing the data obtained from interviews, researchers sometimes would separate raw data according to their main themes (Li, 2001), and carried out direct interpretation of the categorized information (Duff, 2002; Li, 2001), and drew diagrams and tables (Pak, 2003) trying to make sense of the information. Stake (1995) claimed that in processing information from interviews, researchers may "pull it apart and put it back together again more meaningfully" (p. 75). Huberman and Miles (1995) proposed the Interactive Mode operated in the procedures of data collection, data reduction and data display. The following diagram shows how the model works:

The stage of data collection concentrates on gathering as many usable data as possible for the study and the stage of data reduction tries to get rid of data that are not perfectly relevant to the study. Through the stage of data display, data are presented in an

orderly manner so as to allow researchers to evaluate the effectiveness of the organized information. Adjustment will be made whenever researchers discover defective data or procedures within the whole process, such as from data collection to data display. Researchers may go back to the beginning of data collection when they think that additional information is required to put in. In some cases, interview data will be interpreted with reference to information acquired from other research methods such as observation of participants' activities (Duff, 2002; Lu, 2001; Pak, 2003) because a mixture of different methods may draw a fuller picture of the issue. Merrell (1999) suggested researchers to make notes about the non-verbal characteristics of interviewees during interviews and use the notes to strengthen future analysis.

In interviewing methods, the quality of interviewers is important for it controls the pace, content and direction of the whole interviews. Hence, how to decide the interviewing settings, present themselves to participants, and gain trust from participants might be significant issues for interviewers to take into account (Campbell & Russo, 2001; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996).

The above discussions show that interviewing methods are valuable in gathering data regarding participants' perceptions about identity formation. Through the direct interactions with participants, I can also obtain first-hand information in the way they use languages.

Survey

Survey research arises from a simple idea—if we want to find out what people think about a topic, just ask them. Goodwin (1995) defined a survey to be “a structured set of questions or statements given to a group of people to measure their attitudes, beliefs, values,

or tendencies to act” (p. 343). The main purpose of surveys is to “describe the characteristics of a particular population” (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993, p. 344). Survey researchers usually use structured interviews or questionnaires to collect information.

Several types of surveying methods are widely used nowadays. First, interview surveys are comprehensive and able to yield detailed and useful information. An interviewer usually asks participants a standard set of questions and produces information through follow-up questions. The major problems with this method are cost, logistics, and interviewer bias (Goodwin, 1995).

The second format of surveying is the written survey that contains open-ended or closed questions (Goodwin, 1995). The questions might be arranged in form of questionnaires including a number of varied but related questions. Questions within written surveys are usually short, precise and easy to comprehend and answer; otherwise, the respondents will not return the completed questionnaire to the sender. Written surveys can be mailed to potential respondents.

The advantage of this surveying method is that a survey can serve a large number of potential respondents at the same time, and as a result, time and money can be saved. However, researchers cannot guarantee the returning rate of completed questionnaires. Sometimes, the time and money spent on the second mailing of materials and phone call reminders might even cost more money than that is required by other research methods.

When designing a questionnaire, researchers must be careful in “selecting question types, in question-writing, in the design, piloting, distribution and return of questionnaires” (Bell, 1993, p. 75). Researchers have to decide which types of questions should be included such as the use of double questions asking two questions for an item, leading questions

with the use of emotive language, presuming questions when the questionnaire writer holds a strong view on an issue and hypothetical questions that require respondents to make assumptions (pp. 79-81).

Another type of surveys is phone surveying that is quite cost-effective on the surface since a surveyor can call a large number of potential participants within a short period of time (Goodwin, 1995). The strength of this method is that the survey (e.g., phone survey) is able to obtain quick answers from the respondent and make clarifications immediately. However, this method also has its limitations such as in phone survey many calls go unanswered; phone surveying can only be carried out within several hours of a day; surveyors always reach answering machine and some people simply refuse to answer the surveyor's questions.

In exploring information about intergenerational similitude of ethnic identification, Kester and Marchall (2003) conducted written surveys across Chinese mother-adolescent dyads. Demographic information was collected with single-item questions and statistical methods were used to calculate the correlations between groups of scores. This study displayed that survey research is quick to collect information from a large group of people within a short period of time. The data it collects may be statistically processed and analyzed by computer software.

When implementing surveying research, Goodwin (1995) reminded researchers to avoid the occurrence of *social desirability* which is a phenomenon indicating that “people respond to a survey question in a way that reflects not how they truly feel or what they truly believe, but how they think they should respond” (p. 346). To avoid this drawback, researchers may compose several questions of a similar meaning within a questionnaire to

examine whether respondents answer those questions in the same manner. Goodwin and Goodwin (1996) also advised researchers to use survey protocols to guide the procedures of surveys.

In sum, surveys are effective in gathering quick information and they can be used in a broad range of studies.

Case Studies

A case study is supposed to “catch the complexity of a single case” (Stake, 1995, p. xi). We study a case when it is of special interest to us. When we study a case, we look for every detail of the interactions within its context. It is the study of “the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. xi).

There are two broad types of case studies. When we have interest in a case, we may consider our study an intrinsic case study. When our case study is instrumental and helpful to accomplish something other than understanding a particular case, we call our study as an instrumental case study (Stake, 1995, p. 3). The function of case studies can be explanatory, exploratory or descriptive.

Yin (1994) suggested several methods to analyze the data extracted from case studies. First, it is pattern-matching through which the logic developed in a case study is used to compare with a predicted empirically-based pattern. For example, Li (2004) assumed that children’s learning of a language involved “complex social relationships with members of their particular sociocultural contexts such as teachers and parents” (p. 32). He tried to extract information about participants’ behaviors from two cases for matching his concept or theory and then support his argument throughout his paper. Another analytic

strategy is to interpret data by building an explanation about the case. For instance, Huang (2003) interpreted how people learned Chinese as a second language in Canada through a systematic functional linguistic perspective. A third strategy is to implement a time-series analysis, exactly analogous to the time-series analysis in experiment. The fourth strategy is actually a mixture of pattern-matching and time-series analysis. This analysis contained a complex connection of events (pattern) over time (time series).

In Morgan's (2004) case study, the researcher mainly used the pattern-matching method to compare participants' pattern of memories, beliefs and perceptions of the teacher's identity with those of the dominant society, using the study as a tool to explain phenomena and explore rationales behind the phenomena. Kyeyune (2003) tried to gather information from several cases to investigate how participants perceived the acquisition of a second language and their attitudes in the process of acquisition and then drew synthesis by comparing participants' experiences across the different cases. Berard's (2005) case study on Professor Mary Daly with particular emphasis on politically salient identity especially class and race/ethnicity. For case studies, researchers often make in-depth investigation about the topics.

Stake (1995) thought that case studies help us distinguish the "uniqueness" and "commonality" in people and this is also its major function in educational research. Researchers can extract unique features found in cases and construct a pattern that can be used to explain the similar phenomena occurred in all the cases. Therefore, case study method is useful in this dissertation because it can depict detailed information of specific phenomena.

Other Methods

Li (2000) supported to use life history research to explore participants' classes, statuses and values examining phenomena that arise in ESL (English as a second language) classes. This is a form of narrative enquiry that initiates meaning construction between researchers and the researched. In this case, the researcher was also the "participant" of the study. He was able to view the issue from both an "insider's" and "outsider's" point of view. His participation could also regulate the flow of interactions among participants, thus promoting their thinking and discussion process. Moreover, O'Brien (2003), through the creation of a children's story book, described the formation of a positive racial identity. With the book, the writer's perception about a specific racial identity was researched and later the representation of identity was presented in her story book. This method indicates the understanding of identity through an indirect method. Consequently, the book writer became both the participant and researcher. Evidence indicates that researchers have been taking a more active role in participating in the process of data collection so that they can build a closer and trustworthy relationship with the participants that is valuable in the process of data collection.

Integration of Different Methods

In recent days, quantitative methods have been commonly incorporated with qualitative methods in studies that explore cultural and sociolinguistic topics for collecting and analyzing data. For instance, to compare the frequencies between in-turn CS (two different languages interwoven into one turn) and between-turns code-switching (two different languages used in two consequent turns), Ng and He (2004) used both quantitative (e.g., computerized corpus retrieval tool, assessment of frequencies with computerized

programs) method and qualitative method (e.g., sequential analysis model). For studying the communication strategies used by students in plurilingual classes and the role of CS in those classes, Muller & Beardsmore (2004) simultaneously employed both quantitative method (e.g., calculating the percentages of verbal and non-verbal discourses) and qualitative method (e.g., observation of verbal and non-verbal activities).

The above discussions indicate that researchers tend to integrate different types of research methods in their studies so that they are able to observe the topics from a broader and deeper perspective (Nesbit & Hadwin, 2006). Using multi-method, multi-source and multi-setting assessments enables researchers to establish a more complete and all-rounded vision on a phenomenon and the co-existence of varied methods may likewise minimize the occurrence of errors. I adopt the above philosophy when deciding on using a broad-based research method in this dissertation.

Research Methods Used in This Dissertation

Objectives

The main objectives of this dissertation are to explore how and why Chinese-Canadians code-switch, how they perceive the functions of their languages, either Chinese or English, how they establish their cultural identities through the use of languages, and how they relate their formation of cultural identity with their use of languages.

This dissertation develops alongside the concept that a close interrelationship exists between languages and cultural identity that are both molded by social and cultural influences (Trueba, 1999). To search for factors that help explain certain human phenomena, researchers need to go to the naturalistic settings or real situations to observe

the possible causes resulting in the formation of those phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b). As a result, I collected most of my data in naturalistic environments, such as participants' homes and schools as these are the places where children naturally develop their language experiences in relation to the "values and cultural practices privileged in these contexts" (Dagenais & Day, 1999, p. 101). Central to the choice of research methods is a "broad-base design" (Merrell, 1999) that underlie a general notion of interweaving multi-method (different research methods), multi-source (different types of participants) and multi-settings (different physical settings and situations), and consequently the issue is observed from a wide range of perspectives. I also integrate both quantitative and qualitative methods in collecting and analyzing data so that a fuller picture of the topic can be reflected (Nesbit & Hadwin, 2006). Table 1 gives a summary of research methods used in this dissertation.

Table 1 Summary of Research Methods Used in This Dissertation.

First Stage of Data Collection					
Data Collecting Method	Participants	No.	Language (*)	Data Analyzing Method	Purpose
Questionnaire	Students	203	E	Factor Analysis	Exploring the use of languages and patterns of code-switching
First Interview	Students Parents Teachers	8 8 8	E, C, M	t-test, DI & SC (†)	Comparing patterns of code-switching, opinions on identity formation, functions of language & impact of Confucianism
Case Studies	Specialists	3	E, C	DI	Commenting on the development of Chinese schools and education in Vancouver
Second Stage of Data Collection					
Data Collecting Method	Participants	No.	Language	Data Analyzing Method	Purpose
Second Interview	Parents Teachers	8 8	E, C, M	DI	Commenting on the preliminary results of students' questionnaire
Home Observation	Parents Students	8 8	E, C, M	DI & SC	Exploring use of language at home
Class Observation	Teachers Students	8 app. 15	E, C, M	DI & SC	Exploring use of language in the class
Group Discussion	Students Students	4 4	E E, C	DI & SC	Exploring use of language within students' private discussion
Log	Students	4	E, C, M	DI	Exploring students' use of language in daily life
Self tape-recording	Students	3	E, C	DI	Exploring students' use of language when interacting with different people

Key: (*) Language: E – English, C – Cantonese, M – Mandarin

(†) DI – Direct Interpretation, SC – Simple Calculations

Participants

At the beginning of the study, three specialists of Chinese education were interviewed giving their opinions on the past, present and future development of Chinese

education in Canada, with particular emphasis on the promotion of Chinese language and culture. Three specialists would present to me three case studies (Stake, 1995) that helped provide in-depth information for a specific theme. Their views may help us create a more complete understanding about the use of Chinese, either Mandarin or Cantonese, and the development of Chinese education in the community of Vancouver.

For the second part of this study, 203 students who were aged from 12 to 15 and are studying Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) in Chinese Schools were recruited and requested to complete a questionnaire enquiring their practice of CS (i.e., Chinese and English) and perception of identity formation.

For the third part of this study, the stratified purposeful sampling method (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996) was used to recruit two groups of participants, with 4 students speaking Mandarin and another 4 students speaking Cantonese at home. Altogether 8 students who were studying Chinese, and their mothers and Chinese teachers formed 8 triplets of participants from two different Chinese schools. The students were aged from 12 to 15, and two students were learning Mandarin and another two were learning Cantonese in each school. These students were born in Canada or had lived in Canada before the age of two. Their mothers were the first generation of immigrants in Canada and moved to Canada from a Chinese-dominant society such as Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong so that they were brought up in an environment of Chinese culture. The teacher participants were teaching the student participants in respective Chinese schools.

Selecting participants from multiple sources (i.e., teachers from schools and parents from households) and backgrounds (i.e., students, parents and teachers) can help me collect

opinions from people who view the issue from various perspectives. Table 2 gives us a precise description about the relationships of the three groups of participants:

Table 2 Participants of the Eight Triplets.

Family	Student	Teacher	Parent
1	Lock*	Cheng	Chien
2	Norman	Li	Betty
3	Cathy	Fang	Cindy
4	Kevin	Tracy	Karen
5	David	Helen	Karen
6	Joanna	Lucy	Ruth
7	Stephanie	Chiu	Susan
8	Kam	Vicky	Siu

*All the names contained in this table are not real but given by me for the purpose of concealing their real identity.

Procedure

First of all, I applied for the approval from the Office of Research Ethics (see Appendix B). I later contacted three specialists in Chinese education in Vancouver and invited them to be interviewed by me. I then approached the principals of certain Chinese schools in different cities of Vancouver and requested them to participate in the present study. Altogether six Chinese schools located at Coquitlam, Burnaby, Richmond and Vancouver joined the study. Three of the school principals submitted their Letters of Approval (see Appendixes C to E) to me and the remaining school principals either emailed me or talked to me to show their consent of participating in the study. The school heads informed parents of their schools about the purposes of the study and invited them and their children to participate in different parts of the experiments.

With the introduction of school heads, I approached the parents, students and teachers explaining to them the objectives of the study. With their consent, data were collected in the classrooms and homes of the participants. All teacher and parent

participants needed to sign consent forms (see Appendix F) and relevant parents were requested to sign consent forms for allowing their children to participate in the present study (see Appendix G). All participants had a full understanding that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and they could withdraw from it at any time.

Measures and Analysis

Survey Questionnaire for Collecting Participants' Background Information

A demographic questionnaire (see Appendix H) was designed to gather demographic information such as age, gender, number of years living in Canada from the participants of Stage 1 (Structured Questionnaire—203 participants) and Stage 2 (Interviews—24 participants). This questionnaire consists of a set of questions or statements given to the participants to fill for collecting information required by the future analysis of the study. The data collected from this part were processed by using simple calculation methods. With these data, I grasped more information about the background information of the participants.

Structured Questionnaire for Collecting Information of the Main Themes

This questionnaire contains 32 questions (see Appendix I), with answers in 7-point *Likert* scale, asking questions with reference to the main themes of this dissertation, with particular emphasis on the practice of CS and their perception about their cultural identity. The questions were composed according to the following themes:

1. patterns of CS (e.g., I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.);
 - (ii) patterns of speaking Chinese (e.g., I speak Chinese at least once per week.);
2. patterns of speaking English (e.g., I mainly speak English at school.);

3. formation of Chinese identity (e.g., I am proud of my Chinese identity.) and
4. display of interpersonal relationships partly showing the function of their interactions (e.g., I should talk to my parents politely.).

This questionnaire aims at searching for data to answer or partially answer the four research questions. I recruited 203 students within the age group ranging from 12 to 15 to complete the questionnaire.

The data obtained from this questionnaire were entered into computer with the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software and processed by the method of *explanatory factor analysis*. Statistical data extracted from the questionnaire were used to compare and contrast with those obtained from interviews and observation so that all data worked hand in hand portraying a fuller picture of patterns regarding the use of languages among the participants. Since existing questionnaires related to the main themes of this dissertation were not available, I specifically designed the present structured questionnaire with the advice of my senior supervisor, Dr. John Nesbit.

Factor analysis (FA) gives an empirical foundation for eliminating variable to a few factors by combining variables that are moderately or highly correlated with each other (Gall, et al., 1996). FA can identify commonalities in a large pool of items written to measure various aspects of an issue. By comparing the degrees of commonalities and correlations among factors, researchers can assess how effective the variables are in affecting the issue. In the structured questionnaire of this dissertation, FA is used to examine which variables are more powerful in affecting participants' patterns of thoughts and behaviors.

Quantitative analysis generates “numerical data to represent the social environment” and prepares “impersonal, objective reports of research findings” (Gall, et al., 1996, p. 30). As a result, I may acquire information from both quantitative (e.g., structured questionnaire) and qualitative methods (e.g., interview and observation), thus broadening and deepening my understanding of the topic.

Log

Each of the eight student participants were invited to fill in a log that briefly described the activities in which they had participated and the languages they had practiced within two weeks’ time (see Appendix J) but only the activities taken place in the second week would be considered. They participated in this activity voluntarily and three of them were willing to complete the log. With reference to the data recorded in the log, I may gather additional information (e.g., students’ private social life) that was unlikely to be collected via interviews and observations in students’ classrooms or homes.

Although the log is also a kind of self-report method, participants may directly narrate the matters that happen within a period of time without much intentional “scanning” when compared with other self-report methods such as interviewing in which interviewees might filter their meanings and consciously select the materials to be shared when answering the interviewer’s questions. Under this situation, the data obtained from the log may be used as a cross-checking tool for comparing the data gathered from other methods.

Self Tape-recording

Three student participants who had been interviewed were willing to tape-record their daily conversations under different situations. Episodes included in the tape-recording

may be concerned with the conversation between students and their parents when they were having their breakfast, or may be the playing scenarios between students on the playground, or may be shopping activities in a shopping between a student and her friends.

It is hoped that, through collecting information with tape-recording, students' actual patterns or attitudes in language choices would be directly narrated without being distorted by the intention adjustment of the interlocutors. As a result, these data could be used to compare those extracted from other channels helping me gather data from a wider source.

Interviewing

This dissertation used semi-structured interviewing that provided in-depth information to me with qualitative analysis (Fontana & Frey, 1998) and this is a popular method used for studies that investigate CS (e.g., Kyeyune, 2003; Lo, 1999).

Two stages of interviews were designed for student, parent and teacher participants. During the interview of the first stage (see Appendix K), I asked participants open-ended questions with which they were free to explore and expand their answers. This method aimed at gathering data to answer all the research questions of this dissertation; that is, why participants code-switched, how they established their identity, and how they related the use of languages with their formation of cultural identity.

The participants were encouraged to tell their stories and experiences in their homes or classrooms so that they expressed themselves in a naturalistic environment. I followed a set of questions derived from the main theme of the study (Yin, 1994) to monitor the flow of interviews and ensure that the discussions were related to the main themes. The interviews were tape-recorded or recorded by me in form of field notes if the participants refused to tape-record the conversations. I briefly summarized the interview contents and

the participants' main points in the end of the interviews for the purpose of member-checking. I made relevant alterations whenever the participants considered their opinions were misinterpreted. How often a participant used a language, either Chinese or English, was counted so that I could observe his or her patterns of language choices.

To avoid the occurrence of interview effect mentioned by Campbell and Russo (2001), I was careful in explaining the questions to the interviewees so that they would not have the impression that I was guiding them to answer in a pre-conceptualized way or model answers for the questions existed. I monitored the pace of interviewing and questioning so that the process of interviews continued smoothly and participants felt comfortable to express their thoughts freely.

For analyzing the data obtained from interviews, I separated raw data according to their main themes (Li, 2001), and carried out direct interpretation of the categorized information (Duff, 2002; Li, 2001), and draw diagrams or tables (Pak, 2003) trying to make sense of the information. I broke down the data and re-organized the pieces of information according to the new meanings or new categories given to them (Stake, 1995). Huberman and Miles (1998) proposed the Interactive Mode operated in the procedures of data collection, data reduction and data display. CA was used as a qualitative method for analyzing the contents of interviews (Rampton, 1998). For quantitative interferences, the frequency of participants' use of different languages was recorded and the proportional use of both languages was consolidated by simple calculations and presented in tables.

After I had collected data from the interviews of the first stage, I arranged interviews with parent and teacher participants for the second stage (see Appendix L). The questions of the second interviews were set after I had acquired a preliminary

understanding of the results from the first interviews and the structured questionnaire. The second interviews helped me clarify doubts arising from the first interviews and the structured questionnaire so that more useful information could be obtained from the participants.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were integrated in this part of the study showing that both methods are complementary to each other supplying more thorough information to me.

Case Studies

Interviews with specialists (see Appendix A) in Chinese education in Canada were conducted in separation from interviews with other participants. The nature of interviews with these specialists was different from those with student, parent and teacher participants because the specialists gave information about the development of Chinese education in Canada as “cases”—cases about the different stages of its development. Each specialist had a main theme of discussion, whether focusing on the past, present or future development of Chinese education and giving in-depth elaboration on the particular focus.

Group Discussions

Group discussions were used in this study for picking up information that individual interviews could not offer. The four student participants of each school formed a small group for having a group discussion and altogether there were two group discussions in two Chinese schools. Before the group discussion, students listened to a short conversation in which several people were talking in both Chinese and English. Stimulated by the content of the conversation, group members who were encouraged to use any language they feel

comfortable to express their opinions, thus enabling the accumulation and expansion of thoughts and insights that gave additional data to support the analysis of the whole dissertation (Yin, 1994). Again, the results acquired from group interviews were compared and contrasted with those from other methods.

One point that deserves discussing was my role in group discussions. I explained the objectives of discussions to the students and invited their active participation in expressing their opinions. I regulated the flow of discussion and encouraged more quiet students to take part in the discussion. I became a member of the group, and as a result, I am an insider (group member) and also an outsider (a researcher). This approach matches Li's (2001) proposition of co-construction of meanings between the researcher and the researched.

This method helped find out students' patterns of CS when talking to interlocutors of similar ages. Students might exhibit different CS patterns when talking to different people such as parents, teachers and other students.

Observation

Naturalistic observation was operated in two types of contexts—at students' homes and in the classrooms (see Appendix M) so that I was able to gather data from different perspectives in naturalistic environments where participants just behaved as they did in daily life. This method intends to collect information about participants' CS patterns at home or in the school. Within school contexts, I stayed inside each of the teachers' classrooms for about 45 minutes observing how the teachers interacted with their students and recorded their conversations with a tape-recorder and/or by taking field notes. Their

conversations were transcribed in their original languages (i.e., English or Chinese) and translated into English for reference.

When interpreting data obtained from observation, I would count the frequency of CS and proportional use of Chinese and English languages. The data were summarized by using simple calculation methods and presented in tables. I analyzed the content of participants' conversations with direct interpretations and CA to develop an understanding about their purposes of using CS and explore whether cues for the use of CS occurred in the conversations. Therefore, both quantitative and qualitative methods were blended in the process of data analysis in the part of observation.

In summary, the use of the above methods altogether helped me, from an outsider's point of view, collect data in natural settings for answering the four research questions regarding the functions of language used by the participants, their patterns of CS at home or in school, how they formed their cultural identity, and how they associated their language use with their construction of cultural identity. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were widely integrated within the process of data collection and data analysis in this dissertation because I support that the most powerful research strategies are those that "exploit new technologies, situate them in educational practice...and borrow them from the best methods in psychology" (Nesbit & Hadwin, 2006, p. 825).

Chapter Six

ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Use of Questionnaire Data

This dissertation aims at exploring how Chinese-Canadians code-switch, how they build their cultural identity and how they relate their cultural identity with the use of languages. The questionnaire that originally consisted of 32 questions was designed for examining the participants' CS behaviors and the formation of their cultural identity. It also served as a foundation on which later participants for the process of interviews were drawn. The preliminary analysis acquired from questionnaire data helped me design the questions for interviews of the second stage.

Descriptive Statistics

The data collected from the questionnaire were analyzed with SPSS software. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 3. Of the 203 student participants who submitted a questionnaire, 190 completed all items.

After the raw data were processed with descriptive statistics, I found that some items had very high means (above 6), and were therefore strongly negative-skewed (-1.9 to -2.3). I deleted four items because they did not correlate very well with other items. The first deleted item was Item 7 (I speak Chinese at least once per week, $M = 6$). This result is comprehensible because all student participants who completed this questionnaire were recruited from Chinese schools and taking Chinese lessons at least once a week.

These students would have a chance to speak Chinese during Chinese lessons even though they might not speak in other places. Therefore, it is normal that this item has an extraordinarily high mean.

The second deleted item is Item 14 (every day I speak both Chinese and English, $M=6.09$). Because all student participants are studying in regular schools, they probably have abundant opportunity to speak English in the school. As they also study in Chinese schools, it is reasonable to assume that they possess a basic level of proficiency in Chinese that enables them to converse with others in this language. They are willing to learn this language and likely to integrate it into their daily interactions. As a result, they have a high tendency to speak both Chinese and English in daily life.

The third deleted item is Item 24 (my parents require me to learn Chinese, $M=6.12$). Since Chinese is not easy to learn and is not commonly used in daily life, a lot of Chinese youngsters may not be willing to learn it if they are given a choice. However, Chinese parents are keen on registering their children to study Chinese due to different reasons such as the preservation of Chinese culture, the learning of their ethnic language or the acquisition of one more language skill for supporting future career. The result of this item reflects the phenomenon that many Chinese students study Chinese under the requirement of their parents no matter they are willing or unwilling to learn it.

The last deleted item is Item 32 (I speak English at least once a week, $M=6.27$). It is sensible that this item has a high mean because all student participants are studying in regular schools that use English as their major learning and teaching medium. They similarly use English as their major language in the community such as in the library, in the shopping mall or in the cinema. Therefore, the high mean of this item is predictable.

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics

	<i>N</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct meaning in Chinese	200	1	7	4.22	1.923
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	201	1	7	4.54	2.047
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	201	1	7	2.64	1.962
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	200	1	7	2.84	1.778
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	202	1	7	4.51	1.906
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	200	1	7	3.91	1.893
7. I speak Chinese at least once per week.	202	1	7	6.00	1.966
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	198	1	7	3.21	.022
9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	202	1	7	5.95	1.510
10. I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly.	202	1	7	4.17	2.059
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.	203	1	7	2.39	1.727
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	202	1	7	4.01	1.709
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	202	1	7	2.27	1.965
14. Every day I speak both Chinese and English.	203	1	7	6.09	1.738
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.	203	1	7	2.44	1.686
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	203	1	7	6.01	1.449

17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	203	1	7	5.99	1.520
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	203	1	7	2.76	1.767
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	200	1	7	5.13	1.811
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	201	1	7	5.43	1.827
21. I mainly speak English at school.	201	1	7	5.92	1.661
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	201	1	7	5.93	1.445
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	201	1	7	5.18	1.965
24. My parents require me to learn Chinese.	201	1	7	6.12	1.439
25. I speak English with my friends.	201	1	7	5.73	1.737
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.	200	1	7	5.23	1.789
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	201	1	7	1.99	1.465
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful .	201	1	7	5.72	1.689
29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	200	1	7	5.37	1.844
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese to maintain the Chinese language.	201	1	7	5.11	1.797
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.	201	1	7	3.23	1.926
32. I speak English at least once a week.	201	1	7	6.27	1.814

Factor Analysis

After the deletion of Items 7, 14, 24 and 32, the data were processed with the method of exploratory factor analysis (EFA), a statistical technique applied to a set of variables “when the researcher is interested in discovering which variables in the set form

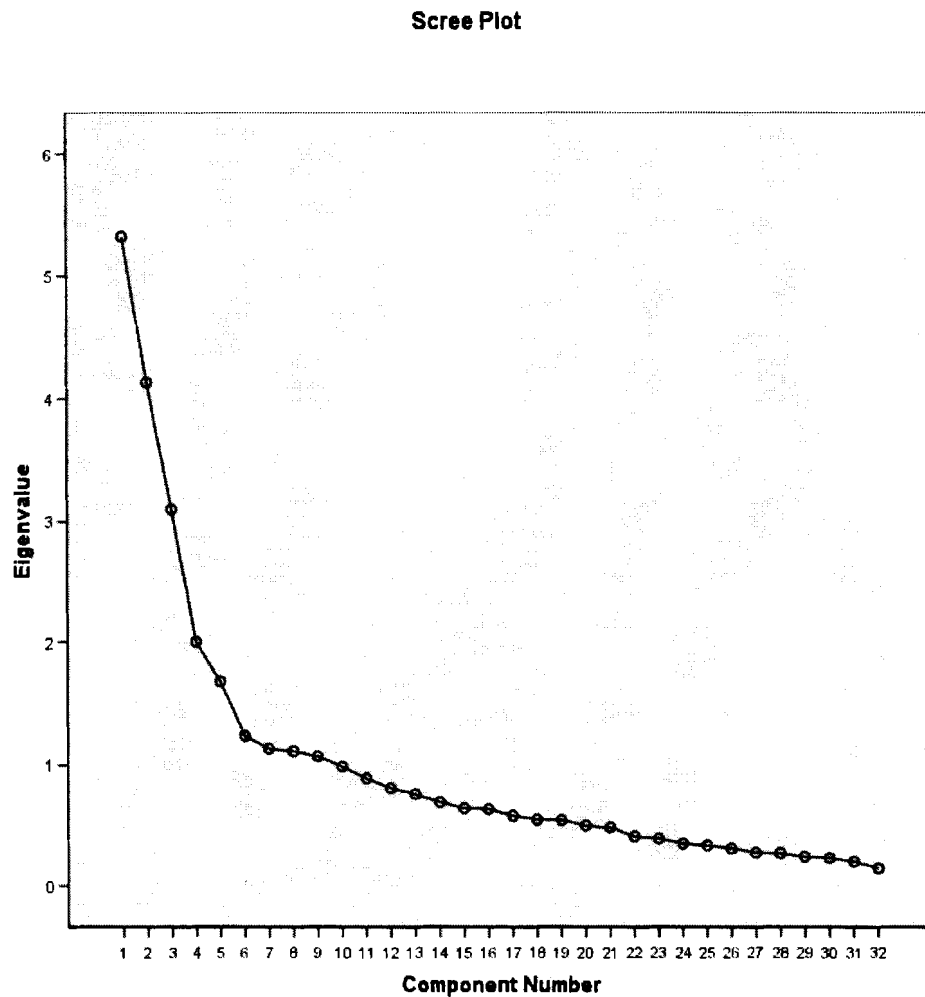
coherent subsets that are relatively independent of one another” (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001, p. 582).

According to Sidanius (2006), as a rule of thumb, a minimum of 10 observations per variable may be necessary to prevent computational problems. In this dissertation, 28 variables remained after 4 variables had been deleted. The total number of completed questionnaires was 190. The number of questionnaires may not meet the basic requirement set by Sidanius, but we did the analysis and it converged. For details, see Communities (Appendix N), Communalities (O), Total Variance Explained (Appendix P), Factor Matrix (Appendix Q), Pattern Matrix(a) (Appendix R) and Structure Matrix (Appendix S).

The table of the total variance explained (See Appendix O) mainly indicates the eigenvalue of each factor and the corresponding percentage of variance each factor occupied. For instance, the first factor had an eigenvalue of 4.83 and occupied 17.2% of the total variance. Each of the first three factors occupied more than 10% of the total variance and these three factors occupied about 42% of the total variance showing that they are important factors relative to the other factors that were extracted.

The scree plot (Figure 4) shows the relative importance of the factors in accounting for total questionnaire variance.

Figure 3 Scree Plot



Descriptions of the Eight Factors

Eight factors were extracted by factor analysis because they had eigenvalues greater than 1. The first factor is *Utilitarian CS* ($\alpha = .791$) that includes Items 1, 2, 3, 10, 12 and 19. These items are concerned with participants' beliefs about their use of CS (Items 1, 2 and 3), their use of CS with respect to specific purposes (Items 10 and 12) and their comfort using CS (Item 19). Table 4 shows the inter-item correlation matrix of this factor.

Table 4 Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 1: *Utilitarian CS* ($N = 195$, $\alpha = .791$)

Item	1	2	3	10	12	19
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	-					
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.565	-				
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence. (reversed)	.414	.638	-			
10. I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly.	.346	.485	.357	-		
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	.266	.359	.374	.342	-	
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.192	.430	.296	.421	.235	-

The second factor is *Chinese Pride* ($\alpha = .771$) that includes Items 11, 22, 23 and 28.

The items are concerned with the reasons why the participants learned Chinese (Items 23 and 28) and how they considered their Chinese heritage (Items 11 and 22). Table 5 indicates the inter-item correlation matrix of this factor.

Table 5 Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 2: *Chinese Pride* ($N = 201, \alpha = .771$)

Item	22	23	28	11
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	-			
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	.505	-		
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.	.526	.501	-	
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage (reversed).	.517	.410	.348	-

I identified Factor 3 is as *CS for Weak English* ($\alpha = .768$) consisting of Items 4, 8, 10 and 15 that are concerned with the reasons why the participants code-switched. Such reasons are like the clarification of meanings (Items 4 and 10), helping others understand meanings (Item 8) and the incapability of using a certain language (Item 13). Table 6 shows the inter-item correlation matrix of Factor 3.

Table 6 Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 3: *CS for Weak English* ($N = 195, \alpha = .768$)

Item	4	8	13	10
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	-			
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others Understand my meaning better.	.496	-		
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	.524	.534	-	
10. I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly.	.291	.518	.366	-

Factor 4 is *Speaking English* ($\alpha = .846$) that consists of Items 21 and 25. They are mainly concerned with where the participants spoke English (Item 21) and to whom they spoke English (Item 25). Table 7 shows the inter-item correlation matrix.

Table 7 Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 4: *Speaking English* ($N = 201, \alpha = .744$)

Item	21	25
21. I mainly speak English at school.	-	
25. I speak English with my parents.	.734	-

Factor 5 is *Politeness* ($\alpha = .744$) that consists of Items 16 and 17 concerning the attitudes with which the participants talked with others such as their parents and teachers. Table 8 shows the inter-item correlation matrix of this factor.

Table 8 Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 5: *Politeness* ($N = 203, \alpha = .744$)

Item	16	17
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	-	
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	.593	-

The sixth factor is *Family Chinese* ($\alpha = .521$) that comprises Items 20 and 30 regarding the reasons why the participants talked to their family members in Chinese. Since the Cronbach's Alpha is not high (.521), this factor is not very reliable. Table 9 shows the inter-item correlation matrix of this factor.

Table 9. Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 6: *Family Chinese* ($N = 201$, $\alpha = .521$)

Item	20	30
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	-	
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.	.353	-

The seventh factor is *Avoid Speaking Chinese* ($\alpha = .575$). Although the value of the Cronbach's Alpha (.575) is not as high as other factors, it is valuable to maintain this factor as it is the negative reflection of Factor 2. Factor 7 includes Items 27 and 31 concerned with the negative attitudes or feelings toward Chinese language or heritage and Item 26 describes the positive feeling toward the practice of Chinese.

Table 10. Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 7: *Avoid Speaking Chinese* ($N = 200$, $\alpha = .575$)

Item	26	31	27
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese (reversed).	-		
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.	.282	-	
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	.320	.355	-

The last factor is *CS for Weak Chinese* ($\alpha = .673$) including Items 5 and 6 that are concerned with the use of English to facilitate communication with others so that both the speakers and listeners understood each other more properly. Both items indicate that the Chinese proficiency of the speaker was not so desirable that he or she needed to use

English to smoothen the process of communication. Table 11 shows the inter-item correlation matrix of this factor.

Table 11. Inter-item Correlation Matrix of Factor 8: CS for Weak Chinese ($N = 200$, $\alpha = .673$)

Item	5	6
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	-	
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	.508	-

The Eight Factors

Factor 1: Utilitarian CS

This factor includes three elements: the participants' CS behaviors, their purposes of making CS and the feeling of practicing CS.

Most participants reported that they do use CS, and only a small proportion said they never code-switch. These behaviors can be best described by Item 2 (I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence, $M = 4.56$) and Item 3 (I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence, $M = 2.65$).

According to Grosjean (2001), bilingualism and CS is an increasing phenomenon because of the presence of linguistic minorities in big cities as a result of international migration of people.

A possibility may exist that some young Chinese-Canadians do not code-switch in Vancouver when their parents insist on using only English at home or their parents are the second or third generation of immigrants in Canada and cannot speak Chinese at home.

Under this situation, young people from these families do not speak Chinese at home or in the school, and therefore they seldom code-switch between Chinese and English. It is also possible that no matter what language their parents speak at home, the children only respond to them in English. In this case, these children likewise do not code-switch in their daily interactions. However, most participants in the present study did claim that they sometimes code-switched.

The participants' purposes of CS are reflected by Item 1 (when speaking in Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese, $M = 4.22$), item 10 (I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly, $M = 4.17$) and Item 12 (when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better, $M = 4.01$). It appears to us that the student participants code-switched for the purpose of facilitating their communication with others. Sometimes they might feel deficient when only using one language and might grasp a fuller set of vocabulary when simultaneously using two languages.

Moreover, Item 19 (I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence, $M = 5.13$), that is similarly under this factor, gives us additional information. Their comfort in CS may, to a certain extent, indicate their acceptance of the Chinese language. They did not mind speaking Chinese in public and being heard by others when they spoke it. Although I could not acquire sufficient evidence to support that they may use the Chinese language to reflect their identity, at least they did not feel uncomfortable to be heard of speaking this language. This is a positive factor enabling them to build their identity with the use of the Chinese language or the simultaneous use of Chinese and

English. Of course, it might be possible that they use CS to avoid using certain Chinese or English words.

Factor 2: Chinese Pride

This factor consists of two elements: the reasons they learned Chinese and their attitude toward their Chinese heritage. The first element is represented by Item 23 (I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture, $M = 5.18$) and Item 28 (I learn Chinese because it is useful, $M = 5.72$). Item 28 will be used to reflect the learning function of Chinese. We have discussed the communicative function of language in the previous section. The items in this section will be more concerned with the learning function of this language.

In recent years, Chinese has become an increasingly important second language to the Chinese teenagers in Vancouver for several reasons. First, they learn it because they want to pass the provincial exam of Mandarin so that they can fulfill the requirement of a second language imposed by the universities in Vancouver that is a pre-requisite of undergraduate admission. Moreover, they learn this language thinking that it will be an asset for them because it might help them find jobs in Vancouver or other Canadian cities where there is a concentration of Chinese settlement.

When the participants agreed that they learned Chinese because they wanted to maintain the Chinese culture, this might reflect their acknowledgement of their cultural background. Although this item did not clearly indicate that the participants intended to use the Chinese language to reflect their ethnic identity, a close relationship may occur between the Chinese language and the culture that encloses it.

When we examine how the participants view their Chinese heritage, we found that the mean of Item 22 is 5.92, whereas the mean of Item 11 is 2.37. In other words, most participants were rather strongly proud of their Chinese heritage and did not mind being recognized of their Chinese heritage by other people. According to the results of the inter-item correlation matrix, Item 23 and item 28 are positively correlated to Item 22 (.505 and .526 respectively). That is, their learning of Chinese is positively related to their attitude toward their Chinese heritage. This result is sensible as the higher the degree of pride people is in their ethnic language, the higher their incentive will be to learn it.

Factor 3: CS for Weak English

This factor includes items that explained why the participants code-switched. One of the reasons may be concerned with the need for clarifying the speaker's meanings such as item 4 (I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better, $M = 2.84$) and the magnitude of this item is low. Besides, the participants also code-switched for expressing their meaning such as Item 10 (I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly, $M = 4.17$). The use of these two items echoes the communicative function of language.

Item 8 (when speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better, $M = 3.21$) shows that the use of CS for helping the interlocutor understand the meaning of the speaker. In this way, the communicative function of language is also emphasized although the role of a different party of the communication flow is focused on; that is, the speakers intended to take a more active role to use more languages to help the listeners understand the speakers' meanings.

Item 13 (when speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English, $M = 2.27$) indicates that the participants code-switched because they lacked proficiency in using a certain language and therefore they had to use another language.

The overall impression conveyed by the above factors is that the participants code-switched because they were proficient in English or Chinese and therefore they code-switched. This phenomenon is common among new Chinese immigrants who have settled in Vancouver only for a short period of time such as one or two years. They are still unable to thoroughly grasp the English language skill to fully express their meanings in English, and therefore they code-switch to Chinese. Some students who are proficient in Chinese will also code-switch into English because they want to “look good” among their friends. They might think that using more English will help them form a “better” image. For those who were brought up in Vancouver, their Chinese language skill is not proficiency enough for them to fully express themselves in Chinese, and thus they code-switch into English. This factor tells us that CS will take place when there is an imbalance of proficiency in different languages among people.

Factor 4: Speaking English

This factor consists of Item 21 (I mainly speak English at school, $M = 5.92$) and Item 25 (I speak English with my parents, $M = 5.73$). It seems that the participants frequently practiced English at home or in the school. It is understandable because no matter they were born in Canada or immigrated to here some time before, they must acquire a proficient level of English in the local community so that they can survive. Young people must speak English in the school as it is the chief or sole language being

used here. Even in immigrant families, parents might probably encourage their children to equip themselves with proficient English to heighten the possibility of merging the life in the mainstream where they expect to secure better educational and job opportunities. Good English is a cornerstone on which many school subjects are learned and on which further education is built. Learning English well is therefore thought to be important in the minds of Chinese immigrants for it provides a social ladder for people to climb up to higher positions at the work place or a higher social class in society.

Factor 5: Politeness

This factor is represented by Item 16 (I should talk to my parent politely, $M = 6.03$) and Item 17 (I should talk to my teachers politely, $M = 6.08$). The temperament of politeness is not easy to be manifested if there is only one person; that is, it is revealed when at least two persons are interacting and showing courtesy with each other. It is difficult to relate the quality of politeness to the use of language and the formation of identity but the high means of these two items reflect that the participants highly valued the quality of politeness.

In Canada, it seems no ethic or moral education lessons are taught in regular schools because students of various ethnic backgrounds are studying together and it is difficult to transmit a certain moral system to children. In Chinese-dominated societies such as mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, the case is different. Moral education is usually incorporated into school subjects such as Chinese and Social Studies or taught as a school subject itself. Articles about Confucian theories are important contents of these textbooks.

It is generally accepted that although Chinese people are scattered all over the world, they still possess a specific cultural value system or value hierarchy (Chang, Wong and Koh, 2003). It has long been thought that the concepts of Confucianism are one of the major sources that nurture the thoughts and behaviors of Chinese people. Confucianism has a complete set of philosophy that helps develop a harmonious and hierarchical human relationship among Chinese people of various backgrounds and social statuses (Weiming et al., 1992; Wilson, 1982) and one of the important features is the respect for people who are senior to oneself such as parents and teachers. Therefore, parents and teachers who were brought up in Chinese-dominated societies are likely to emphasize on the importance of being polite to others in front of their youngsters. In the section of interview results, there will be more detailed discussions on participants' perception on Confucian concepts.

Factor 6: Family Chinese

This factor comprises Item 20 (my family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese, $M = 5.24$) and Item 30 (I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese culture, $M = 5.21$).

Item 20 reflects the use of Chinese for a communicative purpose in the family. It is common for Chinese people to speak Chinese at home because it is their mother tongue so that they feel easy and comfortable to talk to each other in this language. Moreover, in certain Chinese families, people of different generations are living together. Like many Asian families, Chinese people like to live in big families that consist of people of several generations. Since their elderly people's proficiency in English is usually low, most family members will probably converse with each other in Chinese, thus encouraging the young people to use Chinese at home. In spite of the possibility that there are no elderly people at

home, some Chinese parents tend to speak Chinese at home especially if they are new immigrants or their proficiency in English is relatively lower than that of their children. Chinese parents would not like to be made fun by their children for their poor English.

Item 30 shows the use of Chinese at home for preserving the Chinese culture. In Canada, the chance for young Chinese-Canadians to speak Chinese in society will not be plenty; however, some of their parents are eager to maintain their ethnic culture. To achieve this aim, they make full use of every opportunity to practice their native language and speak Chinese at home or in the community. This use of Chinese matches the identity-reflective function of language with which the speakers desire to pursue their identity.

Factor 7: Avoid Speaking Chinese

This factor includes Item 26 (mentioned before), Item 27 (I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage, $M = 1.94$) and Item 31 (my friends don't like speaking Chinese, $M = 3.59$). It seems the participants would not avoid showing their Chinese heritage as the mean of Item 27 is low, but this item is useful in acting as a lateral reflection of the items that reflect a positive attitude toward the pride of being Chinese. The result is promising because we can observe high means for the items showing Chinese pride and low means that reflect the uncomfortable expression of being Chinese, thus further affirming the significance of the results.

The means of Item 31 and Item 27 tell us that the participants faced pressure from their peers who did not like speaking the Chinese language. The participants would not speak Chinese under certain circumstances not because they felt uncomfortable speaking Chinese, but their friends who were used to speaking English in some way pressured them

not to speak Chinese. This phenomenon is understandable as Vancouver is a multicultural city in which people of differing ethnic backgrounds are interacting with one another mostly in English. It is unreasonable to persuade others to speak a language that they do not understand or feel uncomfortable to use. Even for Chinese people, they may hold various degrees of acceptance of their native language and this acceptance is absolutely voluntary and does not involve the judgment between right or wrong. Therefore, it can be said that the pressure from peers might, to a certain extent, affect the choice of languages among the student participants. The presence of peer pressure is significant in the process of socialization and the choice of languages among adolescence (Brehm & Kassir, 1993).

Factor 8: CS for Weak Chinese

This factor consists of Item 5 (when speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better, $M = 4.52$) and Item 6 (I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better, $M = 3.91$). These means are moderate to high.

Item 5 shows that the participants spoke English because the others could not fully understand what they meant if they only spoke Chinese. These participants were willing to speak Chinese, but they were comparatively less proficient in Chinese than in English and needed to use English to compensate their deficiency in Chinese. This item stresses the communicative function of CS.

Item 6 reflects the use of CS for a learning purpose. The participants intentionally used Chinese so that they could have more practice of this language. Similarly this item indicates that the speakers were not so proficient in Chinese and therefore they required

using English as a medium to learn Chinese. The participants' positive attitude toward learning Chinese is sensible because they are students of Chinese schools.

The participants' lower proficiency in Chinese is understandable because they use English more frequently than Chinese in their daily life and tend to have developed a higher level of competence in English than in Chinese. In case they really need to converse with others in Chinese, they may need to use a little English to help them fully express their meanings.

Factor Correlation Matrix

This matrix shows the correlation between pairs of factors.

Table 12. Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Utilitarian CS	-							
2. Chinese Pride	.083	-						
3. CS for Weak English	.556*	.117	-					
4. Speaking English	-.001	-.061	-.271*	-				
5. Politeness	.002	.446*	-.070	.174*	-			
6. Family Chinese	.111	.399*	.250*	.010	.239*	-		
7. Avoid Speaking Chinese	-.006	-.394*	-.184*	.262*	-.177*	-.289*	-	
8. CS for Weak Chinese.	.658	-.067	.327*	.211*	-.003	-.112	.314*	-

* $p < .01$

When the value is .32, it represents 10% of the variance. We are going to discuss the values of the paired factors that are at least or above .310 (10% of the variance).

The highest value (.658) was made by the correlation between Factor 1 (Utilitarian CS) and Factor 8 (CS for weak Chinese). Factor 1 shows people's patterns of using CS,

while Factor 8 indicates how far the participants were willing to learn Chinese by practicing English and understand meanings by using English.

These data gathered for Factor 8 may suggest that the Chinese-Canadian teenagers used CS when they had difficulty in learning Chinese. These two factors were concerned with the simultaneous use of two languages, Chinese and English. It is no wonder that they are highly correlated.

The correlation between Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) and Factor 3 (CS for Weak English) has the second highest value (.556). There might be a cause-and-effect relationship between these two factors. As the participant had a high level of Chinese pride in himself or herself, he or she tended to use or learn more of Chinese so that he or she had a higher proficiency in it. As more emphasis was put in learning Chinese, less emphasis might be put in learning English, and therefore, the English proficiency of these participants was comparatively lower than that of Chinese.

The correlation between Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) and Factor 5 (Politeness) has the third highest value (.446) when compared with other pairs of factors. It has long been accepted that the concepts of Confucianism are part of the Chinese culture that has influenced the thoughts and behaviors of Chinese people for a long time (Weiming, et al., 1992). Politeness is considered an important ingredient of Confucianism. According to Confucius's doctrines (Lao, 1999), people should display piety in front of seniors and be friendly and harmonious to other people within or outside the families. Chinese people, to a certain degree, develop some recognition of this type of thinking in order to instill in themselves "an illusion of cultural unity" (Weiming, et al., 1999, p. 9) and a sense of

cultural identity. Therefore, when people are proud of their Chinese heritage, they are likely to respect the temperament of politeness.

The value in the factor correlation matrix was made by correlation (.399) between Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) and Factor 6 (Family Chinese) ranks fourth in the matrix. Since families are the first places where young children develop, children often learn their culture heritage such as their mother tongue at home through various sorts of cultural activities (Rogoff, Mosier, Mistry & Göncü, 1993). If those Chinese people have pride in their Chinese culture, it is likely to accept that they take a positive attitude toward using Chinese at home for it is thought to be an important cultural tool (Vygotsky, 1997/1926).

The next value (-.394) was made by the correlation between Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) and Factor 7 (Avoid Speaking Chinese). The result is logical as these two factors are negatively correlated with each other. When the participant was proud of his or her Chinese heritage, it was not sensible for him or her to avoid being Chinese.

The next value (.327) reflects the correlation between Factor 3 (CS for Weak English) and Factor 8 (CS for Weak Chinese). This correlation conveys to us that the participants might code-switch either for the reason that they were not proficient in Chinese or for the reason that they were not proficient in English. In Chinese schools, two main types of teenagers may exist, one type being landed immigrants and another type being local borns. For landed immigrants, especially when they have not settled in Canada for a long time, they tend to change language into Chinese when their English is not fluent enough to smoothly communicate with others. For teenagers who were born locally, they would probably change language into English when they find it difficult to properly convey

their meanings to others in complete Chinese. As a consequence, the participants might code-switch either because they were weak in Chinese or English.

The last value (.314) that is the correlation between Factor 7 (Avoid Being Chinese) and Factor 8 (CS for Weak Chinese) also deserves our attention. This finding may hint when the participants avoid claiming that they were Chinese, they would probably have lower incentive or interest in practicing Chinese in their daily lives. This might hint that their Chinese proficiency would be low so that they were not willing to use it or show others that they are Chinese. Under this condition, Factor 8 is the cause and Factor 7 is the result. However, it might be the situation that they were not willing to use Chinese although their Chinese proficiency is desirable. In this case, Factor 7 was the cause and Factor 8 was the result.

We may gain additional interest when finding that the correlation between Factor 8 (CS for Weak Chinese) and Factor 1 (Utilitarian CS) (.658) is higher than that between factor 3 (CS for Weak English) and Factor 1 (.556). This finding may hint that People were more inclined to code-switch for weak Chinese than for weak English. This result is comprehensible because English is the official language in Canada and broadly used in daily life so that the participants were likely to have a higher proficiency in English and a relatively lower proficiency in Chinese. Therefore, they tended to code-switch for their weak Chinese proficiency.

Another phenomenon that may intrigue us is the correlation between Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) and Factor 5 (Politeness) (.446) and the correlation between Factor 2 and Factor 6 (Family Chinese) (.399). It seems that there is a positive relationship among these three factors. Having pride in being Chinese is clearly an indication of the Chinese

participants' coherence to their culture. The use of the Chinese language at home reflects their preference of preserving their cultural heritage showing that a close connection exists between language and culture. For politeness, the result hints that this element may, to a certain extent, be used as a reflection of people's culture although I could not obtain sufficient information to show how and why politeness and the Chinese culture are related to each other. However, I may be quite confident to say that the participants took a positive toward the temperament of politeness.

Overall, the method of factor analysis helped me gather more information about the participants' patterns of CS, their proficiency in Chinese and English and their attitude toward their cultural background.

Relationship between Factors

When we look at the Factor Correlation Matrix, we may discover that the correlation between Factor 1 (Utilitarian CS) and Factor 8 (CS for Weak Chinese) is rather high (.658). The correlation (.556) between Factor 1 and Factor 3 (CS for poor English) is also high. As a result, it can be said that the participants were more inclined to code-switch because they felt less competent in Chinese.

This result makes sense because we are likely to expect that the English proficiency of the student participants was relatively higher than their Chinese proficiency because they mostly used English at school and in the community. The mean of Factor 3 (CS for weak English) is .390 while the mean of Factor 8 (CS for weak Chinese) is .539. Therefore, the participants had a higher tendency to feel that they were less proficient in Chinese than in English. These two factors help us foster a deeper understanding of how the participants perceived their proficiency in both English and Chinese languages.

The correlation between Factor 7 (Avoid Speaking Chinese) and other factors is worth discussion because except for the fact that it is positively correlated to Factor 4 (Speaking English) and Factor 8 (CS for Weak Chinese), it is negatively correlated with other factors. The positive relationship between Factor 7 and Factor 4 can be understandable because the comfort in speaking English may indicate that the participants had higher proficiency in English and may also have a higher level of recognition and acceptance of English that is an official language of the country and widely used in society. When a Chinese teenager has preference to practice more English, he or she might not have the same degree of preference of his or her ethnic language that represents the identity of a minority group in Canada and is not so widely used in society. Therefore, it might be assumed that the higher the degree of a participant's acceptance of English language, the lower the degree of acceptance of the participant's Chinese heritage. Since the correlation is quite low (.262), there is not sufficient evidence showing that this relationship is supportive and consistent. Therefore, another assumption can be made that the preference of speaking a language such as English may not necessarily hint the non-acceptance of another language such as Chinese.

Factor 7 and Factor 8 is still positively correlated although the correlation is not high (.314). There might be a sophisticated cause-and-effect relationship between these two factors. To put it succinctly, we may say that when the participants were uncomfortable of being Chinese, they were unwilling to learn or use the Chinese language. Their proficiency in Chinese became weak and therefore they needed to switch to English for continuing the communication with others. It can also be interpreted that when their proficiency in Chinese was low, they avoided showing others that they were Chinese.

Factor 7 is negatively correlated with the other factors except Factor 4 and Factor 8 although the correlations vary from item to item. Factor 7 has a negative correlation with Factor 2 (Chinese Pride) (-.394) and Factor 6 (Family Chinese) (-.289) that reflect a clear recognition of Chinese culture. In addition, the correlation between Factor 7 and Factor 5 (Politeness) is only -.177 as the quality of politeness may not be considered a typical feature of the Chinese people because the Westerners can also possess the quality of politeness. However, the slightly negative correlation likewise hints that the quality of politeness may in some way reflect the characteristic of Chinese people. Again, this speculation is not sufficiently supported as the correlation is quite low.

In sum, the method of factor analysis has provided me a lens to view the topic from different perspectives such as how and why they code-switched and how they perceived their heritage language and culture.

Chapter Seven

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION DATA

Results of Interviews, Observations and Others

This chapter reports the results and interpretations gathered from interviews, home observations, class observations, group discussions, log writing and self tape-recording. In the first part of this chapter, the results are consolidated and systematically grouped. In the second part of this chapter, the data are interpreted with reference to the research questions.

Table 13 summarizes the data gathered from interviews, home observations, class observations, group discussions, log writing and self tape-recording.

Table 13. Interviews, Observations and Other Methods

No.	Interview with student (language used*)	2 Interviews with teacher (language used)	2 Interviews with parent (language used)	Class obs. (language used)	Home obs. (language used)
1.	Lok †(C)	Cheng (C)	Chien (C)	C & E	C & E
2.	Norman (C)	Li (C)	Betty (C)	C & E	C & E
3.	Cathy (M)	Fang (M)	Cindy (M)	M & E	M & E
4.	Kevin (M)	Tracy (M)	Karen (M)	M & E	M & E
5.	David (M)	Helen (M)	Amy (M)	M & E	M & E
6.	Joanna (M)	Lucy (M)	Ruth (M)	M & E	M & E
7.	Stephanie (C)	Chiu (C)	Susan (C)	C & E	C & E
8.	Kam (C)	Vicky (C)	Siu (C)	C & E	C & E

* C—Cantonese, M—Mandarin, E—English

†--All names are false names for concealing the real identity of the participants.

No.	Group Discussion	Log	Self Tape-recording
1.	Kam, Joanna, Stephanie	Kam	Kam
2.	Kevin, Lok, Norman, Cathy	Stephanie	Stephanie
3.		Joanna	Joanna
4.		Kevin	

Specialist 1: Miriam Yu (in Cantonese)

Specialist 2: Grace Ling (in Cantonese)

Specialist 3: Christine Wong (in English)

Interviews

With the assistance of the principals of some Chinese schools, I contacted parents and teachers who agreed to participate in the study. The interviews were conducted in two stages. In the first stage, interviews with the Chinese teachers and students were conducted in the Chinese schools, and the interviews with parents were carried out in their homes. In the second stage, interviews with parents and teachers were carried out after the implementation of the structured questionnaire when I had a preliminary understanding of the questionnaire results. I used the questionnaire results to design another set of interview

questions that invited the parent and teacher participants to comment on the preliminary findings obtained from students' questionnaires and interviews of the first stage. Parents were encouraged to revisit the issue to decide whether or not they needed to adjust their opinions, sharpen their points or supplement their discussions on the main themes of this dissertation.

The interview contents were transcribed verbatim in the languages the participants used and processed with the method of Conversation Analysis proposed by Don (2003). A summary table was created for each group of participants to record:

- (1) the number of utterances spoken by each participant (an utterance is the speech occurring between pauses)
- (2) the type of languages used by each participants (e.g. English, Cantonese/Mandarin, English and Cantonese/Mandarin)
- (3) the number of utterances that contain CS
- (4) the proportions of between-turns and within-turn CS
- (5) the topics of utterances before between-turns CS
- (6) the topics of utterances in within-turn CS.

The above table was designed with reference to the *Implication Scale for Observed Language Choices* (Milroy & Wei, 1998) that indicates the type of languages used by speakers and the *sequential analysis model* that investigates the contents of conversation (Cromdal, 2001; Ng & He, 2004).

I started asking participants questions in the Chinese language (Cantonese or Mandarin) that was normally used at home. When the participants could not understand Chinese, I shifted to speak English during the interviews. For the purpose of facilitating the

processing of raw data, participants' utterances were aggregated into units of utterances.

The utterance that is separated by two pauses and contains a complete and comprehensible meaning by itself is considered a unit of utterance in this dissertation. I assessed all participants' utterances in the same way to ensure a consistent standard for interpreting the data. Tables 14 to 16 indicate the results of interviews with the students, parents and teachers respectively.

Table 14. Interviews with Student Participants

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
1	27*(C)	20	2	5	6	1	5	Question asking the use of languages	Feeling (e.g., comfortable) noun (e.g. mom)
2.	16 (C)	13	2	1	2	1	1	Question asking the use of languages	Verb (e.g., respect)
3.	21 (M)	0	21	0	5	5	0	n/a	n/a
4.	18 (M)	0	18	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
5.	46 (M)	41	2	3	5	2	3	When talking about something "embarrassing"	Proper names (e.g., names of people)
6.	20 (M)	0	20	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
7.	20 (C)	17	0	3	3	0	3	n/a	Common nouns (e.g., group, lunch.)
8.	44 (C)	37	0	7	7	0	7	n/a	Repeating what was exactly said
Sum	212	128	65	19	28	9	19		
%	100	60	30	9	100	32	67		
		09	52	39	00	14	86		

*Key:

(C)—Cantonese; (M)—Mandarin; (E)—English

CS—Code-switching; BTCS—Between-turns CS; WTCS—Within-turn CS

Table 15. Interviews with Parent Participants

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
1.	55(C)	51	0	4	4	1	3	Giving examples	Verb (e.g. globalize), common noun (e.g., exposure), short phrase (e.g., global language)
2.	25 (C)	24	0	1	1	0	1	n/a	Common noun (e.g., volunteer)
3.	32 (M)	27	0	5	5	0	5	n/a	Adjective (e.g. popular), proper noun (e.g., Mandarin), short phrase (e.g., second language.)
4.	14 (C)	14	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	Adjective (e.g., gentle), proper noun (e.g.,Mandarin)
5.	52 (M)	50	0	2	2	0	2	n/a	Adjective (e.g., gentle), proper noun (e.g., Mandarin)
6.	33(M)	19	7	7	14	7	7	Answering questions, talking about feeling and answering questions	Proper nouns (e.g., Cantonese), common noun (e.g., church), and short phrase.
7.	88 (C)	72	0	16	16	0	16	n/a	Proper nouns (e.g., China, Chinese), common nouns & verb (respect)
8.	43 (C)	41	1	1	2	1	1	Answering questions	Short phrase (e.g. open area)
Sum	342	298	8	36	44	9	35		
%	100	87	2	10	100	20	79		
		13	34	53		45	55		

Table 16. Interviews with Teacher Participants

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
1.	57 (C)	51	0	6	6	0	6	n/a	Proper nouns (e.g. Cantonese), common noun (e.g., mall), verb (e.g., enjoy)
2.	22 (C)	22	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
3.	47 (M)	46	0	1	1	0	1	n/a	Proper noun (e.g. Toronto)
4.	32 (M)	32	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
5.	28 (M)	28	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
6.	41 (M)	39	1	1	2	1	1	Asking questions	Proper noun (e.g., Canadians)
7.	33 (C)	33	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
8.	32 (C)	32	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
Sum	292	283	1	8		9	1	8	
%	100	97	0	2		100	11	88	
		27	0	73			11	89	

The design of questions for the second interview was triggered by the inconsistent findings between participants' interviews and students' questionnaires. During the second interviews, it was valuable to examine whether or not I had misinterpreted the data at the first stage or had overlooked important information.

Group Discussions

Group discussions among students were organized in two Chinese schools with four students discussing a given topic in each school. The students in each group were required to listen to a conversation in which several people were talking among themselves in both Chinese and English. Afterward, the groups were encouraged to express their opinions on the conversation. I tried to regulate the flow of discussion ensuring that each member had the greatest opportunity to express their opinions.

The following two tables include information about the use of languages in students' group discussions:

Table 17. Group Discussion 1—Kam, Stephanie, Joanna and David

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
Kam	25 (C)	20	2	3	5	2	3	Disagree with another speaker	Proper noun (e.g., karaoke)
Stephanie	33 (C)	21	6	6	7	3	4	Giving an example, showing indifference and dignity	Proper noun (e.g., Asian), verb (e.g., represent)
Joanna	18 (M)	0	18	0	2	2	0	Switching to English all the time	n/a
David	3 (M)	0	3	0	1	1	0	Switching to English all the time	n/a
Sum	79	41	29	9	15	8	7		
%	100	51	36	11	100	53	46		
		90	71	39		33	67		

Table 18> Group Discussion (2)—Kevin, Lok, Cathy and Norman

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
Kevin	26(M)	0	26	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
Lok	4 (C)	0	4	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
Cathy	2 (M)	0	2	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
Nor-Man	1 (C)	0	1	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
Sum	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
%	100	0	100	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a

Class Observations

I went to classrooms where the teacher participants taught and stayed for about 45 minutes in each of the classrooms. I audio-taped the conversations between the teacher and her students or conversations among students themselves, and would take field notes where tape-recording was not possible. Table 19 summarized class observations.

Table 19. Class Observations

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
1.	22 (C)	18	4	0	2	2	0	Student talking with each other	n/a
2.	32 (C)	28	4	0	6	6	0	Student answered the teacher's questions.	n/a
3.	30 (M)	23	7	0	13	13	0	Students talking with each other, making an exclamation or joke, answering teacher's questions	n/a
4.	24 (M)	5	15	4	10	6	4	Teacher teaching vocabulary, phrases, giving comments & instructions	Noun (e.g., father)
5.	38 (M)	6	29	3	8	6	2	Talking about Chinese culture	Proper noun (e.g., Confucius)
6.	31(M)	24	6	1	11	10	1	Answering teacher's questions, expressing personal opinions	Proper noun (e.g. Paris)
7.	26 (C)	24	2	0	2	2	0	Student talking with each other	n/a
8.	35 (C)	26	4	5	15	9	6	Student talking with each other, talking to teacher	Proper noun (e.g., Brian) Common noun (e.g., nail)
Sum	238	154	71	13	67	54	13		
%	100	64	29	05	100	80	19		
		71	83	46	00	60	40		

Home Observations

I visited parent participants in their homes to observe the conversation patterns between the parent and student participants. The parent-child dyads were free to choose any activities to demonstrate how they normally communicate. Some dyads simply sat down and talked; in some cases, the parents helped their children to do homework, and for other cases, the parent participant invited me to observe their dinner time.

When I arrived at the home of a participant, I would chat with all members of the family, explaining to them the objectives of the study and how they could cooperate. For about 45 minutes, they were encouraged to behave as naturally and casually as possible. I recorded conversations between the parent-child dyads or the interactions within the family.

The data from the home observation were summarized in the following table:

Table 20. Home Observations

No.	No. of Utterances	C	E	C & E	No. of CS	BT	WT	Topic before BTCS	Topic in WTCS
1.	29 (C)	26	0	3	3	0	3	n/a	Noun groups (movie review), Noun (e.g. accent)
2.	46 (C)	31	11	4	19	15	4	Questioning & answering	Common noun (e.g., pie)
3.	38 (M)	30	5	3	9	6	3	Showing understanding, confirmation & intention	Verb (e.g. sharing) Adjective (e.g., short) Noun group (reading work)
4.	31 (M)	28	1	2	4	2	2	Asking question	Common noun (e.g., teacher)
5.	42 (M)	33	5	4	15	10	5	Questioning & answering, confirming	Common noun (e.g., T-shirt) Verb (e.g. design) Adjective (e.g., safe)
6.	38 (M)	0	38	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
7.	63 (C)	26	3	34	37	3	34	Adverbial phrases Personal Opinions	Common noun (e.g., piano) Noun group (e.g., second place) Verb + Noun (e.g., finish 左)
8.	43 (C)	36	0	7	7	0	7	n/a	Noun group (e.g., test result), Adjective (e.g., perfect) Proper noun (e.g., Gary)
Sum	330	210	63	57	94	36	58		
%	100	63	19	17	100	38	61		
		64	09	27	00	30	70		

Log

Three students, Norman, Kam and Stephanie were willing to complete a log for recording their daily conversations with different people. I gave a log table to each of them to record the details of their activities. They were advised to record the activities across two weeks' time although some of them only completed the activities that happened in one week. When each of them returned the log table, I asked them to explain their log entries, and to give me more detailed information about the nature and contents of the activities. The additional information were recorded as field notes and incorporated in the analysis.

During weekdays, Norman went to school, watched TV, played computer games or talked to friends. He used English in these activities. At home and in the school, he mainly spoke English. On Saturday, he went to a private tutor's residence and talked to the tutor in English. On Sunday, he went to church and communicated with friends in English there. Only in the Chinese school did he speak Mandarin and Cantonese.

Stephanie spoke English for all the time she was in the school and also used English when playing computer games at home. When talking to her mother, she used more Chinese. Also, she spoke Chinese when attending Chinese school, shopping in Chinese retail districts and going to church on Sunday.

Kam spoke to his parents in Cantonese and communicated with his friends in English, Cantonese and Mandarin. In the day-school or Chinese school, he spoke English, Cantonese and Mandarin, selecting the language according to the language preference of those he interacted with.

Among the three log participants, English was the language used most frequently in the school, whereas Chinese is the language most frequently used at home. In other words, it was not the physical setting that influenced the choice of language, but the social setting.

Moreover, the types of activities the students engage will also influence their language choice, such as the use of English for playing computer games and the practice of Chinese when learning Chinese. For example, in Canada, there is a wider variety of computer games available in the English edition but not so many in the Chinese edition. The nature of available activities, facilities or equipment available sometimes has controlled the choice of languages already.

In short, the environment where a person is located, the interlocutors with whom the person is interacting, and the type of activities the person engages will separately or collectively affect the type of languages the person chooses. It is difficult to determine which factor (whether environment, interlocutor, or activity) is powerful in influencing a person to speak a specific language because two or several factors might lead an individual to select a certain language.

Self Tape-recording

Three student participants (Kam, Stephanie and Joanna) were willing to tape-record the conversations that took place in their daily life. They were encouraged to talk to different people interacting with them in different social circles such as at home, in the school, when meeting with friends or shopping in the mall. They brought with them portable recorders and tape-recorded all the utterances if the recording was permitted by the interlocutors. The contents of the utterances were transcribed into the original language spoken by the speakers and reserved for later analysis.

Instant Messages

Joanna offered to provide me with several of her instant messages that she made with her friend to enrich the analysis of my dissertation. I used the instant messages as a source of further information for analyzing the CS patterns of the participant and her social networking with others.

Interpretations of Results from Interviews, Observations and Others

Interpretations of Interviews at the First Stage

The interview results were compared across three groups of participants (i.e. students, parents and teachers). They had been asked a similar number of questions and same types of questions, although the wording of the questions was adjusted to match with the presumed vocabulary level of the participants. The following discussions address the four research questions of the present paper.

Number of Utterances

Across the three groups of participants, the parent participants produced the greatest number of utterances ($M=42.75$, $SD=21.32$), while the teacher participants produced fewer utterances ($M=36.5$, $SD=10.52$) and the student participants created the least utterances ($M=26.5$, $SD=11.09$).

Use of Languages

When the use of the Chinese language was aggregated within each group of participants, it was found that the teachers used the greatest amount of Chinese (96.92%), followed by parents (87.13%) and the students (60.09%).

With reference to the use of English, student participants used more entire English utterances (30.52% of the total number of utterances) to express themselves, while the parents used fewer entire English utterances and the teachers used the least number of entire English utterances (0.34%) in comparison with their use of Chinese during the interviews of the first stage.

This result is understandable because the student participants mostly grew up in Canada and are expected to possess a higher level of proficiency in English. Presumably, they felt more comfortable to express themselves in entire English utterances. As the parents were born in Chinese-speaking communities such as Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, and use English as their second language, they may not feel as comfortable in using oral English as their children. The Chinese teachers spoke the least English entire utterances during the interviews. This phenomenon might be due to the following reasons:

1. Their proficiency in English was not high enough for them to express their meanings in entire English utterances.
2. They thought they needed to stick to the language used by me who started asking the questions in Chinese.
3. They felt comfortable to use Chinese to express their meaning.
4. They considered that because they were Chinese teachers, they should converse with me in Chinese in keeping with their roles even though they were proficient to fluently speak in English. Their choice to speak less English did not necessarily mean that they were weak at English.

In short, the interview results only indicate participants' tendency to use a certain language. The rationale behind the choice of language could not be clarified unless the participants were asked to specify the reasons for the choice of their language.

CS—Between-turns CS and Within-turn CS

CS was more common among the students and parents than among the teachers. The students had 28 units of CS out of 212 utterances. The parents had 44 units of CS out of 342 utterances. The teachers had 9 units of CS out of 292 utterances. The ratios of between-turns CS to within-turn CS were 9:19 in students, 9:35 in parents and 1:8 in teachers. It appears to us that Within-turn CS was more popularly used across the three different groups of participants who were of different ages, levels of maturity and backgrounds.

This result is consistent to the previous finding in Ng and He's (2004) paper which supported that "between-turns CS occurred less often than within-turn CS" (p. 43). In fact, within-turn CS is easier to handle as it may occur in small fragments, and unlike in between-turns CS, longer or more complete utterances of a language are often found.

Another finding mentioned by Ng and He (2004) is that the ratio of between-turns CS to within-turn CS was "higher for grandchildren than for either parents or grandparents" (p. 43). When the data of students and parents of this dissertation were compared, it can be said that students had relatively higher propensity to produce more between-turns CS than within-turn CS when compared with their parent counterparts. The ratio of between-turns CS to within-turn CS is also higher in students than in parents and this finding is consistent to that of Ng and He's paper. However, the data from the teachers cannot be used to

compare the data obtained from the other two groups as the difference in the total number of CS units is great between them.

Although the students were proficient in English, the proportion of their within-turn CS still exceeds that of between-turns CS. This phenomenon may be attributed to the following reasons:

- (1) Being the interviewer, I started all the interviews with participants in either Mandarin or Cantonese, depending on what language the participant normally used at their homes. I did so intentionally because I did not intend to give clues to the participants to code-switch, but desired to examine how they code-switched naturally. Moreover, I commenced all interviews under similar conditions, that is, all questions were firstly asked in Chinese, either Cantonese or Mandarin.
- (2) During interviews, the students were well informed of the purpose of the interviews—the relationship between their use of languages and their formation of cultural identity. It was possible that the students especially used more Chinese utterances and avoided using English utterances because they assumed that I would like to know more about their Chinese identity for the purpose of matching the topic of my dissertation (Sommer & Sommer, 2002). In the case, the way they code-switched in the study might be different from the way they code-switch in daily life.
- (3) During class observations, the way the students code-switched also may not be the same as the way they behave in their normal life because they were having their Chinese lessons and they had been frequently reminded by their teachers to speak as much Chinese as possible. As a result, the students may restrain themselves from speaking English so that they produced less CS.

- (4) During home observations, it was common that the parents started conversations in Chinese with their children and continued their conversations in Chinese no matter what kind of language their children used to respond to them. It was possible that the children spoke fewer English utterances when communicating with their parents at home.

The results show that the setting, environment and adults' attitude may influence children's language choice.

Chi-Square Analysis Comparing Between-turns CS and Within-turn CS

The chi-square (χ^2) test of independence is used to examine the relationship between two proportions (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In this analysis, the two proportions were the between-turn CS and within-turn CS in students and parents. The data were extracted from the interviews of the first stage. The difference in teachers between-turns CS and within-turn CS was not assessed as their frequency of CS was too small. The chi-square test was applied to the frequencies as shown in Table 21:

Table 21. CS Frequency in Students and Parents

	Children	Parent	Total
Between-turns CS	9	9	18
Within-turn CS	19	35	4
Total	28	44	72

For children, the proportion of within-turn CS was greater than the proportion of between-turns CS. In parents, the proportion of within-turn CS was also greater than the proportion of between-turns CS. In children, 68% of the CS was within-turn CS and 32%

was between-turns CS, whereas 80% of CS in parents was within-turn CS and 20% was between-turns CS.

Functions of Between-turns CS in Interviews

From the data I collected, between-turns CS was produced by the student participants for a variety of purposes. They made between-turns CS when expressing their opinions about the choice of languages, such as the conversation contained in Excerpt 1 (R=Researcher, S1=Student 1)

Key: the following conventions adopted from Don (2003) are used in the transcriptions.

- (1.5) length of silence in sounds
- [overlapping utterances
- ↑ step up in pitch
- ... pause
- () English translations of Chinese utterances

Excerpt 1

R : 請問你在家裡說什麼語言 ?

(What kind of languages do you use at home?)

S1 : I mostly speak Cantonese but a little English at home. I speak Chinese to my parents but English to my siblings.

Student1 talked to me in Cantonese for most of the interview but answered the question about the use of languages in an English utterance that was the only entire English sentence in the interview. This student might be using a change in language to stress the use of languages under different situations. Perhaps, the student tried to demonstrate to me how he changed language. His choice of CS originated from the purpose of communicating with other people and the change depended on the participants (i.e., researcher) and the topic of discussion (i.e., code-switching).

In Excerpt 2, between-turns CS was used for a different purpose:

Excerpt 2

R : 在課室裡，你們說什麼語言？

(What kind of languages do you speak in the classroom?)

S5 : 我們全部講英文。

(All of us speak English.)

[↑ It's embarrassing to speak Chinese at school.

The above case shows that the student participant made between-turns CS when mentioning to the other person something “embarrassing.” This function of CS echoes the comments by Bond and Lai (2001) who viewed “reduction of embarrassment as a significant reason for shifting to a second language” (p. 179).

Between-turns CS was also used to clarify meanings, as in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 3

R : 你覺得中、英文在大溫地區的價值怎樣？

(How do you value the use of Chinese and English in Greater Vancouver?)

S5 : I don't understand your question.

Student 5 mostly used Mandarin to answer the researcher's questions and two entire English utterances were found in this conversation. In this case, Student 5 used between-turns CS to clarify the meaning of the researcher's question to ensure that he really understood it. This switch of language may hint that the student did not understand the researcher's Chinese question and he would be capable to understand it if the question was presented in English. Moreover, it could also be interpreted that this was the student's natural response in daily life. This purpose coincides with what Ng and He (2004) claimed that “CS may serve to translate, clarify, elaborate, or emphasize a message” (p. 29).

In the fourth excerpt, a student participant used between-turns CS to explain how language could be used to reflect his identity in the school.

Excerpt 4

R：在班中你會用語言來反影身份嗎？

(Will you use language to reflect your identity in the class?)

S8：有時我會用語言來反映身份的，告訴別人自己是中國人，譬如對著一班韓國同學，我們會說笑，Chinese are better than Koreans. (笑)

(Sometimes, we will use a language to reflect our identities in order to tell others that we are Chinese. For example, when we are talking to a group of Korean classmates, we will make fun of them by saying, “Chinese are better than Koreans.” [laugh])

In this example, a language was used to reflect the identity of a person or a group of people. However, the language that had been used was not the mother tongue of the speaker but the language of the mainstream. This example shows that any language may be employed to project the cultural identity of the speaker or the cultural identity of a group of people, that is, the language used to reflect identity may not be necessarily the first language of the user, but can be any other language the speaker feels comfortable or appropriate to use. In the above situation, the student was confronting a group of Korean students. If he mentioned to his Korean school-mates in the Chinese language that he was Chinese, his school-mates would probably not understand what he said. Therefore, he spoke in English to show that he was Chinese. As a consequence, CS served two purposes in this scenario—for both the communicative and identity-reflective purposes. This example also leads to a question: If we agree that language can reflect people’s cultural identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), what kind of language can be used to match the identity of the speaker? Is it necessarily to use a specific language to indicate the identity that matches this language? For example, should a person speak Chinese in order to indicate the person’s Chinese identity? Can the Chinese person use another language to reflect his Chinese identity? Like the example in Excerpt 4, the student used English to express his

Chinese identity. Do we accept that this is also a means of reflecting an individual's cultural identity? Will people who do not converse with others in their mother tongue automatically lose their opportunity to display their cultural identities? Will the practices of CS even enable people to fully express their cultural identities to people of various cultural backgrounds? Will it be even more effective for bilinguals or multilinguals to convey their cultural identities to people of distinct ethnic backgrounds by using differing languages? Therefore, the practices of CS may be considered a powerful additive or multiple tool to help people demonstrate their cultural identities because "the availability of various languages in the community repertoire serves as a useful interactional resource" in which people use varying languages to reflect their different roles and backgrounds (Wei, 2005, p. 13). Practices of CS can enrich and add colors to people's lives.

From a narrower angle, people may use their native language to reflect their original ethnic or cultural background. For instance, when a Chinese person speaks in Chinese, the others might be automatically aware that this person is Chinese. Under this situation, it can be considered that this language directly serves an identity-reflective purpose. (However, we should not be over-confident to generalize that all Asian people who speak the Chinese language are Chinese. For instance, a Singaporean will also speak Mandarin.)

On the other hand, if people use a language other than their native language to express their original ethnic backgrounds, it might be argued that this language displays its communicative function but not an identity-reflective function. For instance, Student 3 said, "I'm Taiwanese-Canadian. I feel comfortable and proud of my Chinese identity." She used English to express her Chinese identity. English was hereby operated as a communicative

tool to convey a message to the listener that the speaker was a Taiwanese-Canadian. English itself could not be used to reflect the Chinese identity of the speaker but the content could. If this student did not really say that she was Taiwanese, the others might speculate that she was Singaporean, Vietnamese or Malaysian. Therefore, CS had a dual function here—being communicative and identity-reflective.

Moreover, a language can also be used to reflect an in-group identity of a group of people. For example, Student 3 told me that she mostly spoke English in the school, but she would speak “inside jokes” in Mandarin. When the researcher asked her why she especially spoke this kind of jokes in Mandarin, she replied, “It doesn’t make sense to speak them in English. We don’t want others to know what we’re talking about.” By using a language that is only practiced by in-group members, the members can:

- (1) choose participants to take part in the interaction;
- (2) exclude people whom they do not like from participating in the interaction;
- (3) keep the confidentiality of the things they talk about;
- (4) create a higher degree of coherence and interdependence within the group;
- (5) inculcate a deeper sense of belonging to the ethnic background they belong to; and;
- (6) express meanings that can only be valid or fully expressed by using the language in which those meanings naturally exist, that is, certain meanings might be distorted when they are translated into other languages.

In regard to the functions of language, two points are demonstrated by this excerpt. First, English cannot be used to fully translate or replace the meaning of Chinese jokes because there is discrepancy between the two language systems. In this case, the shift from English to Chinese is for the purpose of communicating jokes to others. Second, the

Chinese jokes helped people to reflect their in-group identity (e.g., membership of a group of Chinese people), or to a further extent, their cultural identity (e.g., people of Chinese descent). If a person is not able to speak or understand the Chinese inside jokes, the person will not be considered a member of the group. This phenomenon is consistent with Lo's (1999) claim that "the act of codeswitching itself makes salient the indexical links between a language, categories of ethnic identity, and speech community membership" (p. 462). CS may be used to reflect the in-group identity within a speech community or people's cultural background at large.

Student 3 likewise conveyed to us an interesting phenomenon about between-turns CS. At the beginning of the interview, I found that whenever I asked her any question in Chinese, she would automatically answer it in English. I intentionally kept on asking questions in Chinese, but she still persisted in answering the questions in English. I was sure that this student could speak fluent Mandarin because she told me that she spoke Mandarin with her parents at home and she spoke to me in Mandarin before. Why did she insist on answering questions in English throughout the whole conversation with me although all the questions were asked in Chinese? I speculated that the student's choice of language was influenced by the interlocutor, the setting and topic of discussion (Grosjean, 2001). The student thought she was talking to a researcher on a formal topic. She thought she might need to keep a distance with the researcher, so she spoke in English with me. For the topic of discussion, the student considered she was participating in a research project, an official matter, something that was serious. She had to use a more "official" language to complete the interview. Although it is generally accepted that CS in human interactions serves different functions, in some way its use may be constrained by different external or

environmental factors such as the background of participants, the physical setting, the topic of discussions and the situation.

Among teacher participants, there was little practice of CS, but there was one example of between-turn CS presented by Teacher 6 (see Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 5

V : 請問你上課的時候通常用什麼語言的 ?
(What kind of languages do you use in class?)

T : It depends on the students. 他們聽得懂國語我就說國語，我會看他們的眼睛，如果他們沒有反應，我就用英文解釋一遍給他們聽。
(It depends on the students. If they understand my Mandarin, I will speak in Mandarin. I'll look at their eyes and observe their feedback. If there is no response, I will explain everything in English.)

This teacher code-switched when answering the researcher's question about the use of language in the class. This unit of CS may serve a communicative purpose because the teacher was giving me a piece of information. However, on top of this reason, the teacher might want to deliver a message to the researcher that she knew English and could give a quick response in English because she was using English quite frequently in her Chinese class.

Parent participants comparatively code-switched more frequently than the teacher participants did. The pattern of parents' CS pattern was widely different. There were parents who had no CS at all (e.g., Parent 4 and Parent 5), parents who only made within-turn CS (e.g., Parent 1 and Parent 3) that will be discussed in the next part, and parents who made plenty of CS such as Parent 6. This might be due to the reason that the parent participants had varied backgrounds. Attention will be paid to the between-turns CS conducted by Parent 6 in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 6

R : 你認為儒家思想在加拿大的中國社區中還有嗎 ?
(Do you consider that Confucianism still exists in the Chinese community in Canada?)

P6 : (.) I'm not sure about the whole mix-up of Confucianism.

Parent 6 changed language to express that she had no understanding about Confucianism. It is speculated that this parent felt a little uncomfortable for being unable to give me a better answer due to her innocence in the concepts of Confucianism. In this way, CS was used to conceal her uneasy feeling of being unable to help the other. This unit of between-turns CS was used for the purpose of communicating the thought and feeling between the speaker and listener.

Another unit of between-turn CS was made by Parent 8:

Excerpt 7

R : 你們有沒有講鄉下話 ?
(Do you speak regional Chinese language with your children?)

P8 : [↑ No regional language. 有時會同個孩子練習國語。
(No regional language. I will practice Mandarin with my children.)

Parent 8 changed language from Chinese to English when she wanted to stress the certainty of her answer. This parent only made two units of CS throughout the whole interview, one unit of between-turns CS (Excerpt 8) and a unit of between-turn CS. For most of the time within the interview, this parent conversed with me in Cantonese. Therefore, it may be speculated that the above between-turns CS was supposed to attract the attention of the listener. In other words, it serves a communicate function of passing a passage to the listener (i.e., no regional language spoken at home) and informing the listener of the speaker's attitude (i.e., what I said is clear and certain). By analyzing this

unit of CS, I got the insight that people should sometimes go beyond a specific utterance before concluding the purpose of an utterance on the surface. Instead, I need to look at the use or position of that specific utterance within the whole oral corpus (Dabène & Moore, 1995) so that a more thorough conclusion of the issue can be drawn.

From the students' interviews, it is clear that the students used between-turn CS more frequently than teachers and parents did. Students' between-turns CS served a communicative function such as mentioning to others their opinions on the use of languages or conveying to others their embarrassing feelings, and targeted at an identity-reflective function such as showing others their beliefs regarding their cultural identity or an in-group identity. I could not find obvious clues indicating that the students had used between-turn CS for a learning purpose during their interviews. This might be attributed to the fact that the interviews with students were taken at their homes under a home and casual environment that is not a learning situation, and the students and I were sharing opinions in a friendly manner. Certainly, the students would not assume that they were talking to a "teacher" for "learning" something. This result also affirms the significant impact of setting, environment, interlocutors, and topic of this discussion on the functions of CS.

With reference to the data collected from adult participants, I discovered that they spoke fewer between-turns CS than their student counterparts did. When comparing the data obtained from teacher and parent participants, I found that parents practiced more between-turns CS than their teacher counterparts. The teachers generally exhibited the least amount of CS, either between-turns or within-turn, among the three groups of participants within all interview sessions. This phenomenon may be explained by the following reasons.

First, the teachers were teaching Chinese and supposed to have high standard in the Chinese language and it was reasonably to speculate that they would probably be more confident than the students and possibly even the parents in conversing with the researcher in Chinese.

Second, it is possible that the teachers intentionally minimized their use of English during the interviews with the researchers because they intended to project an image of a Chinese instructor to the researcher so that their professional image could be maintained. They might think that it was not appropriate to speak too much English when discussing the use of languages.

Third, all the teachers were immigrants of the first generation coming from Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, so they might be more capable of using Chinese.

Table 22 shows the languages they used and their countries of origin:

Table 22. Background Information of the Teacher Participants

Teacher	Language Used in Interview	Country of Origin	No. of Years In Canada
1	Cantonese	Hong Kong	10.0
2	Cantonese	China	3.0
3	Mandarin	China	11.0
4	Mandarin	China	2.5
5	Mandarin	China	3.0
6	Mandarin	China	10.5
7	Mandarin	China	5.0
8	Cantonese	Hong Kong	8.0
		Total	53.0
		Average	6.5

I could only assume that because the participants came from Chinese-dominated countries having widely practiced Chinese before immigrating to Canada, it was logical to guess that their proficiency in Chinese would be higher than their proficiency in English. Most of them had university degrees or post-secondary education qualifications in Chinese.

I found it useful to give more background information about the use and learning of English in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, English is a compulsory subject in elementary and secondary schools. It had been used as the official language in society and learned as a second language since Hong Kong had become a British colony about 100 years ago. As a result, most people who are brought up in Hong Kong would have the opportunity to learn English throughout their time spent in elementary and secondary schools. On the other hand, the situations are varied in Mainland China and Taiwan. In both of these two places, English is not a compulsory subject in schools and will be learned as a subject in schools. Therefore, people's ability to use English might be widely varied across the immigrants coming from Mainland China and Taiwan. Even though they have high qualifications in certain educational and professional fields, it does not necessarily imply that they have high proficiency in English.

Fourth, the minimum use of English among the teacher participants might be due to the influence of the topic the formation of cultural identity. It could be speculated that as Chinese teachers, they would be keen to promote the Chinese language and culture. They would be alert about the need of using Chinese in front of me who investigated how they practiced their languages. As a consequence, some might be affected by the topic of discussion and tended to give answers "relevant" to the topic and as a result, the accuracy of data might be deteriorated by the "eagerness of the respondent to please the interviewer"

(Bell, 1993, p. 95). This might be a reason why the teachers did not speak much English with me during the interviews.

The above are possible reasons that explain why the teacher participants spoke little between-turns CS or produced the least CS as a whole. Referring to the case of the parent participants, I found that the result was quite different. The following table shows the background information of the parents.

Table 23. Background Information of the Parent Participants.

Parent	Language Used in Interview	Country of Origin	No. of Years In Canada	Attainment In Education
1	Cantonese	Hong Kong	10.0	Post-secondary
2	Cantonese	Hong Kong	12.5	Secondary
3	Mandarin	Taiwan	12.0	University
4	Cantonese	Hong Kong	12.0	Post-secondary
5	Mandarin	China	13.0	University
6	Cantonese	China	15.0	Post-secondary
7	Cantonese	China	13.5	Post-secondary
8	Cantonese	Hong Kong	13.0	Post-secondary
		Total	101.0	
		Average	12.6	

Strictly speaking, there were only two parents who practiced between-turns CS during the interviews (Parent 6 and Parent 8). I could not consolidate a pattern to interpret the rationale of adopting between-turns CS among these two parents. For parent 8, it could be explained that she came from Hong Kong where both Chinese and English are widely utilized within the city, so it could be understood why this parent practiced between-turns CS. However, there were also other parents coming from Hong Kong, but they did not

adopt any between-turns CS. Therefore, the countries of origin could not be a factor that explains the use of between-turns CS across the parent participants in this dissertation.

No clues could not be extracted from other types of background information such as the numbers of years staying in Canada or their attainments in education. Referring to Parent 6 who came from China, there was not obvious information that helped me conceptualize the reason why only this participant who came from China practiced between-turns CS but the others from China did not. As a result, I could only conclude that the practices of between-turns CS among parent participants were mainly the results of individual differences in the use of languages. Even among bilinguals or multilinguals, they may have their patterns of adopting their repertoires of language use due to the variances in media, roles, situations and domains (Fishman, 2005). Nevertheless, it is believed that “the habitual language choice is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination” (p. 89), that is, a pattern can often be found in an individual’s use of languages, but the pattern may vary from individual to individual.

To summarize, I suggested that between-turns CS was more commonly used by student participants than by their adult counterparts. This may be attributed to the fact that the students were brought up in the local community and are receiving regular education in public schools where English is used as the sole teaching and learning medium. They are used to think and speak in English and consequently natural to change language to English. In contrast, all the adult participants were born and brought up in Chinese-dominant places where the participants had been habitually used Chinese in their daily lives. Therefore, it is natural for them to converse with others in Chinese and hence between-turns CS is less likely to take place among them when compared with the case found in student participants.

Functions of Within-turn CS in interviews

Within-turn CS was more commonly used than between-turns CS among participants across the three groups. Participants often made within-turn CS with single words such as *common nouns* like in Excerpt 8 (T1—T stands for Teacher, 1 stands for the number of the teacher. The same system is applicable to other groups of participants.):

Excerpt 8

T1 : 在 mall 見到熟朋友要打招呼。 [“Mall” is a common noun.]
(We need to greet our friends when we see them in the mall.)

When we observe the above use of CS with reference to Dabène and Moore’s (1995) model of analyzing CS, the terms “intra-sentential” CS and “inter-sentential,” we may say that it is an example of intra-sentential CS because CS occurs within a single sentence. However, the construct of intra-sentential CS and inter-sentential CS does not tell us how many interlocutors were involved in the conversation because two speakers can also involve in one complete utterance. The inter-sentential CS likewise does not tell us the number of interlocutors that were engaged in the conversation. One speaker or two speakers can also make an inter-sentential CS.

For inter-sentential CS, two phenomena may occur—first, the inter-sentential CS takes place across two consequent utterances that are both spoken by an individual, for example, the speaker delivers an utterance in one language (e.g., English) and immediately delivers the following utterance in another language (e.g., Chinese). This is an example of within-turn CS according to the notion stated by Ng & He (2004).

Second, an inter-sentential CS emerges across two different speakers. For instance, Speaker A delivers an utterance in Chinese and then Speaker B delivers another utterance

in English. This is an example of between-turns CS (Ng & He, 2004). Consequently, the interchangeable use of the constructs of between-turns CS/within-turn CS (Ng & He, 2004) and intra-sentential CS/inter-sentential CS (Dabène & Moore, 1995) has broadened the discussion on CS in this dissertation.

The notion of intra- and inter-sentential CS focuses on the structure of CS, that is, how two languages integrate. The notion of within-turn and between-turns CS focuses on the maker of the CS, that is, who initiates the language change.

When we refer to Excerpt 8, the type of CS can be categorized as a within-turn (CS found within a single turn) and intra-sentential CS (CS found within a single utterance). The function of CS here is mainly for communicating information from the speaker to the listener. The piece of information is that “we should greet our friends in the *mall*.” The whole utterance was delivered in Chinese but the term “mall” was in English. The teacher changing languages in this way may be because: First, she intended to stress the “location” where we should greet our friends. Second, she could not find an appropriate substitute in Chinese for the English word “mall.” Third, she was used to describing a large shopping center as a “mall” like the people in the mainstream did and was not aware to change this term into Chinese even though talking to another Chinese speaker. Moreover, the unit that was code-switched can be a *proper noun* like in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 9

S5 : (3) 在學校我有幾個好朋友，是我最好的朋友 Alexander，他來自 Romania，還有一個朋友 Katetaina，是來自 Russia，我們全是講英文的。
(In the school, I have several good friends. My best friend is Alexander, coming from Romania. Another good friend is called Alexander from Romania and I also have a good friend called Katetaina from Russia. We all speak English.)

Again, in the above example, we can find repeated use of within-turn and intra-sentential CS. In this conversation, the function of CS is likewise for communicating the information of “names” of the speaker’s friends and the “countries” where the friends were from. We can find a pattern of CS that whenever this speaker mentioned a “proper name,” he code-switched it into English although he was originally talking to me in Chinese. His practices of CS may be due to the following reasons.

First, the speaker could not find appropriate substitutes in Chinese for the proper nouns that were originally formed in English.

Second, the speaker may find it inconvenient and time-consuming in translating the terms from English into Chinese or some of the terms even did not have their Chinese translations.

Third, as the speaker mainly used his repertoire of languages for a communicative purpose, he did not mind using Chinese or English when interacting with the listener as far as both parties understand the meanings of all utterances; and

Fourth, it might be possible that the speaker desired to stress the Western identities of his friends by addressing their names and countries of origins in English because at the end of the conversation, he added an utterance that “we all speak English” (in Chinese).

In short, I had an impression that the within-turn CS used in Excerpt 9 performed a dual function of communicating thoughts between the speaker and listener and reflecting a cultural identity of being Westernized.

In the Excerpt 10, the within-turn CS was used for a communicative function, but it targeted at displaying other purposes.

Excerpt 10

S1 : (.) 在英文學校講英文，在中文學校講中文。有時我覺得同時用中英文幾 confusing, 只是對不同的人說不同的語言。

(I speak English at the English school and speak Chinese in the Chinese school. Sometimes, it's confusing to use English and Chinese at the same time. I will speak different languages to different people.)

The part of utterance that was code-switched into English was an adjective about the “confusing” feeling. This is a unit of intra-sentential and within-turn CS. The function of CS in this scenario is mainly for the speaker to communicating the information and feeling of “confusion” to the interlocutor within the interaction. In this case, CS could be used for exaggerating a meaning or people’s impression of something. It may be possible that the speaker could not find a relevant term in Chinese to express the same meaning.

In the following excerpt, the unit of language being code-switched is a verb.

Excerpt 11

S8 : (.) 有聽爸媽提過，要 respect 父母，老師，要跟姐妹好好地相處，對人要有禮貌。

(I heard my parents talk about that. We must respect our parents, teachers, and get along well with my sisters. We must be polite to others.)

In the above excerpt, the unit of CS is also an example of intra-sentential and within-turn CS. This practice of CS is for a communicative purpose as well because the speaker intended to tell the listener the action of “respecting parents.” This action was especially code-switched into English and it may be because the speaker could not find a relevant Chinese substitute for the action “respect,” or the speaker wished to stress the importance of respecting parents.

The examples of CS from Excerpts 9 to 12 are likewise concerned with the use of a single English word that was inserted into a Chinese utterance in each excerpt. These examples may also represent the most basic and simple form of intra-sentential CS under within-turn CS situations with reference to the data found in this dissertation. It seems the single-word CS is the simplest form of CS that could be easily found in most participants who code-switched in the present study.

Besides single words, within-turn CS may consist of a group of words, such as a noun group or a clause like in following excerpt:

Excerpt 12

S1 : I feel comfortable 用中文，已慣了用中文，在 Aberdeen Center 華人地區我就講中文，在 Coquitlam Center 西人地區我就講英文。
(I feel comfortable using Chinese. I'm accustomed to practicing Chinese. I use Chinese at a Chinese-dominated place like the Aberdeen Center. I use English at a place like the Coquitlam Center that is dominated by Westerners.)

In Excerpt 12, Aberdeen Center and Coquitlam Center are two noun groups that represent two proper nouns that function at passing information from the speaker to the listener. "I feel comfortable" is also a group of words and a part of an entire utterance but it does not convey to listeners factual information like "Aberdeen Center," instead, "I feel comfortable" serves the communicative function of sharing feeling between the speaker and the listener. All the within-group CS practices mentioned above are examples of intra-sentential and within-turn CS.

The co-existence of different types of intra-sentential CS, no matter they comprise single-word fragments or a group of words, stimulate us to think about the reasons that lead to their occurrence. For instance, is there any relationship between the educational

backgrounds of the speakers and the type of CS they produce? What are the speakers thinking when they are making different types of CS? These might be interesting topics for future investigations although they are not the objectives of this dissertation.

Most teacher participants made little within-turn CS and there were only a few examples like “Toronto” (Teacher 3), “Canadians” (Teacher 6) or “Cantonese” (Teacher 1). Since the number of examples is so small, it is impossible for me to draw a convincing pattern to explain the result. I only have the following opinions to describe the above phenomenon.

1. It is not common for teacher participants to practice within-turn CS.
2. The two units of within-turn CS are both one-word format (i.e., Toronto and Canadians).
3. The speakers delivered the words “Toronto” and “Canadians” in English although most of their utterances were made in Chinese.
4. These two units of within-turn CS are both intra-sentential and within-turn CS.
5. The speaker code-switched for a communicative purpose such as passing information to the listener (e.g., Toronto) or for sharing feeling (e.g., studying English is for the purpose of “enjoy”)
6. The within-turn CS can also be used to reflect the speaker’s cultural identity. For instance, Teacher 6 considered herself a “Canadian.” It is possible that the speaker used English to reflect her Canadian identity although the speaker spoke in Mandarin during most part of the interview with the researcher.

In short, most units of within-turn CS are short, delivering direct and precise meanings from the speakers to the listeners. It can be summarized that the within-turn CS

used during interviews across three groups of participants was mostly for the communicative purpose such as indicating the locations (e.g., Aberdeen Center and Coquitlam Center mentioned by Student 1), the name of a specific language (e.g., Mandarin mentioned Parent 3), people's English names (e.g., Alexander and Katetaina mentioned by Student 5) and expressing feelings (e.g. "gentle" mentioned by P5, "comfortable" and "confusing" by Student 1).

Generally speaking, in the interviews within the three groups of participants, the participants tended to use more within-turn CS than between-turns CS. The major content of the within-turn CS contains single words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and several noun groups. Within-turn CS was relatively more often used by the parent participants but used the least by the teacher participants. It is not easy to compare the patterns of CS between the teacher participants and those of the other groups because the teachers did not code-switch frequently during the interviews.

The patterns of CS demonstrated by the three groups of participants make us aware of *norms*—"a bilingual community will develop several varieties of language, each with its own domains of use of norms of correctness" (Grosjean 2001, p. 330) and "all of the varieties within each group have their own norms" (p. 331). Members of each bilingual group will interact with other group members and gradually build their own norms of correctness in the use of languages.

Like the roles and positions taken by teachers, teachers are likely to be aware of their use of languages because they shoulder the role of teaching their students. If the position of a teacher in the classroom is high, his or her students will usually consider him or her their model. Some scholars put forth the concept of low-status and high status staff

in the school to illustrate the position of teaching staff in school settings (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2001). In short, the concept of the *language of authority* is used to explain the situation under which certain languages are more powerful than the others. Although *neutrality* (not emphasizing authority) in teachers is advocated by other scholars (Warnock, 1996), it seems there is evidence for both concepts in the classrooms.

Williams (1995) advised us to beware of the effect that the language of authority has on social experience such as recuperation, bereavement, improvement or occupational development and plunge into the core issues of the “individual and group alienation in situ so to speak, whether by reaction to historical events, such as exile or political pressure to conform, or contemporaneously by reaction to enforced captivity” (p. 70). In the classroom, the teachers certainly have the language of authority to influence their students. In this dissertation, the teachers always encouraged their students to speak more Chinese in the classroom or even at home. The teachers themselves spoke a lot of Mandarin, setting a role model for the students and, to a certain extent, exhibiting their authority of language to their students.

In short, the following factors might be used to explain the occurrence of between-turns CS or within-turn CS among the participants of the present study. The first factor is the English proficiency of the speakers. The higher the English proficiency of the speakers is, the greater the possibility for the speaker to produce between-turns CS will be. When making between-turns CS, speakers tend to produce more entire English utterances or longer English utterances that require the speaker to be more aware of the accuracy of the sentence structure, use of grammar, choice of words, and so on. It is logical for the student

participants to create more between-turns CS as they were socialized and educated in an Anglophone community.

The second factor may be the ease of retrieving a piece of information that is habitually used in its original language. During the interviews with participants, within-turn CS was often used for indicating proper nouns such as the name of a place (e.g., Coquitlam Center), the name of a person (e.g., Alexander), and the name of a province (e.g., Toronto). Those terms have been so commonly used in daily life that it is time-consuming and unnatural to translate them into Chinese in conversation.

The third factor is that the teacher participants might have a keener mission to transfer the Chinese language and culture to the next generation, and demonstrated this mission during the interviews with the researcher.

For the parent participants, they did not have the mission of transferring the Chinese language and culture to the next generation, and code-switched at the moment they felt comfortable. As their socioeconomic backgrounds were quite varied and the patterns of CS exhibited by them was also widely different. For the student participants who were mostly brought up in Canada, just code-switched or simply answered the researcher's questions in English.

Manifestation of Identity

Out of the eight parent participants, none of them agreed that language was likely to be used to reflect people's identity. Betty (Parent 2) clearly expressed that language could not be used to reflect a person's identity thinking that language was mainly used for communicating thoughts and feelings. Siu (Parent 8) considered that the use of Chinese at home was only a kind of habit and she did not intentionally use it to reflect her identity.

Amy (Parent 5) said that liking and using a language were two different things. Language was mainly used for sharing ideas and to a certain extent for accomplishing academic research. She would use either Chinese or English to converse with others without considering about the reflection of her identity. Chien (Parent 1) had his unique opinions regarding the use of language for reflecting cultural identity.

Excerpt 13

P1：在家中講中文不是反映身份，是反映民族特徵，反映來源地，如果說反映身份，就太民族主義和強調歷史身份，不可以太強調民族身份。

(The speaking of Chinese at home is not for reflecting a person's identity but for reflecting the characteristic of an ethnic group and where these people came from. The saying that a language is used for reflecting the identity of people is racist and too emphatic on people's historic identity that should not be stressed.)

It seems Chien challenged the idea that language can be used for reflecting people's cultural identity. This parent having this opinion on cultural identity may be due to the following reasons.

First, it is the parent's personal opinion that we should not stress our cultural identities as he thought this sort of thinking to be "racist". People of the same ethnic background or are brought up in the same place may likewise have different thoughts and behaviors due to individual differences (Berger, 1998).

Second, this parent was brought up in Hong Kong that had been a British colony for over 100 years. It can be speculated that some people who grow up in Hong Kong may be not so interested in pursuing their cultural identities as they wonder if they consider themselves as "English subjects" or "Chinese people" in the past. Some people may have

formed multiple identities and some people simply avoided thinking about their cultural identities. Even after 1997 when the sovereignty of Hong Kong was returned to China, people of Hong Kong still retained a cultural distance with China, while they attempted to build a new dual Hong Kong-China identity (Fung, 2004).

In sum, most parents consented that language was chiefly for communicating thoughts or feelings but were not aware that they were displaying their cultural identity to others.

In regard to the reflection of identity with language, parents held different opinions. No parent absolutely said that language was not useful in reflecting people's identity. Tracy (Teacher 4) thought that students were too young to understand the concept of cultural identity and perceived that it was needless to use language to reflect their identity. She believed that people need a certain amount of maturity to understand the meaning of identity. Helen (Teacher 5) considered that certain students did not like speaking Chinese in front of others because they would mind disclosing their Chinese identity in front of other people. Helen was the first adult who mentioned the significance of a language in reflecting the cultural identity of the speaker, but in the opposite way—how a person to be embarrassed by disclosing his or her cultural background when speaking his or her heritage language.

Chui (Teacher 7) expressed her unique opinions about manifestation of identity with language in Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14

T7 : (.)我覺得在中國長大的孩子比較喜歡用中文來表達自己的身份，如果在本地出生的中國人就喜歡用英文。

(I feel that children who were born in China are more likely to use Chinese to reflect their identity. Those Chinese who were born here are more likely to use English to reflect their identity.)

Chui's thinking was different from those of other adult participants in the way she acknowledged the significance of language in reflecting people's identity, but we may use different languages to display people's identity without perceiving that people should use the language of their ethnic group to reflect their cultural identity. She considered that students who were brought up in different places may have different ways to manifest their identities. This parent emphasized the relationship between the up-bringing of a child and his or her cultural identity. Those who were brought up in China would like to use Chinese to reflect their identity, whereas those who were brought up in Canada would use English to express their identity. This teacher's opinions provide us with the following implications:

- (1) There is a close relationship between the language used by a speaker and the way the speaker forms his or her identity.
- (2) It is not necessary for an individual to use his or her ethnic language to reflect his or her cultural identity.
- (3) The formation of the individual's cultural identity is greatly affected by the environment where the individual is brought up and the situation of interaction (time/place/interlocutors/communicative intent etc).
- (4) An individual has the autonomy to choose the type of language to display his or her cultural identity.

This teacher's idea accords with Vygotskian concept that "the environment does not always affect man directly and straight-forwardly, but also indirectly, through his ideology" and the man's conditional reflexes are "determined by those environmental influences that

reach him from outside” (Vygotsky, 1997/1926, p. 211). In addition, a *shift* of language may appear when people of a minority group might change “to the language of the dominant group” for purposes of economic opportunity, socioeconomic mobility or prestige (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 37).

Vicky’s (Teacher 8) opinions on the formation of identity were completely different from those mentioned by the previous teacher. She disagreed with the idea that language had a close relationship with the reflection of a person’s identity. She expressed her unique opinions in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 15

T8：我個人不同意語言是反映身分這說法，人人平等，每種語言也是平等，語言不應該用來反映某一種身份，語言不應該有高低之分的感覺。
(笑)

(I personally disagree with the saying that language is used for reflecting people’s identity. All people are equal and every language is also equal to the others. Language should not be used to reflect a certain identity and language has not any ranking in itself.)

This teacher conveyed to us several messages:

- (1) She thought there is not any relationship between language spoken by a person and the cultural identity he or she forms.
- (2) She considered when people use a language to reflect their identity, they have put a rank or status to the language and this is what she would not be willing to see.
- (3) She believed all people are equal and all language are also equal.

This teacher could feel the influential power delivered by a language (Myers-Scotton, 2002), but she perceived it from a “negative” perspective, that is, by using language to reflect a person’s identity, inequality between people might occur. Whenever there is power, there will be imbalance of power. The language with a weaker power is

likely to be overpowered by the language with a stronger power. On the contrary, Myers-Scotton interpreted the power of language from a constructive perspective thinking that the practice of language may bring prestige that “contains power and charm” (p. 36) to the speakers. Prestige means “at first the performance of a magician; in its wider meaning the term connotes them mirage of power” (p. 36).

The student participants held varied opinions on the relationship between the use of language and reflection of identity. For example, Kam (Student 8) had clearly showed his Chinese identity in front of a group of Korean classmates by joking that “Chinese are better than Koreans.” In this case, Kam had used English to reflect his Chinese identity at school because English is the major or only language used in the regular school and his Korean classmates do not understand Chinese. Therefore, CS is necessary in some cases because if we do not code-switch, the interlocutors will not understand the meaning of the speaker’s utterances. Under this situation, the use of CS was mainly for the communicative purpose but not for the identity-reflective purpose.

Other student participants such as Cathy (Student 3) were also clear of her identity by saying, “I’m a Taiwanese-Canadian. I feel comfortable and proud of my Chinese identity.” Again, this student expressed her Chinese identity in English when talking to the researcher. However, in this case, this student still spoke to me in English although both of us could understand and converse in Mandarin. Therefore, I speculated that she felt comfortable conversing with others in English or she thought she could express herself more effectively in English. This example likewise shows us that it is not necessary to use the ethnic language of a speaker to demonstrate the cultural identity of the speaker.

Another student, Stephanie (Student 7) used language to display the group identity like the example described in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 16

S7 : (...) 我的朋友當中，不是班班朋友都會說廣東話的，有些中國的朋友說中文，有些中國的朋友不會說中文，語言可以把我們分 group, 不過，我 lunch time 的時候多是跟中國的朋友玩。

(Among my friends, not many of them can speak Cantonese. Some of my Chinese friends can speak Chinese but some of them cannot. Language can divide us into groups. However, I usually play with Chinese friends during lunch time.)

This student's reply leads us to think about the following points.

First, Chinese-Canadians mainly speak two types of Chinese languages—Cantonese and Mandarin. Will Mandarin-speakers and Cantonese-speakers display differing CS patterns?

Second, languages are used to differentiate people into different groups. Will they manifest different cultural identities when interacting with others in different sub-groups? In other words, people may possess a combined cultural identity, or a range of cultural identities under various situations. What are the factors that trigger these variations?

With reference to the opinions of this student, languages were used for reflecting people's in-group identity. With an in-group identity, the group members may inculcate in themselves a deeper sense of belonging. In this case, the use of languages serves the identity-reflective purpose. The use of language is similar to the practice of "inside-jokes" by Cathy (Student 3) for putting people into various groups although these two students used different Chinese languages (i.e., Cantonese and Mandarin).

On the other hand, certain student participants clearly stated that language could not be used to reflect people identity. Kevin (Student 4) expressed his point of view in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 17

S4 : [↑ I don't think language can reflect the identity of a person. Language can't reflect personality or identity. For example, some foreigners also speak Chinese. Do they reflect a Chinese identity? (laugh)

The previous discussions focused on how Chinese-Canadians used Chinese and English to reflect their cultural identity. How would Chinese people think if non-Chinese people speak Chinese with them? What sort of identity do these non-Chinese people convey to the listeners when they speak in Chinese? Do they necessarily display a Chinese cultural identity or can they use the Chinese language to reflect a non-Chinese culture? Therefore, language can serve a communicative or identity-reflective purpose or both purposes at the same time. It is advisable for us to jump beyond all possibilities strung together to give plausible conception that describes a fuller picture of the relationship between the language used by speakers and the type of cultural identities reflected by them.

David (Student 5) similarly supported that language cannot be used to reflect the speakers' identity by stating his viewpoint in Excerpt 18.

Excerpt 18

S5 : 就我所接觸的，我不覺得有這樣的情況出現，人們不會刻意地使用某種語言目的是為了表達個人的身份。
(Referring to what I have come across, I don't feel that people will intentionally use a certain language to reflect their identities.)

What Student 5 was concerned with is when and how a person's identity is delivered to the others, but not about what type of identity is presented. He believed people will exhibit their identity unintentionally and naturally without their own self-awareness. That is, sometimes they are not aware of what they have said or behaved but have actually given clues to others about their cultural identities. This is an insight showing that sometimes people's self-perception of their thoughts and behaviors may not be necessarily identical to the manifestation of their actual behaviors or others' perception of their behavior.

Drawing on this possibility, I designed the research methods in such a way that I gathered information from participants' self-reports (e.g., interviews) and from observers' reports (e.g., observations). The comparison of data obtained from both sources may uncover information to tell whether any discrepancy exists between how the participants perceived their own behaviors and how others viewed their behaviors.

Instead of declaring one's identity in a dichotomous way, Joanna (Student 6) said, "I think I'm not either Chinese or English. I'm in the middle of both identities." Young people often show ambivalence in the process of establishing their identity in a multilingual or multicultural environment because "if monolingual speakers find bilingualism a strange animal, bilingual speakers in their turn find it difficult to comprehend extensive multilingualism" (Jones & Ghuman, 1995, p. 9). Bilinguals often face confusion when locating themselves in a bicultural or multicultural society.

In Canada where English and French are the official languages, it is not easy for a young Chinese-Canadian to form her identity with her heritage language. The opinion of

Student 6 suggested that a Chinese-Canadian may possibly display the following types of identity:

- (1) Mainly Canadian—The dominant culture is reflected.
- (2) Mainly Chinese—The ethnic culture is reflected.
- (3) Half Canadian and half Chinese—Both the dominant and ethnic cultures have exerted similar amounts of impact on the person. This person possesses a dual identity.
- (4) More Canadian and less Chinese—The dominant culture is more powerful in affecting the person, but the person does not totally get rid of his or her ethnic culture.
- (5) More Chinese and less Canadian—The ethnic culture of a person is more powerful in affecting the person but the person is also influenced by the dominant culture.
- (6) A new identity—A person develops a new identity that is different from the dominant or ethnic culture.
- (7) Unstable reflections of individual identities—The person reflects the identity of the dominant culture in some occasions but displays his or her ethnic identity in other occasions, that is, the choice of identity depending on the settings, situations, interlocutors, subjects of interactions and many other factors.
- (8) Unstable combinations of both identities—The person displays a combined identity of both cultures but the proportions of both cultures are not stable. Under some situations, the portion of the dominant culture will be larger, whereas the share of the ethnic culture will be greater under other situations depending on the changes in the environment.

(9) No cultural identity—The person is not willing to build his or her identity with reference to any culture considering oneself to be a member of the universe.

When talking about the use of language and identity, David (Student 5) told me, “It’s embarrassing to speak Chinese in the school.” Both Joanna and David, like many minority youths, indicated their tendency to “desire assimilation into the dominant culture when they are young” (Kanno, 2003, p. 126). Such young people might be ashamed of their biological characteristics (e.g., colors of skin and eyes) and their lower proficiency in using the dominant language. David even commented on the English accents spoken by Chinese people as he expressed his opinions in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 19

S5 : 在這裡很多中國人說英文，但是他們是的都有口音，給人的感覺是文化水平比較低一點，如果說英國口音的，他的文化水平好像是高一點。我覺得有英國口音的英語比較容易融入本地的社會。(笑)
(There are many Chinese people who speak English here, but their English has accent giving others an impression their cultural level is lower than that of others. If their English has British accent, others may feel that their cultural level is higher. I feel that those who speak English with British accent can integrate into the local society more easily. [laugh])

David (S5) directly associated the social status of a person by measuring the accent of English a person possesses. This phenomenon shows that people are likely to compare the values and powers between the dominant language and heritage language.

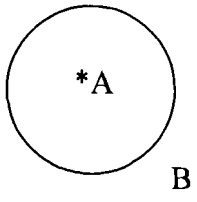
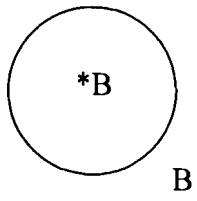
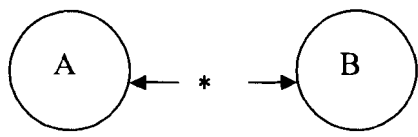
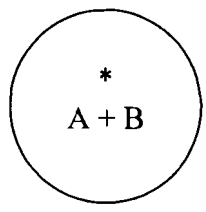
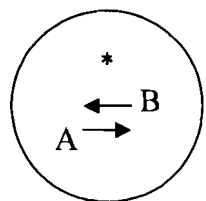
Kanno (2003) contended that minority youths may have various patterns of assimilation or adaptation when interacting with others in the dominant culture. David’s opinion can also be explained by using Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990) and a hierarchy of power (Hey 2005). Bourdieu (1990) claimed that the cultural context is built in relation to the social origins of an individual and his intellectual training.

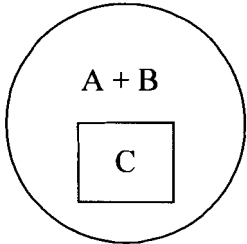
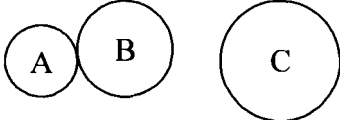
Intellectuals occupy the dominant class holding “the power and privilege conferred by the possession of cultural capital” (p. 145). This kind of power “exercises an influence over the literary field” and value the use of language (p. 144). As a result, people who can use the dominant language are thought to be located at a higher class than those who cannot speak it. With reference to David’s opinions, people who speak the dominant language with a recognizable non-Canadian accent are thought to be inferior to those who can speak it fluently.

Hey (2005) believed people construct a hierarchy of power through the social logics of the individual which is conceived as a “thoroughly social subject marking the ‘individual’ through and by social dispositions that carry the force of the wider social hierarchy of power” through the effects of the “discourse and practices of individualization” (Hey, 2005, p. 856).

The opinions provided by the above students have given useful information for building up the platform on which different models of identity formation may be created like the following examples:

Figure 4 Different Models of Identity Formation

No.	Model (* an individual)	Description
1		<p>Suppose that A is the ethnic culture of a person who uses his or her heritage language to express his or her identity although he or she is living within the dominant culture B. For example, Cindy (Parent 3) stated that her children like learning Chinese and showing that they are Chinese.</p>
2		<p>Suppose that B is the dominant culture the person is facing and he or she uses the dominant language to express his or her cultural identity. For example, whenever Ruth (Parent 6) mentioned to her children that "we are Chinese," her child replied her, "I'm Canadian."</p>
3		<p>The person is standing in the middle of the two cultures and establishes his or her identity there. For example, Joanna (Student 6) told me that "I think I'm not either Chinese or English. I'm in the middle."</p>
4		<p>The person lives in an environment where the cultures of A and B interact with each other and the person reflects his or her identity with either one of the languages or cultures. For example, David (Student 5) expressed that he would not intentionally speak a certain language to reflect his identity. He would probably speak Chinese with Chinese friends and speak English with English speakers.</p>
5		<p>The person interchangeably uses the language of A or B to reflect his or her identity. For example, Cathy (Student 3) used English to demonstrate her Chinese background.</p>

No.	Model (* an individual)	Description
6		<p>The person lives in an environment where he or she integrates the cultures of A and B and creates a new identity C inside this environment. The characteristics of C may be completely different from those of A and B although they directly interact with one another. For example, Vicky (Teacher 8) disagreed to use language for reflecting a person's identity and did not consider that her identity was formed in association with the cultures around her. Her identity C was different from the cultures of A or B although she was exposing herself to the influences of these two cultures.</p>
7	<p style="text-align: center;">The Universe</p> 	<p>Although the person considers himself or herself living in a global environment, the person separates himself or herself with the culture where the person is located. The person tries to build his or her identity C with reference to one's relationship with the universe. According to the concepts of Confucius, humans are located at a "many-faceted world" and ruled by "non-activity" (Kelen, 1992), and the idea of this world and the world beyond the present world (Weiming, 1992).</p>

The above discussions provide useful information on how the participants formed their cultural identity and on how they related their use of language to the formation of their cultural identity. To put it succinctly, people's identity is dynamic and subject to change (Martin & Sugarman, 2001) and people may display or hold multiple identities (Pavlenko, 2003; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004).

Status of Different Languages in Vancouver

According to certain scholars' opinions (e.g. Milroy & Milroy, 2003), there is no such thing as good or bad in language and all forms of language are in principle equal.

However, some people are likely to possess some sort of prestige or charm (Myers-Scotton, 2002) with their language use. In the present study, I also investigated how the participants perceived the statuses of the languages they used.

The participants hold different opinions regarding statuses of languages used in Vancouver. First, languages were thought of having the same value in Excerpt 20.

Excerpt 20

S8：我覺得在大溫地區，兩種語言的地位都是一樣，其實我們用那一種語言是視乎我們的族裔，和我們慣用那一種語言，我沒有想到地位的問題。

(I feel that the two languages [English and Chinese] are of the same status. In fact, we use a certain language depending on our ethnic background and how we are accustomed to using a specific language. I don't think it's concerned with the status of a language.)

Kam (Student 8) supported that all languages are equal and of the same status.

Certain participants thought that the dominant language, English possessed a higher status than the minority language, Chinese. This point was generally agreed by several participants of the present study due to various reasons. For example, Chien (Parent 1) and Amy (Parent 5) thought that English is a global language that cannot be surpassed by Chinese for the time being. Betty (Parent 2) considered English the official language of Canada, and Tracy (Teacher 4) suggested that English is more popular than Chinese among young Chinese-Canadians because English is easier to learn.

However, several participants attained a mutual understanding that Chinese has become increasingly important in Canada. Li (Teacher 1) stressed the importance of Chinese in Canada in Excerpt 21:

Excerpt 21

T1 : (.) 大溫地區越來越多人學中文，聽到學生講他們在 regular 班中也有學中文，有 D 學生學中文是應家長的要求，亦越來越多人學普通話，因為大陸的影響力越來越大，中國是加拿大第二大的貿易國，經濟的關係很緊密。

(.) (In Greater Vancouver, there are more and more people who learn Chinese. I heard from students that they even learn Chinese in regular schools. Some students learn Chinese according to the requirement of their parents. More students are learning Putonghua [Mandarin] because of the greater and greater influence radiated from China which is the second largest trading partner of Canada. A close economic relationship exists between these two countries.)

Li valued Chinese with reference to the economic power of the country, China. If people want to build up business relationship with partners in China, they need to learn Chinese. In addition, Chinese becomes more important in recent days because it has been widely used in the world like English (Parent 1). Amy (Parent 5) also agreed that Chinese is important as many Chinese people are scattered at different parts of the world and they still use Chinese in their daily life. She stressed that an increasing number of non-Chinese are learning Chinese nowadays. Siu (Parent 8) said that Chinese is important to us because it helps people to find jobs in Vancouver where there is a concentration of Chinese people.

Susan (Parent 7) mentioned a number of examples showing that Chinese becomes important in the daily life of Vancouver in Excerpt 22:

Excerpt 22

P7 : 英文是官式的語文，始終是排第一位，不過中文的地位真的越來越高，你看在 bank, library 同 park，都看到中文的標語同指示牌。又譬如，District Test 的 Information 都有 Chinese，題目還是用英文印，但是讓家長看的部份就有中文。

(English is the official language and therefore its status ranks first. However, the status of Chinese becomes higher and higher. When we go to the bank, library and park, we may see many Chinese signs or indications. For instance, the

information on the District Test is printed in Chinese although the questions are still printed in English. There is a section printed in Chinese for parents to read.)

Susan assessed the value of a language with reference to its acceptance by people of the mainstream especially in official sectors and the high frequency of its appearance in daily life situations.

Throughout all the interviews, I could not find sufficient evidence to show that Chinese is more important than English in Vancouver. However, there is also no obvious evidence indicating that the participants constructed their identity with English as many of them declared that they were proud of their Chinese heritage. It can be said that there is no close relationship between how the participants formed their cultural identity and how they valued the status of languages with reference to participants' opinions.

CS between Mandarin and Cantonese

In Vancouver, two Chinese languages are similarly popular—Mandarin and Cantonese. Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants are mainly from Hong Kong and from the southern part of China such as Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants are mainly from Mainland China and Taiwan.

In 1996, 29,988 Chinese immigrants moved to Canada from Hong Kong and 17,533 Chinese immigrants from Mainland China and 13,225 from Taiwan (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). The total number of Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants was quite similar to the total number of Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants in 1996. However, the situation changed in 2005 as 42,291 Chinese immigrants from Mainland China, 3,092 from Taiwan and 1,784 from Hong Kong (Citizenship and Immigration

Canada, 2005). These numbers unveil the fact that the number of Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants has greatly exceeded that of Cantonese-speaking immigrant recently.

The Cantonese-speakers from China, such as Guangzhou are usually capable of speaking fluent Mandarin because Mandarin is the only language used in schools in mainland China. As a result, Chinese immigrants who speak Cantonese at home are usually able to code-switch between Cantonese and Mandarin. Some immigrants from Hong Kong also possess the ability to code-switch between Mandarin and Cantonese because all people in Hong Kong are required to study Mandarin as a subject in regular schools although Mandarin is not a teaching medium there. Those immigrants from the middle or northern part of mainland China may not be able to code-switch between Mandarin and Cantonese if they did not have the opportunity to learn Cantonese before.

In the present study, several student participants could code-switch between Mandarin and Cantonese (e.g., Students 1 & 8) because their first language is Cantonese and they are learning Mandarin in the Chinese schools. The Mandarin-speaking students normally could not code-switch between these two Chinese languages because Mandarin-speaking students seldom learn Cantonese in Chinese schools. For teacher participants, two of them (i.e., Teachers 2 & 4) could code-switch between Mandarin and Cantonese because they were brought up in Guangzhou, a southern city in mainland China. For the parent participant, only Parent 6 who came from Mainland China could master both Mandarin and Cantonese.

From the data collected from interviews, it was found that no participants concurrently used both Cantonese and Mandarin during the interviews although some of them were able to master both Chinese languages. Although I was able to speak both

Mandarin and Cantonese, I only used either one Chinese language but encouraged the participants to use the Chinese language they felt comfortable in expressing their opinions.

It is understandable that CS between Cantonese and Mandarin was not common among teacher participants because the school administrators usually employed native speakers of a Chinese language to teach a Chinese course. The Chinese teachers were usually reserved to speak the Chinese language that was not supposed to teach in the lessons and they were also uncomfortable to speak in the Chinese language that they were incapable of mastering in front of their students. Therefore, CS between Mandarin and Cantonese was absent during all class observations.

During home observation, participants were inclined to only use the Chinese language that was often used at home. CS between two different Chinese languages could not be found during all home observations. This result is logical because the participants may not know the other Chinese language. Even though they knew another Chinese language, the other family members may not understand it.

Although CS between Cantonese and Mandarin was not common during the process of data collection of this dissertation, it does not necessarily imply that this phenomenon is absent in other sectors of people's social life such as in the shopping malls, restaurants or other public areas.

Influences of Confucianism

Half of the students did not know anything about Confucianism while half of them heard their parents mention it before. Some students had positive impression on it. Lok (Student 1) said her parents directly told her the concepts of Confucianism that taught her to greet others politely and treat others as they treat themselves. To him, the core of

Confucianism was to treat others nicely and be friendly to others. Cathy (Student 3) said her understanding about Confucianism mainly came from her parents and they taught her to get along with others peacefully and respect others trying to maintain a harmonious relationship with them. David (Student 5) thought that the concepts of Confucianism still existed among Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver although these concepts were not popular nowadays. According to his understanding, Confucianism meant being courteous, fair and respectful to others. He believed there was a close relationship between Confucianism and the Chinese culture because the two of them were interlocking each other.

From the teachers' point of view, Cheng (Teacher 2) thought that the concepts of Confucianism was not widespread among her students in the Chinese school, so she had to teach them these concepts in the class intentionally. Through her opinions revealed in the following excerpt, we may have a glimpse of how some Chinese people may perceive Confucianism.

Excerpt 23

T1 : (3) 學生中的儒家思想已不多，所以我要教他們禮貌。跟別人打招呼，在 Mall 見到熟朋友要打招呼，要教他們禮義廉恥，德智體群美，但我體諒他們不可能學這麼多的東西，慢慢教他們，例如下課時要他們說 Bye-bye。

(Among our students, the thinking of Confucianism is not popular, so we have to teach them to be polite. When we meet friends in the mass, we have to greet them. We need to teach them to have courtesy, loyalty, honesty and prestige, and also teach them to strengthen themselves in the moral, intellectual, physical, social and artistic aspects. However, I understand that they may not be able to learn so many things and therefore we have to teach them slowly. For example, at the end of the class we have to say bye-bye to others.)

From the opinions of Teacher 2, we may draw the following understanding about Confucianism:

- (1) The concepts of Confucianism are not popular among Chinese-Canadians in Canada.
- (2) Confucianism is teachable and people should teach their youngsters its concepts.
- (3) Confucianism comprises the following themes such as being courteous, loyal, honest and prestigious, and having emphasis on the moral, intellectual, physical, social and artistic aspects of human development.
- (4) To manifest the concept of Confucianism, Teacher 2 gave the example of greeting others and saying good-bye to others.

Fang (Teacher 3) claimed that students might possess the concepts of Confucianism of varying degrees. For example, the more mature the students were, the higher the degree of understanding about Confucianism they would possess. Those students who were brought up in Asian countries would at the same time hold a deeper understanding of Confucianism. Tracy (Teacher 4) thought that students who grew up in Canada usually had a lower degree of acceptance of Confucianism because they were not familiar with its concepts.

From the point of view of the parent participants, Amy (Parent 5) might represent some parents' opinions. She considered Confucianism imposes positive effects on the life of Chinese people in Canada because it teaches people to be gentle, elegant, hard-working and moderate. Its beliefs have a long history and it has been percolating in the life of Chinese people for thousands of years. Being moderate helps people cooperate with others and complete tasks smoothly.

On the other hand, there are also negative comments about Confucianism. Susan (Parent 7) considered that the concepts of Confucianism were part of family education in Chinese people. She thought these concepts were not welcomed by children in Canada

where everybody asked for equality and fairness and would not sacrifice personal benefits for the sake of collectives. In her understanding, being courteous meant submissive and people holding this type of personality were likely to be manipulated and taken advantage by others. She thought that the teaching methods and values between the East and the West were completely different and therefore Confucianism was ignored in the local community.

Sharp criticism on Confucianism came from Vicky (Teacher 8) who confronted the ideas of Confucianism in Excerpt 24:

Excerpt 24

T8 : (2) 孔子思想我本人也不太清楚，是不是灌輸思想，強逼孩子學習，和重視教育的？我覺得在加拿大讀書很自由，只要用功讀書便一定有機會，不同香港，很難考大學，考不到大學就沒有機會繼續讀書。在加拿大隨時讀書都可以，總有機會，成人工作一段時間後再讀書也可以，任何人到有發展的機會。(笑)

(1) (I am not very sure about the thoughts of Confucianism. Is it about changing the mindsets of young children, forcing them to learn and stressing education? I think the education in Canada is very free. If we try our best to study, we must have the opportunity. This is different from the situation in Hong Kong where it is difficult to be admitted by the universities. If we are unable to successfully apply for a university there, there is no chance to further our study. In Canada, we have plenty of opportunity to study and even for adults, they may return to the school after having worked for a period of time. Every person has the opportunity to develop here.)

Vicky fostered in herself a negative feeling against Confucianism in the following ways.

1. She considered Confucianism a mechanism that forced children to learn.
2. Confucianism is also able to brainwash the minds of young people.
3. she described the situation in Vancouver as free and hinted that the situation of Hong Kong (this is her original country) was not so free.

4. she used the education opportunity to illustrate her opinions thinking that in Canada, there was plenty of education opportunity and whenever people desired to learn, they would get the chance. However, the case in Hong Kong was different. The competition was so keen that it was not easy to be admitted to a university there.

It seems that Vicky mixed up the concepts of Confucianism with the education systems in Hong Kong and Canada. However, I would like to point out that the education system was designed by the British colonial government and adopted a Western administrative model in education. The teacher's perception on Confucianism may originate from the fact that some Confucian concepts advocate obedience to collective goals (e.g., parental, parental and social goals) that might discourage the autonomous development of individual goals. In addition, Confucianism proposes an interlocking hierarchy among people of different layers that all people have to follow (Lao, 2000). She felt that the spread of Confucianism hampered young people's freedom to think, behave and receive education within this tight hierarchy.

Betty (Parent 2) stated that she could not find Confucianism among children in Canada because people in Canada advocated fairness and equity. The concepts of Confucianism created a hierarchy among people. This kind of thinking is similar to that of Teacher 8 discussed previously. Vicky and Betty spoke Cantonese and came from Hong Kong. They made critical judgment against Confucianism that could not be found in participants coming from Mainland China and Taiwan. This might be an individual incident because the number of adult participants in this study is small and it is difficult to draw any generalization.

By comparing the interpretations of Confucianism across participants of different groups, we may be aware of certain participants' agreed that Confucianism encouraged people to lead harmonious life with others and to be courteous and polite to others. Its emphasis on human relationship represents part of the value system of Chinese people that is consistent to the theory of collectivism advocated by Triandis (1995). Certain participants (e.g., Tracy) had equalized the characteristics of being self-centered and the pursuit for personal rights to be non-Confucian and these characteristics are some of the common features of individualism that is the opposite of collectivism in Triandis's theories.

When relating Confucianism and the formation of identity, most participants agreed that it imposed a certain degree of influence in the way they built up their identity although the degree varied from person to person. Cheng (Teacher 1) in the second interview mentioned that there was a close connection between Confucianism and the identity of Chinese people by saying that:

Excerpt 25

T1：儒家思想與身份的建立有很大的關係，在北美洲人們崇尚自由，西方社會留意禮貌，但不留意人與人之間的關懷，不懂得體諒別人。

(There is a close relationship between Confucianism and the construction of identity. In North America, people pursue freedom. Although the Western world emphasizes courtesy, they are not aware of human relationship and being considerate to others.)

Cheng's argument was that Chinese people are likely to build up their identity through a special emphasis on the human relationship as an important element of Confucianism, something not valued in the Western world. This teacher considered Westerners are courteous on the surface because a lot of them are highly educated through the proper education system and know how they should behave in the public life. However,

their individualistic character will lead them to concentrate on pursuing their personal goals, interests and benefits through competing with others. In the eyes of this teacher, these competitive qualities are damaging to human relationships and inconsiderate to others' needs.

Most participants in this dissertation had different interpretations regarding the concepts of Confucianism but mostly claimed that it had, to a certain extent, affected the way they formed their identity. This phenomenon is reconciled with Weiming et al's (1992) viewpoint that some Chinese people tend to attribute their thoughts and behaviors to Confucian concepts even though they do not completely accept or understand those concepts because by so doing, they are able to "foster the illusion of cultural unity" (p. 9). This kind of unity establishes a state of distinctiveness separating groups of people. The in-group members have the feeling that they are special and proud of their uniqueness (Brock & Telasiewicz, 1985).

Some participants in the present study held contradictory opinions on linking their identity to Confucianism. These variations may be due to individual differences; that is, people of the same ethnic groups might have varied opinions of the same thing (Berger, 1998). The variation may be because the "notions of Chineseness are rapidly becoming more fuzzy, as cultural and national identities are called into question" (Hodge & Louie, 1998, p. 1). In a multicultural city such as Vancouver, no wonder people of bi- or multi-cultural backgrounds may be confused during the process of identity formation in the presence of heritage and dominant cultures.

Purpose of Using English—Was there any Canadian Identity in Participants?

It is suggested that “ethnic groups within a modern nation-state, given opportunity and incentive, typically shift to the language of the dominant group” (p. 37). It is also a sub-goal of this paper to investigate whether or not the participants formed a new identity when living in a Western society. If it was really formed, it was meaningful to explore how and why it existed.

With reference to the data obtained from interviews, most adult participants expressed a clear attachment with their Chinese cultural identity. They directly manifested their Chinese ethnic background no matter what languages they used in presenting this idea. Across all the student participants, all of them acknowledged their Chinese cultural identity except Student 6 who said she was neither Chinese or Canadian, but located somewhere in the middle.

For the purpose of using English, most student participants declared that they used English for interacting with others in the schools or in the community (e.g., Students 6 & 7). Teacher 7 likewise agreed that she practiced English in the class in order to communicate with her students. Parent 2 similarly used English to converse with others in her work place. In short, English played an important role in helping participants interact with others in their social life.

Student 7 suggested a useful function of English—she played English video games. Strictly speaking, it can be said that she used English for an entertaining purpose that seems to be a new function in this dissertation. In Canada, it is common for young people to watch English TV and listen to English songs and radio programs.

Parent 7 considered that English is a powerful language in the world in Excerpt 26:

Excerpt 26

P 7 : (2) 我喜歡他繼續學中文，中國外化源遠流長，歷史悠久，有很深的內，中文是優秀的語言，可惜在國際反面不及英文流行，如果海外的華人比較強，中文的流通便比較廣。

(2) I like my child to continue to learn Chinese because the Chinese culture has a long history and its content is very profound. The Chinese language is very outstanding as well although it is not so popular as English in the world. If Chinese people in overseas are more powerful, then the Chinese language will be more popular.)

This parent viewed the power of language from a global perspective and hooked the power of a language with its popularity in the world, that is, she was not assessing the value of English and Chinese in Canada, but their values from the international perspective. She thought her child should learn English because it is powerful universally. She even said that “英文是 No. 1.” (English is No. 1.) This parent could only speak limited English.

Nevertheless, she thought the proficiency in English gave her pride and power and she was willing to relate her identity to English although she still emphasized her Chinese cultural identity. This parent’s opinions lead us to think about the following questions.

- (1) Can a Chinese-Canadian who is not proficient in English use Chinese to reflect his or her Canadian identity?
- (2) Is there any rule that restricts the way people reflect their cultural identity? If there is such a rule, who is eligible to set it? Besides language, are there other channels that help people manifest their cultural identity?
- (3) Will it be possible that a person who has an open identity that he or she manifests in the public, but at the same time this person possesses a private identity with or without the person’s self-awareness?

The discussions provoked by this participant in some way can be associated with the argument that if it is necessary for a person to use the heritage language to reflect his or her cultural identity. Another point that also deserves our attention is the discrepancy in how the participants perceived themselves and how other people perceived the participants. Is the way the participants perceived their cultural identity the same as the way how others perceived their cultural identity?

Across all student participants, seven out of eight of them clearly expressed their Chinese cultural identity when talking with me. However, when I discussed this point with a parent participant, she expressed her unique opinions as in Excerpt 27:

Excerpt 27

P7 : [↑ 她說自己的身份一半是中國人，一半是 Canadian, 她父母是中國人，她有中國人的血統，如果別人說她是中國人，她不會覺得不舒服，如果別人說他是 banana, 她都沒有感覺，我從少就告訴她，在美國出生的叫 ABA (American Born Chinese), 在加拿大出生的叫 CBC (Canadian Born Chinese), 她很自然地接受這種說法。

(She [the child] said she is half Chinese and half Canadian. Although her parents are Chinese and she is of the Chinese descent, she would feel uncomfortable when the others mention to her that she is Chinese. If the others said that she is “banana,” (the inside is white but the outside is yellow) she has no special feeling. When she was very young, I started telling her that for children who are born in the U.S.A., we call them “ABC” [American Born Chinese]. For children who are born in Canada, we call them “CBC” [Canadian Born Chinese]).

This student participant told me she possessed Chinese identity, but her parent told me her daughter did not recognize her Chinese identity at home.

It is common for people of minority groups to shift to the dominant language with which they can regain their power (Myers-Scotton, 2002). It is found that even young bilingual children know how to differentiate the first and second language systems and

make full use of the systems for enhancing their social statuses (Meisel, 2000). As a consequence, it is valuable to investigate the functions and power of languages, either the dominant and heritage languages, in a multilingual country because linguistic norms and practices are able to control the allocation of resources and opportunities in education (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001).

Results of Interviews in the Second Stage

The interviews of the second stage (Appendix L) were carried out after the completion of the interviews at the first stage and the implementation of students' questionnaire. It was hoped that the second interviews might give supplementary information for clarifying the doubts that emerged in the first interviews and explaining the gaps between preliminary results obtained from the first interviews and students' questionnaire. The second interviews were carried out among teachers and parents who were interviewed in the first stage.

Doubts appeared after the preliminary analysis of the data gathered from the interviews of the first stage. For instance, there were questions asking participants the use of different languages under different situations, but no questions were designed for enquiring about their opinions on the functions of language such as—what were the different functions of language and how did they assess the value of those functions? The answers of these questions may help answer the first research question of the present paper. To meet this specific purpose, I added a question that especially investigated how the participants perceived the three functions of language that we were particularly interested in this dissertation (i.e., the learning function, the communicating function and the identity-reflective function) in the second interviews.

Moreover, the second interviews also targeted at searching for the reasons that helped me explain the gap in results between the first interview and students' questionnaire.

What are the variations in the results acquired from the above two research methods? The major difference is how the adult participants perceived students' ability in understanding the concept of identity and how the students' expressed their ability in understanding the concept of identity. For example, during the interviews, Susan (Parent 7) claimed that the concepts of identity and culture were difficult for children to understand. On the other side, students clearly acknowledged their Chinese heritage as reflected by the questionnaire results.

The second interviews provided me additional information in the following aspects: First, in regard to the functions of language, most of the teachers and parents agreed that the communicative function of language was the most important one when compared with the learning and identity-reflective functions except for Karen (Parent 4) who claimed that the learning purpose was the most important function of language.

Besides assessing the importance of the functions of language differently, certain participants had their unique opinions on the functions of language such as Karen (Parent 4) claimed that

Excerpt 28:

P4 : 學習的功能比較重要，有時學習跟溝通的功能同樣重要。

(The learning function is more important. Sometimes, the learning function is as important as the communicative function.)

This example shows that two different functions of language may bear the same weight in people's daily life and different people may consider a language a different type

of tools for them to use in daily life. A language may also serve more than one purpose at the same time. In this way, the function of a language can be multifaceted.

However, Fang (Teacher 3) had opinions different from others.

Excerpt 29

T3：在不同的場合，說話有不同的功能，很難說那一樣比較重要，如果在學校，就學習的功能比較重要，在社會裡面或是在家裡面就是溝通的功能比較重要。

(Conversation has different functions under different situations. It is difficult to say which function is more important. In the school, the learning function is more important, whereas the communicative function is more important at home or in society.)

This teacher pointed out that the situation under which people are located may be a significant factor in determining the function of language; that is, language will be used for different purposes when the situation changes and hence its function can be changeable and dynamic.

Lucy (Teacher 6) also had her specific ideas regarding the functions of language that were presented in Excerpt 30.

Excerpt 30

T6：低年紀的同學用語言來溝通，高年紀的同學用語言來學習和反映文化。

(Students of the lower levels will use language to communicate with each other. Those at the upper levels will use language to learn and reflect cultural backgrounds.)

Lucy's opinion is that the maturity level of a person may affect the purpose of using a language. She considered that people might need to possess a higher degree of maturity

before using language to learn something or displaying their cultural identities. Lucy's thoughts lead to think—what are the things to be learned related to the proficiency of language skill? Will more mature children be necessarily more capable of learning new things or displaying their identities than the less mature children?

Cheng (Teacher 1) added her opinions on the functions of language in Excerpt 31:

Excerpt 31

T1 : 在北美洲，對什麼人說什麼話，懂多少說多少，譬如打算到上海發展，就學中文，這樣學習的功能就比較強，但是土生的孩子根本不會回中國，土生跟新移民的孩子不同。

(In North America, we speak the language used by other people we meet. We just say how much we are able to speak. For example, if we intend to develop our future in Shanghai, we learn Chinese. In this way, the learning function of language becomes stronger. It is different from the children who were born here and would not return to Chinese. The function of language might display differently in immigrant children and those who were born here.)

Cheng indicated that the motive with which a person pursues a language will influence how the users view the function of that language. In sum, the adult participants considered the functions of language can be flexible in accordance with the maturity level of the speakers, the needs for using a language and the situations under which a language is used.

Another difference between questionnaire results and interview data is that the teachers and parents thought that their students or children were not aware of their cultural identity but the questionnaire results told me us students clearly acknowledged their cultural identity.

Referring to this difference, Lucy (Teacher 6) expressed her opinion in Excerpt 32.

Excerpt 32

T6：這是家長帶孩子來中文學校讀書的目標，在中文學校他們感染到中國的文化，從而建立自己的身份。

(This is the objective showing why parents bring their children to study in the Chinese school where they are affected by the Chinese culture and then build up their identity.)

Lucy's point was that originally children were not so aware of their cultural identity; however, they became aware of their cultural identity after having studied in the Chinese school. This point makes sense because this present study was conducted among students who were studying Chinese programs in Chinese schools. They studied Chinese either because their parents valued the significance of Chinese or the students did not reject learning Chinese. That is, the students would not take an adverse attitude towards learning Chinese language and culture. As a consequence, students' positive attitude towards their cultural identity was expected.

Lucy also suggested another reason that led to the discrepancy—some adult participants considered their children were too young to understand the concept of cultural identity, but the result of the questionnaire showed that most student participants were aware of the Chinese cultural identity. In this dissertation, the student participants were aged between 12 and 15. They were experiencing their adolescence that is the link between childhood and adulthood and a period of emotional and social turmoil. According to Macionis (1989), “young people experience conflict with their parents and attempt to develop their identity and find their place within adult society” (p. 139). Therefore, it is comprehensible that students in this dissertation were especially aware of their cultural identity because they are actually located at the stage of personal development where they

are earnestly questing for their identity and a place in the adults' world (Parkinson & Drislane, 2003).

Lucy also expressed in the second interview that students recognized their Chinese heritage because their parents taught them to do so at home. In other words, the acceptability of one's cultural heritage can be teachable. In Canada where is full of Western cultural influences, it is not easy to lead young Chinese-Canadian to understand or acknowledge their cultural background that is not dominant in society. Instead of allowing their young children to be freely affected by their external environment, the Chinese parents actively inculcated their children with knowledge of their original cultural background such as registering them to study Chinese courses in Chinese schools. Therefore, it is not surprising that children in this dissertation exhibited a high degree of acknowledgement of their ethnic background.

The discrepancy in the perception of identity between adult participants (teachers/parents) and student participants might be attributed to the variations in their sociocultural backgrounds. For example, the adult participants mostly grew up in Chinese-dominated societies in which they were more deeply influenced by Chinese traditions and values. However, the student participants were mostly brought up in Canada where Western values are well rooted. As a result, participants of both groups may interpret the definition of identity differently.

Nevertheless, people of the same level of maturity may also perceive the same matter differently because of the existence of auto-categorization and hetero-categorization—the way they perceive themselves and they perceive others. Do people necessarily have the ability to understand themselves or do people necessarily lack the

ability to understand others? Sometimes, it is difficult for them to ascertain how much they understand themselves or how much they understand others because

To know someone else or even ourselves requires not the ability to psychologically unite with them or ourselves at an earlier time but the ability to interpret the meaning of the various states, relations, and processes which comprise their or our lives. (Fay, 1996, p. 25)

Cheng (Teacher 1), echoing the above point, gave the researcher her explanation for the reason why adults and students view the concept of identity differently in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 33

T1：孩子可能認為讀中文就是認同中國人的身份，家長認為中國人的身份可能比較複雜，他們心中的身份可能是社會上不同的角式總合的因素。

(Perhaps, children thought that to study Chinese has been a way to acknowledge their Chinese identity, but their parents thought that it is a complicated matter. In the minds of parents, the acknowledgement of the identity may include the combination of different roles in society.)

In the above case, parents and students may basically have varied definitions of identity. Being the insiders of ourselves and the outsiders of other people, we need the openness, sensitivity and acuity to grasp the real meaning of the verbal or non-verbal messages delivered by ourselves or other people. To sum, it can be accepted that variations in the opinions between adult and student participants is understandable and sensible.

Group Discussions

Group discussions were included in the present study because communication in groups is common in real settings (Macionis, et al., 1997). Useful data might be collected while participants were interacting with one another in a group. For group discussions, all

the student participants who had been interviewed by the researcher were divided into two groups according to the locations of their Chinese schools. It was so designed that there were two boys and two girls in each group. Before starting the discussion, members of each group listened to a conversation in which two people were talking in both English and Chinese with contents of CS.

During group discussion, student participants were encouraged to express their opinions about the use of languages and the formation of identity with reference to the conversation they listened before group discussions. Kam, Stephanie, Joanna and David were arranged in the first group, and Kevin, Lok, Cathy and Norman were assigned to join the second group.

For the first group, there were four different types of languages used by the participants: (1) Chinese only, (2) English only, (3) within-turn CS of English and Chinese, and (4) between-turns CS of English and Chinese.

A little knowledge about the background of the participants may help us understand the pattern of their interactions. Joanna and David were born in Canada, while Kam and Stephanie were born in Hong Kong but immigrated to Canada before the age of two. Joanna and David mainly speak English at home, whereas Kam and Stephanie speak Cantonese with their parents and speak English and Cantonese with their siblings. Kam and Stephanie are proficient in speaking Cantonese, but Joanna and David only have limited ability in speaking Cantonese.

At the beginning of the group discussion, Kam and Stephanie were active in expressing their opinions and occupied a great proportion of the discussion time. If they intended to deliver a message to each other, they mainly used Cantonese although there

were two other students who knew little Cantonese sitting besides them. Because Kam and Stephanie were fluent in both English and Cantonese, their internal conversations consisted of a large number of CS, either between-turns CS or within-turn CS, depending on their choice. For instance, originally they were talking in English, but Stephanie (S 7) code-switched when saying:

Excerpt 34

S7 : I have a point. 在我學校的中國人很粗魯，時常講粗口，特別是香港來的 CHINESE。(笑)

(I have a point. The Chinese people in my school are very rude. They always speak coarse language, especially those coming from Hong Kong.) (laugh)

Before this unit of CS, they were discussing the percentage of different ethnic groups in their schools; however, Stephanie changed her tone and spoke in Cantonese for the purpose of teasing Kam. The use of CS could act as a “cushion” to eliminate the embarrassment that might be caused by ordinary language (Bond & Lai, 2001).

When the participants were elaborating the functions of language, they mainly used English. However, Kam and Stephanie code-switched into Cantonese when they started a new topic on the use of language at the national feast. They collaboratively created a new topic and enthusiastically took part in the discussion, but the other two members had no chance to participate in their discussion. Kam and Stephanie used more Cantonese or CS to expand the topic. For example, Stephanie (S 7) said

Excerpt 35

S7 : 中國總理 represents 中國人，Chinese pride, 他要說中文，這代表中國文化，中國人的民族尊嚴，他應該講完中文後，找人翻譯英文。

(The Prime Minister of China represents Chinese people and Chinese pride. He must speak Chinese for it stands for Chinese culture and the dignity of Chinese people. When he finishes his speech, the interpreter may translate what he has said in English.)

Stephanie's opinions can deliver to us several messages—first, she thought that during the official occasion of the national feast, the Prime Minister of China should speak Chinese. This shows that the situation will influence the choice of a language. Second, she clearly indicated that the choice of a language would reflect the pride, dignity and culture of a group of people. This shows how she related a language and the symbolic identity the language carried.

In the first part of the group discussion, Joanna was very silent, without saying much. However, in the middle of the discussion when they were discussing about the use of language to reflect people's identity, Joanna became more active in presenting her ideas to others and indicating her points in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 36

S6: I don't speak Chinese in the public, but I don't mind speaking Chinese in the public. I'm proud of my Chinese identity. I feel "safe" inside my heart and I don't need to use my language to reflect my identity. I'm sure about my identity.

Joanna's opinions created new insights for further discussions by expressing that she usually did not speak Chinese in the public because she was accustomed to speaking English in daily life. However, it did not mean that she minded speaking Chinese. This phenomenon reflects that people should not be too quick to say that a person does not use a language because he or she does not like the cultural identity carried by the language.

Joanna's opinion also led us to think whether it is necessary to use the language of an ethnic group to reflect their cultural identity. For example, Joanna used English to say

that “I’m proud of my Chinese identity.” What type of cultural identity has been delivered by this English statement?

Joanna’s words also stimulate us to think about the need of reflecting our cultural identity? Why do we need to tell others our identities? Joanna said she felt safe inside her heart because she was certain about her Chinese identity. Will it be the case that some people try hard to express their identity or require others to recognize it because they feel insecure or confused about their identity? In society, some people may openly express their identity, but others might be reserved in disclosing their identities to others. Does it mean that they have no recognition of their own identities?

The first group discussion likewise conveys to us that a subgroup existed within the group. Kam and Stephanie formed a subgroup within the group of four as they came from the same city (Hong Kong), had the similar level of language proficiency in both Chinese (Cantonese) and English, similar family background (immigrant families of the middle class) and similar hobbies (playing computer games and reading Japanese comics). They occupied a large proportion of time within the group discussion and always looked at each other during the discussion. They even spoke jokes that were mainly familiar to themselves.

Comparatively, Joanna was quieter than the other members and Kam was even hesitant to express his opinions although I tried to encourage him to tell others his viewpoints at suitable times. The scenarios happened in this group discussion could be considered the miniature of the big society in which we have daily interactions with many other people and we may have various ways to express ourselves.

Similar questions about the relationship between the use of language and identity formation were discussed by the participants in the second group discussion that included

the following members: Kevin, Lok, Cathy and Norman. All members talked in English during the discussion.

When being asked how they used their language to reflect their identities, Kevin (S4) replied, “I don’t agree with the use of language to reflect our cultural identity. I don’t care about the cultural background of the people who are talking to me.” He further explained his ideas in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 37

S4 : Every language is a key to unlock people’s minds. When we travel across many areas, we’ll meet many different languages. Languages are used to communicate ideas, share feelings and pick up habits.

It seems that Kevin valued the use of language for the purpose of sharing ideas and feelings but not for reflecting people’s cultural identity. He added his opinions in

Excerpt 38

S4 : Many people are speaking the same language in a country. Can we say that all of them want to reflect the same type of identity? Some Westerners also speak Chinese. Do they want to reflect a Chinese identity?

Kevin’s questions are similar to the ones raised by Joanna in the first group. It is sensible to accept that people feel natural to reflect their identity by using their native language; however, is it abnormal for a person to reflect his or her cultural identity with other languages in the actual world that is multilingual and multicultural?

The two group discussions contributed to this dissertation in the many ways. They stimulated thinking and helped members construct ideas on top of prior ones so that the amount of knowledge expanded. By observing the conversational patterns among participants, I also collected data about the actual language patterns used by the participants

such as to whom the speaker may use a specific type of language and how often he or she used the language. Group discussion is dynamic encouraging continuous sharing of thoughts and co-construction of ideas.

Class Observations

Each class observation was observed for about 45 minutes depending on the nature of the class activities. Sometimes, the teachers were teaching, or for the other times, the teachers might be conducting a dictation lesson or a short quiz. It was difficult to control what to be observed in the classrooms as the activities were decided by the teachers voluntarily.

During the eight periods of class observation, I had recorded 238 units of utterances and about 45% of them contained English words, some being in entire Chinese utterances. Out of the 67 utterances that were related to CS practices, 80.6% of them were between-turns CS and the remaining 19.4% were within-turn CS. This finding is understandable for a lot of the students were brought up in Canada or are studying in the regular schools in weekdays. Their English proficiency would be high enough for them to converse with others in entire English utterances. Therefore, between-turns CS occurred more frequently than did within-turn CS in the Chinese classes.

During class observations, I found several common phenomena such as the students liked shouting out the answers from their seats when the teachers asked questions. Sometimes, they would answer the questions in Chinese, but it was common that they gave answers in English although the teachers asked questions in Chinese. Very often, the teachers accepted students' English answers although certain teachers insisted on requiring

their students to give answers in Chinese. Another phenomenon is that most between-turns CS was produced by students, whereas most within-turn CS was created by teachers.

There would be two types of teachers if they were categorized in accordance to the languages they used in class. The first type of teachers, like Fang and Chui, solely used Chinese (either Mandarin or Cantonese) throughout the whole lessons without using a single English word. The teachers could do so based on certain factors; for example, the students' competence in Chinese was good enough to follow the whole lesson in Chinese without any English explanation. Under other situations, the teachers might intentionally use complete Chinese to conduct the whole class because they simply desired students to have more opportunity to listen to Chinese.

The second type of teachers performed a lot of CS especially within-turn CS in their teaching. The practice of CS by the teachers was required when the students' Chinese proficiency was low and they could not completely understand what the teachers said if the lessons were taught in Chinese only. For example, in Tracy's (T4) class:

Excerpt 39

T4: What does “父” mean?
(What does “father” mean?)

In the above case, the use of CS was for a learning/teaching purpose as the teacher wanted to teach the meaning of the word “父”. During the class visit, Tracy spoke plenty of English throughout the lesson. She was teaching a small group that consisted of three students who were born in Canada and whose Chinese proficiency was rather low.

Vicky's (T8) class reflected another phenomenon. Vicky did not speak much English when compared with the situation in Tracy's class. Nevertheless, it was common for Vicky to add an English word in her Chinese utterance. For instance:

Excerpt 40

T8: 一年有四季，好 easy.
(There are four seasons in a year, very easy.)

Excerpt 41

After a student had recited a paragraph of the text, Vicky said,

T8: 背得 excellent!
(Your recitation is excellent!)

Like the examples indicated in Excerpts 40 and 41, Vicky was accustomed to integrating a single English word that was usually an adjective into her Chinese utterances. She liked using English adjectives to comment on her students' performances. It seemed it was her personal habit to make this type of CS.

It appeared to me that CS was a popular phenomenon in the Chinese classes. First of all, the teachers themselves code-switched in class setting a model for students to imitate no matter they code-switched for a learning/teaching purpose or for a communicative purpose. In addition, the students likewise code-switched mostly in the form of between-turns CS when chatting with other students or replying the teachers' questions.

Interesting examples of within-turn CS happened in Vicky's class. When I entered the classroom, the teacher was leading a group discussion on the topic of Confucius. She encouraged students to express their opinions on anything about this philosopher of ancient China. When the teacher asked her students to what extent they thought the concepts of

Confucius was still present in their lives, a male student indicated his opinions in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 42

S : Do you know—it really depends... (.) 孔子思想要人 listen to people whose ranks are higher than yours. It's bull. Why do we need to do so?

(Do you know—it really depends... (.) The concepts of Confucianism require people to listen to those whose ranks are higher than yours. It's bull. Why do we need to do so?)

Excerpt 43

S: [↑I don't like Confucius. Confucius 叫人要聽話，太服從了， stay on the line, “父要子死，子不得不死”。(笑)

([↑ I don't like Confucius. Confucius tells people to listen to the others' words and this makes people too obedient...stay on the line. “If a father requires his son to die, the son cannot survive.” [laugh])

According to my observation, this student's competence in English was very high because he conversed with other students in fluent English during class discussion. After the discussion, I enquired about his background and he told me that he came to Canada from Mainland China when he was very young, so he had a little understanding about Confucian concepts.

In Excerpt 43, he especially mentioned the Chinese proverb “父要子死，子不得不死” in Chinese, that is, in its original form of the ancient Chinese language. By reserving the original form of a language, both the speaker and listener would fully understand what the original message was. Under this situation, the student code-switched because it was difficult for him to find a suitable English substitute to replace the Chinese

proverb. Sometimes, it is even not easy to find modern Chinese expressions to replace ancient Chinese texts.

In short, both teachers and students displayed different types of CS within their Chinese lessons for various purposes and this reflects that CS is a common phenomenon in Chinese schools when people teaching or learning Chinese.

Home Observations

The duration of time for each home observation was about 45 minutes that was quite similar to that of class observation. It seemed the verbal interactions between parent-child dyads were more frequent than those between teachers and students for there are 330 utterances ($Mean=41.25$, $SD=26.19$) in home observation and 238 utterances ($Mean=29.75$, $SD=96.94$) in class observation. This difference is understandable because the interactions at home were usually more casual and people were free to chat with each other. On the other hand, in the classes, students were usually engaged in various learning activities and their verbal interactions were sometimes restricted by teachers.

However, an obvious phenomenon is that the inclusion of English was popular in the utterances spoken at participants' homes. Out of the 330 units of utterances, 63 of them contain English components of varying forms and 94 units of CS can be found. Within those CS units, 38.30% was between-turns CS and 61.70% was within-turn CS. Most of the CS was produced by children although parents also included English words and phrases in their utterances like Betty (Parent 2) who made a number of between-turns CS and within-turn CS.

One point that is worth discussion is the observation taken at Ruth's (Parent 6) home where all the utterances were spoken in English although all family members are of

the Chinese descent. This can explain why Joanna, Ruth's daughter mostly spoke English during the interview with me and during the group discussion with other students. It was simply because they spoke English for most of their life situations.

There are several parents who only spoke Chinese at home such as Karen (Parent 4) and Siu (Parent 8). Siu told me that she felt uncomfortable to speak English anytime although she has immigrated to Canada for about 15 years. She was a Chinese teacher in Hong Kong and was able to communicate with others in English although she thought her English proficiency was not.

For the contents of the between-turns CS, they may be concerned with questioning and answering questions (e.g., in Cindy and Amy's homes), making confirmation (e.g., in Amy's home) or expressing personal opinions (e.g., in Susan's home). A variety of purposes determined the use of between-turns CS.

For the contents of within-turn CS, they were mostly represented by common nouns (e.g., pie, teacher, piano), noun groups (e.g., movie review, second place, team spirit), proper nouns (e.g., Douglas, Cook), verb (e.g., design) and adjectives (e.g., safe, helpful). These show that the content of CS produced at home can be varied and used for communicating different kinds of meanings.

An interesting phenomenon was found in Susan's home. Her daughter, Stephanie (S 7) was born in Canada and studying in a private middle school. When Stephanie conversed with her mother, most of her conversations comprised English fragments of various types forming a complex pattern that was not easy to analyze or categorize. The following excerpt will show how unique her CS is:

Excerpt 44

S7: 我的興趣 involve 好多野，例如 piano 啦，我已經 finish 左 History 既 3 & 4 同 Harmony 既 3 & 4。跟住數學，我幾喜歡 Math 個 subject。我及喜歡 contest 既，我係 school 常常 join contests 加。我地既 school 有吾同既 contests，我地既 class 有 join Scout contest 啦。Outside school, 我有 join 其他 contest。我鐘意 join Chinese school 既，我都幾 competitive 既，recently, 我羅左個 second place 係個 writing competition 道。For sports, 我都幾鐘意 energetic side, 吾係靜係 academic 既，我既 school 有 track meet, 我既 passion 係 running。At school, 我而家 join 左個 Chinese Club。我想 summer 做 volunteer 因為我想 try 下多 D experience, touch the society in different ways, 吾係靜係 give and take。
(笑)

(My interest involves many things such as playing piano. I have finished Grades 3 and 4 of Music History and Grade 3 and 4 of Harmony. I like Math and joining contests. There are different contests in my school and my class has Scout contest. Outside school, I also join other contests. I like joining the Chinese school for it is quite competitive. I like the energetic side of sports besides the quiet side of academic subjects. There is a track meet in my school and I have passion in running. At school, I have joined a Chinese club and want to have more experience in volunteering so that I can touch the society in different ways instead of simply “give and take.”)

Stephanie’s style of CS is unique in several ways.

1. She code-switched in nearly every utterance she spoke and freely code-switched with a wide range of patterns. CS items can be a common noun (e.g., piano, contest), a proper noun (e.g., Harmony, Scout), verbs (e.g., join, try), and short utterances (e.g., at school, outside school).
2. There were no tenses in the English she used even though she was describing something that had happened in the past. It is speculated that she adopted the style of Chinese language that traditionally has no tenses.
3. Her patterns of CS are rather complicated for she had combined different kinds of words together such as in the utterance “我地既 class 有 join Scout contest 啦”—

“join” is a verb and “Scout contest” is a noun group. It appears to us that Stephanie’s style of CS indicates some sort of transformation moving from simple within-turn CS that may only contains a single word of another language to between-turns CS that includes an entire utterance of another language. This shows that CS may display itself in many different forms.

The observation at home was useful because it gave more information to help explain the use of language practiced by children at school. Moreover, children might demonstrate other CS patterns as they were located at different environments and interacting with different people.

Log

Out of the eight student participants, four of them, Norman, Stephanie, Kam and Joanna were willing to complete the log. They were advised to record their activities and the languages involved in them in two consecutive weeks, but only the data collected in the second week were taken into consideration. The following tables describe what activities the students were engaged, what languages they used and to whom they talked.

Table 24. Norman’s Weekly Record of Activities

Location	Interlocutor/ Activity	Language Used
Regular School	Teachers & friends	English
Tutor’s Home	Tutor	English
Church	Friends	English
Home	Watching TV	English
Home	Computer Game	English
Home	Talking to friends on phone	English
Chinese School	Teachers & friends	Cantonese & Mandarin

Table 25. Stephanie's Weekly Record of Activities

Location	Interlocutor/ Activity	Language Used
Regular School	Teachers & friends	English
Regular School	Band performance	English
Regular School	Cadet	English
Church	Friends	Cantonese
Home	Computer & MSN	English
Home	Chatting with mother	Cantonese
Tutor's Home	Tutor	English
Community	Shopping at Richmond	Chinese
Chinese School	Teachers & friends	Cantonese & Mandarin

Table 26. Kam's Weekly Record of Activities

Location	Interlocutor/ Activity	Language Used
Home	Parents	Cantonese
Regular School	Teachers	English
Regular School	Friends	English/Mandarin/Cantonese

Table 27. Joanna's Weekly Record of Activities

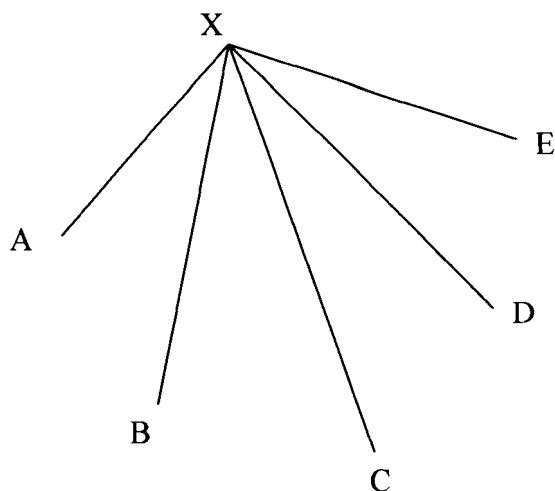
Location	Interlocutor/ Activity	Language Used
Regular School	Learning	English
Home	Dinner	English
Home	Talking to parents	English
Tutor's Home	Tutor	English
Church	Friends	English
Home	Computer & MSN	English
Home	Talking to friends on phone	English
Chinese School	Teachers & friends	Cantonese & Mandarin

When we compare the data across the four tables, we may find that Norman's pattern of language use is quite similar to Joanna's pattern for both of them spoke English under most situations except in the Chinese schools where they spoke Cantonese and Mandarin. That is, the Chinese school was the only place where they practiced their Chinese language.

Stephanie's pattern of language is similar to Kam's pattern in the way they both spoke to their parents/mother in Chinese (Cantonese) at home. Besides practicing Chinese in their Chinese schools, they also talked to their friends in Chinese at other places such as in the regular schools or during shopping. Comparatively speaking, Stephanie and Kam code-switched between Chinese and English more frequently than Norman and Joanna did. It seems there is a pattern that when the children talked to their parents in Chinese, they were more likely to talk to personal friends in Chinese (e.g., Stephanie and Kam); when children talked to their parents in English, they also tended to talk to personal friends in English (e.g., Norman and Joanna).

Moreover, the place that people chose to go likewise reflected their preference of language use for a certain purpose. For instance, Stephanie's family went to a Chinese-speaking church where they spoke with others in Chinese in the church. On the other hand, Joanna's family went to an English-speaking church where they spoke to others in English there. Another example is the city where Stephanie's family selected to go shopping. They would expect to speak more Chinese when going to Richmond where was densely populated by people of the Chinese descent. In sum, the data contained in the log can show the children's choice of language in their private life reflecting their pattern of language use in a broader perspective. Figure 6 indicates the pattern of interactions:

Figure 5 Log record—Low-density Personal Network Structure



According to the above figure devised by Milroy (1987), X was the focal point of the communication network connecting persons A, B, C, D, and E. The person X might talk to the connected people in different languages under various situations. This structure is described as low-density because the major linkage between people originated from X to another person and there was unlikely to have interaction among other people without the presence of X.

Self Tape-recording

Three student participants, Stephanie, Kam and Joanna, offered to make self tape-recording. All of them made their recording with different people and under various situations, thus reflecting their unique characteristics of interactions with others.

Kam audio-taped two scenarios; one was about his discussion with a group of friends regarding the itinerary of a trip to Japan in Kam's home. Because all of his friends who were talking with him were of Chinese descent, they mostly code-switched; in other

words, they spoke in both Chinese (Cantonese/Mandarin) and English. They mainly produced between-turns CS although all of them were fluent in both languages. This scenario tells us that these students code-switched naturally and they did not code-switch because of deficiency in a language.

Another scenario was taped when Kam was talking with his parents. All the utterances were delivered in Cantonese, and they code-switched only when mentioning several people's English names. They were discussing the use of several Chinese proverbs and the historical stories that described how the proverbs were created. This scenario highlights the following points for us to consider.

1. The parents were proficient in their mother tongue so that they could converse with their child in their native language at home. Sometimes, the parents themselves might not be able to speak in their native language at home in Canada.
2. The parents insisted on speaking their native language with their child at home so that the child may have more opportunity to practice it feeling that it was part of his life already.
3. The parents taught their child Chinese proverbs and stories showing their intention or enthusiasm in transferring the Chinese culture from their generation to the next generation.

The second student participant, Joanna, included a number of scenarios in her tape-recording. For instance, in the school, she talked to friends before school and talked to the teacher during the Gymnasium Lesson. At home, she chatted with her sister and talked to her parent at dinner time. At the mall, she discussed with friends about the price of a cosmetic product. At the movie, she talked with friends about her preference on music. In a

friend's birthday party, she met new friends. Lastly, she chatted with friends about her opinions on cars in the street when walking back home.

Joanna talked with different people under distinct situations, but she only used English when conversing with others. This is a common feature found on people who were born in a Western country and brought up in a Western culture although they are of the Chinese descent.

There is a contrast in the pattern of language use between Kam and Joanna. Kam and his family still widely used Chinese at home, but Joanna and her family mostly spoke English at home. Kam still talked with friends in Chinese or had friends who spoke Chinese, whereas Joanna mostly spoke English with friends or had friends who only spoke English.

Stephanie's had tape-recorded two scenarios; the first one was about her conversation with the Principal of her regular school. They chatted in English and their topics of conversation were mostly concerned with Joanna's school life and her opinions on certain school policies. The second scenario was taped when Stephanie was talking with her mother about her homework and school life. Her mother mostly spoke in Cantonese with little within-turn CS in English and Cantonese. However, Stephanie mostly spoke in English with little within-turn CS in both languages.

Like the logs, self tape-recording may also provide me with more information concerning the participants' language use in their private life that is not easy to be collected in the laboratories. Facts tell us that CS is a popular phenomenon in the social life of young Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver.

Instant Messages

According to the original planning, I did not intend to collect any data from participants' instant messaging interactions. However, when I gathered data from Stephanie, a student participant, she told me that it was common for her to communicate with her friends via instant messages and she retrieved two units of instant messaging conversation for me. Thinking that this was a true reflection of young people's activities in daily life, I accepted her offer and included this piece of information in the present study.

In the first piece of instant messaging conversation, Stephanie chatted with a friend without any concern on a specific topic. Sometimes, they talked about matters that happened at school and suddenly switched the topic to the making of photo frames. Later, they returned to the topics of school subject and examinations. In the second unit of conversation, Stephanie mainly chatted with her friend on her feeling about a movie she recently watched. In both units of instant messaging conversation, all people interacted in English.

It is understandable that young Chinese-Canadians mostly conversed with each other in English because it seems that Chinese version of instant messages is not popular in Canada right now although it is popular in some Asian countries such as mainland China and Taiwan. Therefore, the availability of computer software will, to a certain degree, influence people's choice of languages when using computer. Moreover, it is not easy for young Chinese-Canadians to learn the typing method of Chinese characters because the pre-requisite condition for learning Chinese typing is the prior knowledge on the meaning and structure of Chinese characters. In a Western country like Canada, young Chinese people only spend a limited amount of time a week to learn Chinese, so it is not easy for them to acquire a high level of proficiency in Chinese within a short period of time. My

experience is that even though I am proficient in typing Chinese characters and English words with a keyboard, I usually choose to type in English because typing English words is simpler and quicker than typing Chinese characters.

As a matter of fact, computer technology is important in transmitting knowledge in the current world. People who hope to maintain or spread the Chinese culture and language may think about inventing new computer software in the Chinese version that facilitates users to communicate with others in Chinese. The engagement in instant messaging conversations may be a natural and interesting way of practicing this language. However, it can only be possible when the Chinese version of instant messaging system becomes popular in Canada.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSIONS

General Discussion

This is a study that investigated participants' use of language and their patterns of CS because all these could reflect their cultural identities. The data extracted from different methods such as the structured questionnaire, interviews, class and home observations, group discussions, written logs, self tape-recording and instant message have been integrated in this chapter.

Chinese Schools in Vancouver

Three specialists in Chinese education were interviewed at the first stage of the study. These specialists gave me useful information about the past, present and future development of Chinese schools and Chinese education in Vancouver. Chinese schools are important places where many young Chinese-Canadians receive their heritage language education, where cultural knowledge is mediated and where cultural identity is formed. Because a main theme of this dissertation is to explore the formation of cultural identity among Chinese participants, Chinese schools are suitable places for me to select participants.

The findings from the specialists provided me insights on the objectives of early school founders for building Chinese schools in Canada—transmitting the Chinese culture

to their next generation, preserving their heritage language, forming their cultural identity and enabling minority people to have a greater sense of belonging and coherence.

Regarding the future trend of Chinese education, it is expected that there will be more Mandarin but fewer Cantonese courses arranged in Chinese schools because the number of Mandarin-speaking immigrants exceeds that of Cantonese-speaking ones.

Another trend is that more children from the second or third generation of Chinese families will study Chinese. Their parents will not require these children to acquire a high level of proficiency in Chinese and are not concerned with the transmission of culture. They mainly require their children to maintain a minimum understanding in their heritage language. This phenomenon reflects that Chinese parents of various generations may have different purposes for registering their children to learn Chinese, and may perceive the function of their heritage language differently.

Participants' CS Prevalence

Our first research question focused on identifying participants' CS patterns. The data acquired from interviews and observation revealed that CS was not common among the teachers, and relatively more common among parents and students. This result is understandable because the Chinese teachers as role models were supposed to show proficiency in Chinese. They might have believed it inappropriate to speak English when being interviewed, or while teaching Chinese. Even though they were proficient in English, they might have thought they had to convey to others the proper image of a Chinese instructor who speaks Chinese in front of students. During interviews, some teachers stressed that they needed to provide good language models for students so that they tried to speak as much Chinese as possible during the Chinese lessons. Some teachers would

strictly require their students to speak Chinese only in Chinese lessons, or some would not respond to their students if they did not speak Chinese.

Among the parents, some rarely code-switched (Parent 4 & Parent 8) and some often code-switched (Parent 7); that is, their CS behaviors were widely varied. During interviews, parents took controversial attitudes towards the use of CS. Some parents said that it is a common phenomenon among young Chinese people in Canada. However, some parents said they had been adapting to their heritage language and therefore they would be keen on speaking the dominant language. Certain parents required their children to use only heritage language at home thinking that it is a good way to preserve their heritage language. For some parents, they used plenty of English to converse with their children inside or outside their homes.

Parents had different levels of proficiency in English depending on their varied educational backgrounds in their countries of origin. In addition, most parents displayed a large number of within-turn CS and little between-turns CS. It may be due to the fact that some of them were brought up in Chinese-speaking cities where English was used as a second language. Within-turn CS, especially that which consists of small fragments of English utterances, is easier to master compared to CS that contains complete English utterances. During interviews, certain parents mentioned that they felt uncomfortable to code-switch to English because they thought their proficiency in English was low. It seemed the self-perception of a person language proficiency in the dominant language may influence the person's inclination to code-switch no matter his or her language proficiency in the dominant language is actually high or low.

When compared with parents, the students performed more between-turn CS than their parent counterparts. This result might be attributed to the fact that the students were mostly born and brought up in Canada. Their English proficiency was high enough to enable them to speak longer English utterances. They were also more confident to express themselves in English. The above results are consistent with those of a previous study (Ng & He, 2004) which found that between-turns CS occurs less frequently than within-turn CS and the ratio of between- to within-turn CS was higher for children than their adult participants. This shows the different CS behaviors across people of different generations.

With reference to the data gathered from students' questionnaire, the factor of Utilitarian CS became the most important factor among the remaining 7 factors that occupied 17% of variance. When looking at individual items, we may find that the mean for Item 14 (every day I speak both Chinese and English) is quite high (6.09 out of 7). This shows that CS may be a common practice in the daily life of the students who also displayed a positive attitude toward CS as reflected by the mean (5.13) of Item 19 (I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English). This finding matches the results extracted from interviews and observations. Some parents frequently code-switched when they were talking to me and some clearly considered that CS is a common phenomenon among young Chinese-Canadians because their proficiency in Chinese is low so that they need to code-switch to English; they have to code-switch to Chinese when speaking to their parents and grandparents who mainly speak Chinese at home. In short, the participants code-switched depending on who was talking to them, whom they were talking to, where and under which situations they were speaking, the purposes of discourses, the topic of discussions, and the

proficiency in heritage and dominant languages possessed by the speakers. All these factors may have affected the frequency, patterns, contents and distribution of CS,

To sum, this dissertation has given me first-hand information about how certain Chinese-Canadians code-switched in different real life situations in Vancouver nowadays either at home or school. Certain participants also provided information concerning their use of languages in other parts of their social life such as in the church or shopping mall. This study may be considered one of the first in-depth studies about the CS patterns displayed by participants of different age groups (e.g. children and adults) but they were in some way connected (e.g. children/parents, students/teachers). British Columbia, a Canadian province that has housed 365,490 Chinese-Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2001), a deeper understanding about how this group of people code-switch may give insights to educators and policy makers on the design of language curriculum and distribution educational resources.

Functions of CS

The second research question is concerned with the functions of CS. According to recent scholars, language has a cognitive function, a social function (Bayley & Regan, 2004), and a sociocultural function (Bucholstz & Hall, 2005). Following this line of thought, I propose that language comprises learning, communicative and identity-reflective functions. When talking with parents and teachers at the second stage of interviews, I asked them to weigh the relative importance of these three functions. Most of them considered the communicative function the most important function of language because people needed it to share thoughts and feelings with others. Some of them thought that the learning function of language was also important although it might not be as important as its communicative

function. Most of them believed that the identity-reflective function of language is the least important.

Certain student participants likewise highly valued the importance of the communicative function of language when they were interviewed or during group discussion. In the questionnaire, items about language function were included. For example, the communicative function was represented by Item 29 (my Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese, $M = 5.37$); the learning function was represented by Item 4 (I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better, $M = 2.84$) and the identity-reflective function was represented by Item 22 (I am proud of my Chinese heritage, $M = 5.93$). We could find clues to know how the students evaluated individual functions of language, but no questions in the questionnaire specifically enquired about how the participants compared and valued the relative importance of the three functions of language. In short, it could be said that the students were aware of the different functions of language but we cannot confidently conclude how they compared the relative value of the three functions.

The functions of language are dynamic and subject to change with reference to different factors such as geographic and social environment that have led specialists to put in painstaking effort in investigating the variations in languages (Romaine, 2000). For example, in this dissertation, teachers and students might use languages for learning purposes in the school, but at home, children may use languages to communicate with their friends via instant messages, depending on the needs of the situations, the cultural backgrounds of the interlocutors and the topics of conversation. A student participant mentioned that a Chinese government official may use the Chinese language to manifest

the identity-reflective function of language during an official event in Canada. These examples clarify that the use of languages is

an element in a socially agreed matrix of contextualization cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees, in the course of ongoing interaction, to the social and situational context of the conversation. (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, pp. 9-10)

The result of this study lead me to think about other questions—Can the same unit of language serves a different function in different settings, among different interlocutors and under different situations? We may also analyze the differences in the purposes of language between speakers and listeners; to put it succinctly, will it be possible that the speaker and listener of a unit of conversation interpret the function of the language differently as people interpret things differently and are motivated by disparate interests and intentions (Macionis, Clark & Gerber, 1997)? Although this is not an objective of this dissertation, I may leave it as a possible topic for future investigation.

One point that deserves our attention is the discrepancy between a participant's self-perception about the function of language and his or her actual reflection of the function of language. A student said that she did not think language could reflect a person's cultural identity but she used Chinese inside-jokes among Chinese friends to exclude her English-speaking friends. This student expressed her cultural identity when using her heritage language without her conscious awareness. Therefore, the broad-based design of this dissertation that contains self-report measures and observer's evaluations helped minimize this discrepancy.

We also have to consider the variations in interpretations between in-group members and out-group members. Using the example of inside-jokes again, the student thought that the practice of inside-jokes was fun. For this student and other in-group

members, these jokes may serve an entertainment function. As an outsider and observer, I inferred that these jokes displayed, not only an entertainment function, but served also to display identity, connivance and group-membership. Is it incorrect for the student's to interpret the function of inside-jokes to be entertainment? Is it incorrect for me to interpret the student's inside-jokes to be identity-reflective? Perhaps, both of us are correct in evaluating the function of the jokes, but our interpretations were built on different experiences, the student with insider experience and the researcher with outside experience. This example shows that a researcher should collect as much information as possible when interpreting participants' opinions trying to view them from participants' points of view.

This interpretation can be logically applied to the whole dissertation. I am fluent in both Mandarin and Cantonese and familiar with Chinese culture. I understand the life experience of immigrants in Vancouver for I am one of them. Thus, I investigated the issues of this dissertation as an insider and also as an observer, with the relevant training and knowledge a researcher needs. The two points of view enable me to acquire a broader and deeper understanding of the topic.

It can be summarized that the functions of language can be dynamic and multi-faceted serving different purposes simultaneously. The participants of the study generally agreed that the communicative function of language is the most important one, and the function of learning moderately important and the identity-reflective function the least important. This dissertation tried to make the first step of investigating how Chinese participants compared and weighed the importance of the three functions of language.

Identity Formation and Relationship between Identity Formation and Language Use

In recent years, a number of studies investigated CS, and many of them were considering CS as a linguistic and cognitive resource (e.g., Al-Khatib, 2003; Martin et al., 2003; Toribio, 2004). I could not find sufficient information indicating the relationship between the use of languages and formation of identity especially about Chinese-Canadians. The third research question aims at searching how the participants formed their cultural identity and the fourth research question aims at exploring how the participants related identity formation and language use.

Some participants consider the concepts of cultural identity are not important. Some adult participants even thought that the topic of identity was difficult for children to apprehend, so they considered their children usually did not have concrete concepts about cultural identity (e.g., Parent 4 & Teacher 4). They believed children needed to attain a certain level of maturity before they could understand the meaning of cultural identity.

However, referring to the questionnaire results, the means of the items about Chinese identity were rather high such as Item 22 (I am proud of my Chinese heritage, $M = 5.93$) and Item 23 (I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture, $M = 5.18$). According to factor analysis, the second important factor is Chinese Pride meaning that variation in expression of Chinese Pride accounted for variation in questionnaire responses after Utilitarian CS.

The discrepancy here is worth further thought and investigation. The second interviews with the parents and teachers put special emphasis on exploring this phenomenon. Some of the adult participants were quite surprised to know that the questionnaire items about identity reflection had high means, but they were happy to know that the students possessed a positive attitude toward their cultural background.

I think this discrepancy may be due to the variations in the insider's and outsider's points of view. The adults thought that the young people did not know the meaning of identity, but the young really understood it without the adults' awareness. Second, both the adults and youths may have different interpretations of the meaning of identity. The young people might think that whenever they spoke Chinese or acknowledged their Chinese heritage, they were recognizing their Chinese cultural identity. However, the adult participants might have a preset expectation on the youths' performance before accepting that the young people understood the meaning of identity.

To answer the third research question about identity formation, the data of this dissertation show that adult and student participants may have different beliefs about the definitions and manifestations of cultural identity.

The focus of the fourth research question is—what is the relationship between identity formation and language use? Porter (1991) claimed that “language could help fashion collective identity. But it could also function as the midwife of individual identity” (p. 11). He thought a relationship does exist between language and identity formation, but what kind of language is concerned with? In the multilingual world, how do we perceive the meaning of language? What are the functions of the dominant and native languages? How do we perceive a cultural identity in a multicultural society where immigrants of different generations co-exist in the mainstream?

In this dissertation, both the adult and children participants mentioned that it was not necessary for them to use their mother language (Mandarin or Cantonese) to reflect their cultural identity. They thought Chinese-Canadians may use English to express their Chinese cultural identity. During the interviews with students, there were students speaking

English throughout the whole interviews but they clearly conveyed to me that they highly valued their Chinese cultural background and were proud of it. A parent also commented that a lot of foreigners were learning Chinese these days, but it could not necessarily imply that these foreigners intended to convey to others a Chinese identity. The participants' saying that no relationship existed between language use and formation identity may be due to the reason that they were using languages to reflect their cultural identities without their self-awareness. For example, a parent insisted on using Chinese at home because she wanted to encourage her child to recognize and preserve their heritage language although she considered language could not be used for reflecting cultural identity.

When we observe this relationship from a broader and deeper perspective, I will agree that there is a close relationship between language use and expression and establishment of cultural identity. We can use English, Spanish, French, Japanese or Korean and so on to reflect our cultural identities although they are not our heritage languages.

In addition, people may also use different heritage languages used in the same country to reflect the same cultural identity. For instance, Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking participants were recruited in the study and it was found that no significant difference was found in the process of identity formation between these two. Although they used different Chinese languages, they lived in the same Chinese community, used the similar type of Chinese script and faced the same Western culture in the dominant community. When they were using their heritage languages, they were reflecting and forming their cultural identity continuously.

To answer the fourth research question, the data of this dissertation found that the type of language used by the speaker is not the only factor that determines the type of cultural identity to be reflected. The relationship of language use and identity formation is positive although the two components can both be closely or not so closely related.

Confucian Concept of Being Polite among Chinese-Canadians

This dissertation has spent some space elaborating whether or not certain Confucian concepts such as ideas of courtesy and obedience influence the Chinese participants. It is thought that Confucian concepts may play a role in affecting the way Chinese people form their cultural identity.

During interviews with participants of different groups, I directly asked the participants their understanding about Confucianism. Most participants replied that they did not exactly know the nature of Confucianism, but they thought it was related to the concepts that people should respect their elderly and seniors and build a harmonious relationship with others. This finding is reconciled with Confucius's concepts on five types of human relationships: ruler-subject, husband-wife, father-son, older brother-young brother and friend-friend (Ficklen, 1982). In most human relationships,

there is a person who is dominant and one who is submissive, yet both are striving for virtue and the dominant member in a benevolent manner is showing the way for the submissive member" (pp. xi-xii)

Although some participants questioned the presence of Confucianism among themselves in Canada, there are clues indicating the possibility of its occurrence. First of all, students' questionnaire responses show that they claimed to be polite to their parents and teachers. Being polite and respectful to the ones who are located at higher positions or senior to us is an important doctrine advocated by Confucius. During the interviews,

most participants agreed that they should maintain a respectful, friendly and harmonious relationship with others especially to their seniors. A number of student and adult participants did mention the qualities of being polite and respectful to others when they were requested to define Confucianism. A couple of students even said that their parent taught them Confucian concepts such as being courteous to others at home. These results may reflect that the impact of Confucianism still persisted among the Chinese participants although it is undeniable that the Western cultures also encourage people to be polite and respectful to others. The presence of the impact of Confucianism does not necessarily imply that the impact of Western culture must be absent. Perhaps, both Confucian and non-Confucian concepts are molding the participants' beliefs about polite and respectful manners to others.

The second clue can be obtained from item 24 of the questionnaire (my parents require me to learn Chinese, $M = 6.12$). This item was deleted from the data that were processed with factor analysis as the variance in responding was so low; however, the mean of this item indicates that almost all the students learned Chinese because their parents required them to do so. It is widely accepted that the Chinese language is not an easy language to study. Nevertheless, the students still studied Chinese in Vancouver, thus showing that they obeyed their parents' requirement for learning Chinese. This phenomenon is close to Ficklen's (1982) idea of the dominant-submissive relationship between Chinese parents and children, with the parents as the dominant figures and children as the submissive figures. The children were willing to obey their parents' instruction. This phenomenon might be magnified because all students were recruited from Chinese schools and it may not reflect phenomena in other circumstances.

Third, the presence of Confucianism was also exposed during the second group discussion in this dissertation. During this group discussion, a student participant clearly stated that he disliked Confucianism because it advocated obedience to rules and discipline.

For some scholars, the study of Confucianism is important in understanding how Chinese people create their cultural identity because it enables them to establish a sense of cultural unity (Weiming, et al., 1992). This imagined or real unification and coherence is in certain aspects attributed to the promotion and existence of Confucianism. On the contrary, Confucianism that, to a certain extent, stresses the obedience to rules and well-established hierarchy has been criticized as a rigid tie that hinders individuals' personal development among Chinese people (Weiming, et al., 1992). Scholars advised people to be aware of the pros and cons of Confucian concepts that influence how Chinese people perceive their personal identities, their relationships with others and how they form their cultural identity.

The investigation about the impact of certain Confucian concepts on the participants may help us foster a deeper understanding of their formation of cultural identity in Vancouver which is a metropolitan where interactions between the West and the East are frequent. Confucianism provides us more information about how Chinese people may develop their cultural identity. If we agree that culture is dynamic, growing and developing endlessly, we will similarly have the impression that people's interpretation and value toward Confucianism are likewise being adjusted and modified in a Western society.

Different Peoples, Different Languages, One Community

In this dissertation, part of the discussions focused on the use of two Chinese languages—Mandarin and Cantonese by the participants and how their use of these two languages might have affected their formation of cultural identity. The findings from the study unveil that the participants were interacting with each other in one single Chinese community based on Vancouver although they came from different original countries and are speaking different Chinese languages. There are various reasons for this apparent coherence.

First, it might be the existence of a unifying cultural value system among Chinese people no matter where they live (Weiming, et al., 1992) and this cultural unity is supposed to be condensed by the concepts of Confucianism that helps Chinese people form an illusion of cultural unity and an imagined or real cultural identity.

Second, the sentiments of many people of the Chinese descent are interwoven by a common form of written Chinese. For hundreds and thousands of years, Chinese people have been using the same system of Chinese script although variations in patterns, word choice and vocabulary occur from regions to regions. The simplified version of Chinese characters is used in Mainland China, Singapore and overseas countries such as Vancouver, whereas the traditional version of Chinese characters is used in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau and so on. Chinese people can understand the meanings of Chinese characters no matter they are of traditional or simplified version because they were created from the same origin. With a generally similar written language, Chinese people can share thoughts and feelings with each other naturally and successfully. A written language is powerful in transferring people's culture from generation to generation (Robers & Street, 1997).

Another reason to support the idea of a common community transcending differences lies in the fact that all parents and students have lived in Canada for more than 10 years and have been influenced by the local Canadian culture in similar ways. For instance, some parents studied English courses in order to equip themselves with a higher proficiency in this dominant language considering it their survival skills in Canada. Some parents learned to drive motor cars although they did not drive in their original countries. The changes in life style, interest or habits may reflect their desire to adapt to the new life in Canada. All participants began their new lives and endeavors in the same society where they faced similar environmental influences. These can be the factors that narrowed the gaps that previously existed between them. They modified their patterns of life to conform to the style of the dominant culture in the process of assimilation (Macionis, 1989). For new immigrants, to acquire the dominant language and lean to the new culture is a precondition for political legitimacy.

Another factor that builds the similarities across the participants is that the adult participants have left their original countries for a period of time already. The longer the time they have left their original countries, the greater the possibility that they distance from the relationships and memories established in the original countries. What they still retain is only old memories that happened long time ago and far away from Canada. As time goes by, these Chinese immigrants' linkage with their original countries may fade and become weakened, thus leveling the original differences across the adult participants.

The demand for a loud voice is also a factor that leads members of a minority group to cohere. Being members of a visible minority group in Canada, Chinese-Canadian also desire to bargain with others for power as minority groups are always

considered “subordinate groups” having a “distinctive identity” (Macionis, 1989). To have a louder voice or to enable their voice to be heard, they merge together to create a larger group. This concept was brought forward by the educational specialist, Yu, when she was interviewed by me. To make the others recognize their existence, minority people should acknowledge their own existence first. This is a useful way to arouse other people’s awareness of their presence, prestige, rights and privilege.

The above reasons illustrate why I suggest that Chinese-Canadians are living in one community in Vancouver although they speak different Chinese languages and came from different countries of origin. This community can have a physical or imagined boundary. This is one of the useful insights of this dissertation.

Limitations in Research Methods

No study is perfect and this dissertation also faced challenges during different stages of its development.

First, the number of completed questionnaires ($N = 203$) may not meet the need for the processing method of factor analysis (FA). According to Comrey and Lee (1992, cited in Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001), it is only fair to have a sample size of 200 as “it is comfortable to have at least 300 cases for factor analysis” (p. 588). Another researcher, Sidanius (2006) believed that it is helpful to have 10 cases for each item in the questionnaire. In this dissertation, 28 items were reserved; in other words, it is desirable to have 280 completed questionnaires for the use of factor analysis. Although the number of questionnaires collected for the present study might not be sufficient, it is a meaningful start of investigation as this study is the first one of the same kind providing experience to future studies.

The second difficulty I encountered was that some Cantonese conversations could not be transcribed into written Chinese. To analyze the patterns of CS, I had to record what the participants actually said and made verbatim transcriptions. However, Cantonese is a conversational language and some of its sound cannot be transcribed into Chinese written characters. When the sounds are translated into written form, the original meanings of the speakers might be slightly distorted. There is also no computer software that is specially designed for typing Cantonese sounds. This intensified the degree of difficulty in the procedures of data processing and analyzing. Being an instructor of Cantonese and Mandarin, I tried my best to transcribe the verbal form of Cantonese into the written script without significant distortion of the speakers' original meanings.

In this dissertation, two major types of research methods, quantitative and qualitative ones were stitched together to portray a fuller picture for the topic. Questionnaire data were mainly extracted from the questionnaire given to the student participants to complete, whereas qualitative data were obtained from interviews, class observations, home observations, log writing, group discussions, self tape-recording and instant messages. Because the questionnaire was mainly for students, it could only collect information from this group of participants. As a result there might be a lack of appropriate data to make parallel comparisons across quantitative and qualitative methods in participants between two similar groups. To solve this problem, I might also design questionnaires for parents and teachers to complete in the future. In reality, it is not easy to recruit sufficient Chinese parents and teachers to complete the required number of questionnaire so that the data obtained from the questionnaire become usable or statistically

significant. However, this will be a point to be considered whenever a project of the similar type will be planned in the future.

If the present study is re-conducted, I will probably make changes in the questionnaire so that it includes items that require the participants to compare the value of the different functions of language (i.e., the learning, communicative and identity-reflective functions) and their understanding or impression about Confucianism. In the present questionnaire, the participants were asked to give their opinions on the use of individual functions of language without comparing the importance of those functions. However, in the interviews, all participants were asked to weigh the different functions of language. Similarly, during interviews, the participants were requested to air their opinions about Confucianism, but in the questionnaire, there were no obvious items enquiring this topic. More interesting findings might be obtained if the contents of the questionnaire can be enriched.

Concluding Remarks and Suggestions on Future Investigations

With reference to data collected, it was obvious that CS was a common phenomenon among the Chinese participants especially among the students and parents at home or in the school although it was comparatively not so common on the teacher participants. Generally, within-turn CS was more popular than between-turns CS across the three groups of participants. The use of CS would be affected by the educational backgrounds of the speakers or interlocutors, the setting and situations under which the conversation took place or the topics of conversation and the language proficiency of the speakers.

During interviews, most participants considered the communicative function of language exceeded its learning and identity-reflective functions. However, it was found that the functions of language may be multifaceted or a language may perform different functions simultaneously, thus showing that the functions of language can be a complex issue.

Most participants believed that it was not necessary to use the Chinese language to reflect their Chinese cultural identity. They said they might use English to display their cultural identity. Most participants highly valued their cultural identity and were proud of their cultural background.

In regard to the relationship between the use of language and the formation of identity, most participants agreed that there was no obvious relationship between these two elements. In a narrow perspective, it is concluded that there is not a necessary relationship between the use of language and the reflection of cultural identity because people may use different languages other than their heritage language to reflect their cultural identity. However, in a broad perspective, we may also conclude that language use has a close relationship with identity reflection because we may use any language to reflect our cultural identities.

In addition, it was found that certain Confucian concepts still existed among participants although it was not common or it was not highly valued by the participants. However, the data were obtained from the personal opinions of the participants and impact of Confucianism might appear on people without their awareness.

In the future, in tune with our understanding about language use and identity formation, we may carry out studies that investigate how different functions of language

display in various situations or how different functions co-exist on people. This study aims at exploring how people's different types of cultural identity develop with the use of languages, and we may also examine whether there are factors propelling the formation of cultural identity.

Drawing on the weakness of the present paper in the design of the questionnaire, I may improve its quality by adding the number of items to satisfy the basic requirement imposed by the research method of factor analysis. For the questionnaire, I may add more items to assess how participants compare the different values of the three functions of language.

If a similar study will be conducted in the future, it is useful to design structured questionnaires for all groups of participants instead of only having student participants complete the questionnaire. When participants across the three groups undergo similar quantitative and qualitative methods, vertical comparisons across various research methods of the same group or horizontal comparisons across the same research method of different groups are possible.

The focus of this dissertation lies with Chinese-Canadians' perception of the functions of language and their formation of identities with the use of languages. However, our vision may expand when we recruit members of other minority groups to take part in a similar study and its results are compared with those of this dissertation. By conducting the same study with other minority groups, we may be able to draw cross references among various cultural groups.

The fundamental assumption underlying the studies of sociolinguistics is the notion that "the way people live affects the way they speak, and vice versa" (Peñalosa, 1980, p. 4).

As language is the manifestation of people's lives and the integral part of human identities (Kanno, 2003), we should go beyond facts strung together for making more plausible and productive theories to understand the purposes of language and its significance in the formation of people's identities.

Educational Implications of this Dissertation

Referring to the contribution of the knowledge about language and identity to education, Wright (1982) thought that identity is a psychological crisis in a social dimension within which people quest for the answer to the question of "Who are they?" and their positions in the world. In the fields of education and psychology, researchers are always eager to explore how people perceive their own identity as the thoughts and behaviors of others can in some way mirror our own thoughts and behaviors (Fay, 1996).

Following the above thought-line and hoping to deepen our understanding, this dissertation intends to observe language use and cultural identity from the dual perspective of educational psychology and sociolinguistics. Topics of educational psychology are more concerned with the exploration of people's thoughts and behaviors, self-beliefs and development as individuals or groups in educational settings, whereas sociolinguistic topics focus more on the relationships between language use and language behaviors in accord to the social contexts where people are located (Fishman, 1999). Viewing the same object through different lenses may help the viewers develop a new path of thinking.

In a multicultural perspective, how people of different cultural backgrounds live in another part of the same country or in another part of the earth may work as a reflection of our own life, thus enhancing mutual respect and understanding. It is even estimated that at least half of the world's total population is bilingual (Grosjean & Miller, 1994). The studies

of CS and identity formation help reveal more phenomena regarding “new mixed communities” (Rampton, 1998, p. 311).

From an educational point of view, to interpret how children code-switch under various situations may help educators and professionals understand the communicative repertoire children are drawing on for creating meanings and making sense of the external world (Martin, et al., 2003). As a matter of fact, the use of different languages or uses of CS in real settings simply reflects people’s “humanistic need” to naturally and freely express themselves in the languages they feel comfortable to practice (Macaro, 2001).

This dissertation aims at exploring how Chinese-Canadians who belong to a minority group in Vancouver form their cultural identity through the use of different languages such as Mandarin, Cantonese and English. As language is thought to contain insights on social relations in a given society (Bucjen-Knapp, 2003) and possess speakers’ voices, thoughts and feelings in linguistic environments (Spira, Grossman, and Wolff-Bensdorf, 2002), it is an effective tool with which we detect how people develop their identities. However, certain scholars (e.g., Lee & Gong, 1996; Rybak et al., 2002) suggested that people of different cultures may display specific behavioral patterns that cannot be explained by using studies acquired from other cultures. For instance, people’s CS patterns found in Hong Kong may be greatly different from those recorded in Vancouver as the sociocultural backgrounds of these places are completely different. I started my project in Vancouver because I exactly intended to research on how local Chinese-Canadians code-switched. No other studies can give more direct and appropriate information of the same theme than this study.

From a broader perspective, the acculturation of immigrated Chinese people, the interaction between Western and Eastern cultures, the CS of Chinese and English languages and the formation of cultural identity may reflect the way Chinese immigrants adapt their life in this new country. It is generally accepted that immigrants have made countless contributions in building the whole country.

The last but not the least, it is the role of endless effort and insight in research that guides our investment and molds our zest for creating new topics in the fields of language use and identity formation that pave a prosperous avenue for children's development. We also need to have continuous re-vision on our conceptions of multiculturalism and multilingualism so that mutual respect and appreciation among different peoples can come into view.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Questions for interviews with Specialists

Topic: The Promotion of the Chinese Language in Vancouver— The Past, Present and Future

(A) Interview 1 (Specialist 1: Dr. Miriam Yu)

Topic: The Past of Chinese Education in Vancouver

1. Would you please describe the early development of Chinese education in Vancouver and the factors that led to its development?
2. When was the first Chinese school established? How were the early Chinese schools operated? What were their mandates?
3. How did those schools meet the needs of the community?
4. What types of courses were run by those schools? What were the characteristics of their students such as their family backgrounds?
5. Did those schools undergo different stages of development? What was the trend of this development? What were the causes and effects of this trend?
6. According to your estimation, how many Chinese schools are there in Vancouver right now? In what way the existing Chinese schools are similar or different from the Chinese schools established in the past?

(B) Interview 2 (Specialist 2: Ms. Grace Ling)

Topic: The Present of Chinese Education in Vancouver

1. What are the characteristics of Chinese schools in Vancouver nowadays?
2. Were the students coming from immigrant families or born locally? What is the proportion of these two types of students? Is the ratio the same as that in the past?
3. What types of courses do they study? What is the proportion of Mandarin and Cantonese courses? Is this proportion the same as that in the past?
4. What does the ratio in Question 3 reflect?
5. How would you describe the family backgrounds of those students? Are they from families of the first generation of immigrants?
6. How would you think about the relationship between family backgrounds of the students and the types of Chinese courses they require?
7. How would you predict the trend of development of the relationship in Question 6?

(C) Interview 3 (Specialist 3: Miss Christine Wong)

Topic: The Future of Chinese Education in Vancouver

1. As I know that the Chinese programs operated by your learning centres are different from those of the traditional ones, how would you compare your Chinese programs and those provided by traditional Chinese schools?

2. What are the reasons that stimulate you to develop the current Chinese programs? In what way will you evaluate the significance of your Chinese programs to the local Chinese community?
3. How would you assess the value of Chinese education and Chinese culture to the local Chinese community and the mainstream?
4. How would you predict the roles of Chinese schools and Chinese culture in Vancouver in the future?
5. In what direction will Chinese schools develop?
6. What are the factors that lead to this development?
7. How would you develop a model Chinese school that will match the needs of the community?

Appendix B Ethical Approval of Research

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone 604-291-3447
FAX: 604-268-6785

April 19, 2006

Ms. Vivian Lo
Graduate Student
Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University

Dear Ms. Lo:

Re: The manifestation of identities in Chinese-Canadians through code-switching in school or at home in Vancouver - Appl. #37459

I am pleased to inform you that the above referenced Request for Ethical Approval of Research has been approved on behalf of the Research Ethics Board. This approval is in effect until the end date of April 16, 2009, or only during the period in which you are a registered SFU student.

Any changes in the procedures affecting interaction with human participants should be reported by email (dore@sfu.ca) to the Office of Research Ethics as a request for an amendment to the original protocol. In all correspondence relating to this application, please reference the application number shown on this letter and in all email. The "Subject Line" should be (example): Appl. #12345. Significant changes will require the submission of a revised Request for Ethical Approval of Research.

Your application has been categorized as "minimal risk" and approved by the Director, Office of Research Ethics, on behalf of the Research Ethics Board in accordance with University policy R20.01, <http://www.sfu.ca/policies/research/r20-01.htm>. The Board reviews and may amend decisions or subsequent amendments made independently by the Director, Chair or Deputy Chair at its regular monthly meetings.

"Minimal risk" occurs when potential participants can reasonably be expected to regard the probability and magnitude of possible harms incurred by participating in the research to be no greater than those encountered by the participant in those aspects of his or her everyday life that relate to the research.

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Please note that it is the responsibility of the researcher, or the responsibility of the Student Supervisor if the researcher is a graduate student or undergraduate student, to maintain written or other forms of documented consent for a period of 1 year after the research has been completed.

If there is an adverse event, the principal investigator must notify the Office of Research Ethics within five (5) days. An Adverse Events form is available electronically by contacting dore@sfu.ca.

Please continue to check your SFU email address for notices from the Office of Research Ethics regarding this ethics application.

Best wishes for success in this research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics

c: Dr. John Nesbit, Supervisor

/jmy

Appendix C
Approval Letter from School Principal (1)



僑道中文學校
KIU DO CHINESE SCHOOL

April 3 , 2006

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

We would be pleased to have Ms. Vivian Lo's research project on "The Manifestation of Identities in Chinese-Canadians through Code-switching in School or at Home in Vancouver" implemented in our Chinese school. We understand that the process of data collection from our students will be carried out under a safe condition and the results of the findings are both beneficial to our students and the community.

Yours very truly,

KIU DO CHINESE SCHOOL

Andrew Shum, Principal

ks

Appendix D
Approval Letter from School Principal (2)

TOC education resources
拓思教育資源中心

Phone: (604) 603-7017
Fax: (604) 439-1626
www.toceducationresources.com

May 16, 2006

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Vivian Lo

On behalf of TOC Education Resources, I would be pleased to have Ms. Vivian Lo's research project on "the Manifestation of Identities in Chinese-Canadians through Code-switching in School or at Home in Vancouver" implemented in our Chinese program. I understand that the process of data collection from students will be carried out under a safe condition and the results of the findings are both beneficial to our TOC students and the community.

Yours sincerely,

Christine Wong
Program Head / Director

Appendix E
Approval Letter from School Principal (3)

May 4, 2006

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Research Project Conducted by Vivian Lo

I am writing to confirm that we would be pleased to have Vivian Lo's research project on "The Manifestation of Identities in Chinese-Canadians through Code-switching in School or at Home in Vancouver" conducted in Ying Hua Chinese School, a non-profit entity which is a member of Kingston Education Group.

We understand that the process of data collection from our students will be carried out in a "non-threatening condition and that the results of the projects are beneficial both to our students and the community.

Please feel free to contact the undersigned should you need further information or assistance from us.

Yours truly,
Kingston Education Group Inc

per: Anna Burke
Vice-President

Appendix F

Sample of Consent Form for Adult Participants

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Form 2- Informed Consent By Participants In a Research Study

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 604-268-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Materials will be maintained in a secure location.

Title: The manifestation of identities in Chinese-Canadians through code-switching in school or at home in Vancouver
Investigator Name: Vivian Lo
Investigator Department: Education

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:
There will be no risks to the participant, third parties or society.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:
Participants will be more aware that they are building their identities while they are interacting with others and while they are code-switching between different languages. The investigator may collect more information in regard to the relationships between the use of different languages and the establishment of personal and cultural identities with special reference to the Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver.

Appendix G

Sample of Consent Form for Student Participants

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Form 3: INFORMED CONSENT FOR MINORS or CAPTIVE AND DEPENDENT POPULATIONS

CONSENT BY PARENT, GUARDIAN TO ALLOW PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Titled: The manifestation of identities in Chinese-Canadians through code-switching in school or at home in Vancouver

Investigator Name: Vivian Lo

Investigator Department: Education

The University and those conducting this study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and to ensure your full understanding of the procedures, risks, and benefits described below.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:

There will be no risks to the participant, third parties or society.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:

Participants will be more aware that they are building their identities while they are interacting with others and while they are code-switching between different languages. The investigator may collect more information in regard to the relationships between the use of different languages and the establishment of personal and cultural identities with special reference to the Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver.

Procedures:

Eight student participants will be interviewed, observed at their homes and inside the classrooms where they have their Chinese lessons. These student participants will have group discussions later. Some of them will be required to tape-record their daily conversations with other people. These student participants will also be requested to complete a log to record their daily use of languages.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to allow the minor named below to participate in the study.

Name Parent, Guardian or other (PRINT):

who is the (*relationship to minor*) (PRINT):

of

First name of minor (PRINT): Last name of minor (PRINT):

I certify that I understand the procedures to be used and have fully explained them to:

Name of minor participant:

and the participant knows that myself, or he or she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and that any complaints about the study may be brought to the chief researcher named above or to:

Department, School or Faculty: Chair, Director or Dean:
Education

8888 University Way, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, V5A 1S6, Canada

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting the researcher named above or:

The investigator, Vivian Lo (ph.604-5430587) (Email: knlo@sfu.ca)

I certify that I understand the procedures to be used and that I understand the Study Information Document, and that I have been able to receive clarification of any aspects of this study about which I have had questions.

Last Name Parent or Guardian:

First Name Parent or Guardian:

Signature:

Witness if required:

Date (use for
MM/DD/YYYY):

Appendix H Survey

Our ref. no.: _____

Please put “x” against the suitable answer:

In this study,

you are a student (), mother of a student () or teacher of a student ()

Please fill in the blanks with relevant information:

1. Age: _____
2. Sex: M / F
3. Were you born in Canada? Yes / No
4. If you were not born in Canada, how old were you when you moved to Canada?

5. If you immigrated to Canada, where did you come from?

9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

10. I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

14. Every day I speak both Chinese and English.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

16. I should talk to my parents politely.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

17. I should talk to my teachers politely.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.

neutral

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

21. I mainly speak English at school.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

24. My parents require me to learn Chinese.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

25. I speak English with my friends.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 neutral 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

(B) Read the instructions and fill in the following blanks with reference to your real experiences:

1. List the most frequent situations in which you speak only Chinese (for example, talking with my grandparents, talking with my Chinese teachers).
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

2. List the most frequent situations in which you use both English and Chinese (for example, eating dinner with family).
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

3. List the most frequent situations in which you mix English and Chinese in the same sentence (for example, talking with new immigrant friends).
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

4. List the most frequent situations in which you speak only English (for example, in school).
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

5. List the most frequent situations in which you speak English and Chinese in different complete sentences under the same situation (for example, talking with friends who can speak both languages).
 - (i) _____
 - (ii) _____
 - (iii) _____
 - (iv) _____
 - (v) _____

Appendix J

Log for Recording Language Use

Name of Participant: _____ Sex: _____ Age: _____

Were you born in Canada? Yes _____ No _____

If you were not born in Canada, how old were you when you immigrated here?

Native Language: Mandarin _____ Cantonese _____

Please record your daily interactions with other people.

Time: Fill in the duration of time within which you had the activity.

Activity: Use one or two words to describe the activity.

Language: Circle or write the languages you used when conversing with others.

(Key: M—Mandarin, C—Cantonese, E—English)

Interlocutor: To name the person with whom you were talking.

Time (Fill in)	Monday Date:	Tuesday Date:	Wednesday Date:	Thursday Date:	Friday Date:	Saturday Date:	Sunday Date:
Activity: Language: M / C / E Interlocutor:							
Activity: Language: M / C / E Interlocutor:							
Activity: Language: M / C / E Interlocutor:							
Activity: Language: M / C / E Interlocutor:							
Activity: Language: M / C / E Interlocutor:							

Appendix K

Interview Questions for Stage One: For Parents, Teachers and Students

(A) Questions for Interviews with Parents

1. What are the languages you use when talking with different members of your family, such as the elderly, your spouse and children? Do you use different languages with different children? If yes, under what situations do you change your languages?
2. What is the Chinese dialect you speak at home with your family members? Do you speak different Chinese dialects? Do you speak different Chinese dialects to different people? Please give examples to explain.
3. Do you work? What languages do you use when talking with your co-workers at your work place? Do you change the languages when talking to different co-workers? If yes, why and when do you make such changes?
4. How often do you meet with your relatives? Will you meet certain relatives more often than the others? What languages do you use when talking to them? How often and where do you meet with your friends?
5. Do you have many friends? Do you have friends from different groups? Can you give some examples showing how and where you know your friends? Will you engage in different activities when meeting with different groups of friends?
6. How do you think about your child's learning of Chinese? Why do you register him/her in a Chinese class?
7. How would you think about your identity at home, at your work place and in society? How would you think about your child's identity at home, in school or in society?
8. How would you value the languages you use at home, in your work place and in society?
9. How would you value the Chinese and English languages in Greater Vancouver?
10. How do you think about the influences of Confucian theories on you, your family and the local Chinese community? To what extent do you agree that these theories have influenced the process of self-identification? Can you give some examples?

(B) Questions for Interviews with Chinese Teachers

1. What are the languages you use when teaching in class?
2. What is the language the participating student usually uses when communicating with you in class? What is the language used by other students?
3. Will you change the languages you use from time to time in class? If yes, under what situations will you change the languages you use? What are the languages used in class usually and what are their proportions?
4. Will your students change their use of languages in class? Under what situations will they change their use of languages and how often are the changes? Do you

have any special communication patterns with the participating student; that is, what are the languages you use when communicating with him/her?

5. How would you value your student's identity in class and in society?
6. How would you value the use of languages in class? How would you think the participating student values his/her use of languages in class?
7. How would you value the English and Chinese languages in Greater Vancouver?
8. How do you think about the influences of Confucian theories on your students and in the local Chinese community as a whole? Can you show me some examples indicating the presence of Confucianism in class or elsewhere?

(C) Questions for Interviews with Students

1. What languages do you use in your family? Will you use different languages when talking to different members in the family? If yes, under what situations, and with whom will you will you make a change in the use of language?
2. What are the languages you use in class? Will you change your use of language in class? If yes, under what situations will you make the change? How do you make such changes? Will you use different languages when talking to your teachers and classmates?
3. What languages will you use when communicating with your friends? Can you tell me the names of three of your best friends? What kind of languages will you use when talking to them? Will you change the use of languages when talking to different friends? Why and how often do you make such changes?
4. How would you describe yourself to be Chinese? How would you think about your position at home, in class and in society? Will your Chinese descent be a factor that influences your position at home, in class and in society? How would you feel if the others describe you as a Chinese boy/girl?
5. If you use different languages like English and Chinese at different places, how would you think about meanings of making such changes? Can you explain with your own words about the values or importance of these languages at home, in school and in society?
6. How do you think about Confucian theories? Can you give examples to show your understanding about these theories? In what way do you think these theories have influenced your thinking or your life? To what extent do you find the practices of these theories at home, in school or in society?

Appendix L

Interview Questions for Stage Two: For Parents and Teachers

1. The data of questionnaire for student participants reveal that the student participants mix Chinese and English languages in their daily life situations. What are your opinions on the conversation pattern?
2. Some people consider the functions of language as for: (a) learning, (b) communicating thoughts and feelings, and (c) reflecting one's identity. How do you comment on the use of Chinese and English in Vancouver?
3. The findings of the questionnaire for the student participants tell us that they mostly felt proud of their Chinese heritage. How do you comment on their thinking? In what way it is related to the way they establish their identity?
4. The findings also tell us that the student participants spoke with each other mainly in English although they sometimes mixed Chinese and English in their dialogues. To what extent do you think their conversation patterns will influence the way they establish their identity? What type of identity they are likely to establish?
5. The findings reveal that the student participants learned Chinese because they wanted to preserve the Chinese culture, this language is useful and their parents required them to learn it. How do you think about their motives of learning Chinese? To what extent do you think these motives reflect students' beliefs about their identity?
6. A large number of student participants agreed that they should talk to their parents and teachers politely. To what extent do you consider that their thinking is related to the influence of Confucianism?
7. A large number of student participants agreed that they learned Chinese because their parents required them to do so and they wanted to preserve the Chinese culture. To what extent do you consider that their thinking is related to the influence of Confucianism?
8. For the interviews with parents and teachers at the first stage of this project, a number of parents and teachers suggested that their children were not aware of their cultural identity or they were not mature enough to develop their identity. How do you comment on these opinions? At what age do you think young Chinese-Canadians will start to think about their cultural identity in Canada?

Appendix M

Protocols for Observation at home and in the school

(A) Protocol for Observing the Group Discussions

1. There will be two group discussions, one in each school.
2. Students of each group will be given a unit of tape-recording to listen to. Afterward, students are encouraged to discuss the contents of the recording. During the discussion, each student will be requested to express his/her personal opinions. The contents of the group discussion and expression of individual opinions will be recorded verbatim.
3. The tape-recorded scenario will be about several young people who are talking in different languages under a daily life situation.
4. The scenarios given to the two groups will be the same.
5. The data obtained from two groups will be compared and analyzed to examine if there are significant differences between members of the two groups.
6. Opinions from Cantonese and Mandarin students will also be compared. Since there will be two Cantonese native speaker and two Mandarin native-speaker in each group. It will be expected that most of them will tend to converse in English.
7. The researcher will count (i) the frequency of CS, (ii) the topic of discussion prior to CS, (iii) the characteristics of CS, (iv) participants' opinions about their identities with their use of languages, (v) other relevant information.
8. The researcher will also record who initiate a dialogue and who responds to it and how the flow of discussion perpetuates.

(B) Protocol for Observations within Classrooms

2. The researcher will go to the classroom of each student participant trying to record the conversations between the student participant and the teacher, and between the student participant and other students. The researcher will record their conversations and make verbatim transcription later for future analysis.
3. The researcher will take field notes about the dialogues if necessary in order to record both verbal and non-verbal information that might be valuable to the overall discussion.
4. The researcher will pay special attention to the languages used within the conversations. Then the research will count the number of dialogues that are spoken in English and Chinese (Cantonese/Mandarin) and investigate the contents of conversations that precede the occurrence of CS.
5. The researcher will record who initiates a dialogue and who responds to it and under what situation a unit of CS takes place.
6. The researcher will, from the conversations, muster all clues that can reflect how the teacher or students form their identities.
7. The data obtained from classroom observations will be compared in order to search for patterns of similarities and differences across varied classroom situations.

(C) Protocol for Observations at Participants' Homes

1. The researcher will visit the family of student participant and prepare a game for the mother to play with the student. The game session will approximately last for one hour. The researcher will observe their interactions during this play session and tape-record their conversation as far as possible.
2. The researcher will pay attention to the types of languages they use when communicating with each other. Then the researcher will count the frequency of CS and analyze the topics of conversations that precede CS. This process will be put forth and interpreted in a similar way like that used in the classroom observation.
3. Again, data collected from different families will be compared for the purpose of mustering evidence that shows similar or contrasting phenomena across differing familial situations.

Appendix N

Revised Descriptive Statistics

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Analysis N</i>
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	4.19	1.919	190
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	4.56	2.056	190
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	2.65	1.943	190
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	2.83	1.771	190
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	4.52	1.879	190
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	3.93	1.872	190
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	3.23	2.021	190
9.. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	5.99	1.447	190
10. I mix Chinese and English so that I can express my meanings more properly.	4.18	2.083	190
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.	2.37	1.734	190
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	4.07	1.689	190
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	2.72	1.950	190
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.	2.40	1.699	190
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	6.03	1.445	190
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	6.08	1.410	190
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	2.76	1.755	190
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	5.17	1.813	190
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	5.42	1.846	190
21. I mainly speak English at school.	5.91	1.640	190
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	5.92	1.458	190
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	5.25	1.899	190
25. I speak English with my parents.	5.73	1.715	190
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.	5.20	1.797	190
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	1.94	1.433	190
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.	5.74	1.679	190
29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	5.33	1.840	190
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.	5.11	1.800	190
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.	3.15	1.895	190

Appendix O

Communalities

Communalities	Initial	Extraction
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	.581	.607
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.663	.749
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.505	.537
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	.468	.467
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	.508	.714
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	.426	.453
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	.542	.581
9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	.337	.367
10. I mix Chinese and English so that can express my meanings more properly.		.565
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.		.478
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.		.345
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	.512	.661
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.		.217
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	.557	.776
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	.495	.544
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	.262	.224
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.464	.495
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	.356	.360
21. I mainly speak English at school.	.614	.879
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	.574	.728
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	.490	.485
25. I speak English with my parents.	.607	.652
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.		.484
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	.471	.516
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.	.497	.515
29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	.362	.299
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.	.521	.610
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.		.359

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Appendix P

Total Variance Explained

Factors	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		Rotation Sums of Loadings (a)	
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	total
1.	4.828	17.245	17.245	4.375	15.624	15.624	3.469
2.	4.204	15.016	32.261	3.777	13.489	29.113	3.248
3.	2.827	10.097	42.358	2.472	8.830	37.943	2.780
4.	1.724	6.158	48.516	1.213	4.332	42.274	2.204
5.	1.357	4.847	53.363	.944	3.372	45.646	2.551
6.	1.210	4.320	57.683	.769	2.747	48.394	2.742
7.	1.149	4.103	61.786	.667	2.382	50.776	2.371
8.	1.059	3.782	65.568	.605	2.161	52.937	2.536
9.	.987	3.525	69.093				
10.	.920	3.286	72.379				
11.	.738	2.636	75.016				
12.	.669	2.389	77.405				
13.	.615	2.198	79.603				
14.	.578	2.064	81.666				
15.	.564	2.016	83.682				
16.	.544	1.941	85.623				
17.	.488	1.743	87.366				
18.	.462	1.651	89.016				
19.	.439	1.567	90.583				
20.	.394	1.406	91.989				
21.	.356	1.271	93.260				
22.	.341	1.219	94.479				
23.	.316	1.129	95.608				
24.	.306	1.092	96.700				
25.	.253	.903	97.603				
26.	.238	.849	98.452				
27.	.224	.801	99.253				
28.	.209	.747	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. When factors are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Appendix Q

Factor Matrix

	Factor							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	.158	.672	.310	-.092	.150	-.049	.006	-.026
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.472	.643	-.053	-.294	-.005	-.083	.119	-.049
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	-.362	-.470	-.068	.286	-.036	-.124	-.281	.056
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	.407	.188	-.379	.296	.045	-.130	-.110	.069
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	.291	.561	.243	.137	-.007	-.102	-.223	-.420
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	.230	.494	.299	.035	.090	-.105	-.197	-.085
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	.489	.452	-.290	.174	-.080	-.103	-.059	.062
9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	.479	-.175	.187	-.050	-.077	.156	-.174	.094
10. I mix Chinese and English so that can express my meanings more properly.	.609	.418	.020	.071	-.021	.097	-.043	.043
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.	-.470	.368	-.075	.214	.015	.179	.127	.239
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	.311	.306	.095	-.154	.013	-.018	.176	.288
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	.362	.336	-.489	.307	.096	-.012	-.125	.243
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.	-.206	.157	-.053	.236	.122	.057	-.085	-.140
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	.384	-.422	.379	.119	.424	.319	-.105	0.34
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	.304	-.340	.395	.084	.250	.296	-.133	.078
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	.162	.366	-.016	.217	.032	.007	-.032	.121
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.499	.190	.131	-.178	-.308	.235	.011	.103
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	.287	-.152	-.112	.357	-.200	-.051	.265	-.041
21. I mainly speak English at school.	-.143	.021	.759	.251	-.334	-.200	-.108	.235
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	.552	-.421	.032	-.260	.114	-.366	-.040	.168
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	.521	-.300	.087	.003	.204	-.220	.148	-.066
25. I speak English with my parents.	-.111	.000	.726	.187	-.277	.008	.035	.002
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.	.451	-.358	-.213	.135	-.321	.256	-.041	-.100
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	-.463	.339	.046	.235	.292	.135	.152	.058
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful	.499	-.383	.181	.066	.172	-.211	.060	.71

29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	.301	-.251	-.144	.326	-.016	-.015	.06	-.116
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.	.592	-.264	.078	.202	-.053	.083	.334	-.151
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.	-.225	.210	.390	.232	.177	-.148	.297	-.029

Appendix R

Pattern Matrix (a)

	Factor							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	.456	-.007	.044	.056	.029	-.205	.232	.296
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.786	.002	-.016	-.159	-.073	-.059	-.037	.159
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	-.801	.019	.163	.204	.051	-.074	-.091	-.008
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	-.129	.093	.013	-.086	-.057	.146	-.036	.103
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	-.003	-.044	.042	.060	-.054	.025	-.002	.822
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	.119	.063	.148	.145	.074	-.202	.064	.455
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	.172	.038	.546	-.018	-.175	.129	-.088	.147
9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	.097	.112	.064	.129	.327	-.049	-.351	.003
10. I mix Chinese and English so I can express my meanings more properly.	.392	-.025	.328	.014	.126	.082	-.121	.163
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.	.095	-.535	.213	.093	.003	-.020	.257	-.279
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	.578	.144	.151	.088	-.016	-.061	.092	-.261
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	-.020	-.072	.794	-.131	.040	.031	-.043	-.067
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.	-.243	-.269	.101	-.077	.084	.025	.137	.227
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	-.057	.054	-.035	-.093	.886	-.028	.037	-.001
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	-.031	.000	-.039	0.51	.736	-.065	-.064	.023
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	.102	-.126	.376	.100	.046	.030	.091	.054
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.543	-.086	-.006	.154	.052	.060	-.397	-.072
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	-.025	.006	.157	.136	-.180	.645	.086	-.085
21. I mainly speak English at school.	-.173	.069	.030	.051	-.048	-.026	.063	.036
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	.029	.861	.073	.005	-.007	-.132	-.086	-.138
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	.058	.560	-.009	-.093	.083	.234	.175	.037
25. I speak English with my parents.	-.006	-.115	-.244	.682	.045	.157	.080	.118
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.	-.053	-.133	.041	-.026	.075	.442	-.481	-.041
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	.031	-.430	.083	-.075	.163	-.020	.496	-.070
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.	-.045	.563	.087	.078	.181	.157	.120	-.047
29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	-.223	.051	.172	-.033	.041	.448	.013	.065
30. I speak to my family members in	.226	.123	-.077	-.019	.093	.067	.076	-.023

Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.								
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese.	.094	-.017	-.097	.217	-.033	.208	.630	.049

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 10 iterations.

Appendix S

Structure Matrix

	Factor							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words because I don't know the correct words in Chinese.	.621	-.119	.260	.227	-.018	-.285	.298	.582
2. I sometimes mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.836	.038	.372	-.016	-.040	-.051	-.081	.541
3. I never mix Chinese and English in the same sentence.	-.695	-.038	-.195	.045	.003	-.015	.010	-.355
4. I usually speak Chinese to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn English better.	.160	.142	.636	-.234	-.028	.252	-.161	.202
5. When speaking in Chinese, I use some English words to help others understand my meaning better.	.458	-.050	.292	.186	.013	-.010	.070	.840
6. I usually speak English to clarify my meaning with others so that I can learn Chinese better.	.451	.001	.275	.256	.079	-.163	.140	.601
8. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words to help others understand my meaning better.	.459	.073	.699	-.125	-.117	.178	-.178	.387
9. We should interact with others in a friendly way and avoid making conflicts with others.	.215	.371	.073	.161	.444	.273	-.418	.103
10. I mix Chinese and English so that can express my meanings more properly.	.631	.154	.535	.052	.189	.212	-.214	.481
11. I would prefer others not to recognize my Chinese heritage.	-.032	-.625	.116	.065	-.298	-.340	.425	-.133
12. When people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English, I can understand them better.	.514	.132	.268	.118	.046	-.028	.000	.119
13. When speaking English, I use some Chinese words because I do not know the correct words in English.	.232	-.015	.793	-.293	-.080	.130	-.117	.145
15. It is confusing when people speak to me in a mixture of Chinese and English because I cannot completely understand their meaning.	-.125	-.288	.073	-.055	-.077	-.100	.228	.127
16. I should talk to my parents politely.	-.006	.422	-.123	.104	.871	.333	-.114	.016
17. I should talk to my teachers politely.	.019	.320	-.134	.206	.730	.244	-.141	.013
18. When speaking Chinese, I use some English words to show that I know English.	.278	-.111	.405	.078	.010	-.008	.095	.252
19. I am comfortable mixing Chinese and English in the same sentence.	.559	.154	.186	.188	.176	.202	-.431	.225
20. My family members understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	-.003	.170	.176	.011	.071	.547	-.154	-.032
21. I mainly speak English at school.	.011	-.022	-.206	.922	.155	-.110	.196	.124
22. I am proud of my Chinese heritage.	.073	.834	.045	-.049	.327	.281	-.355	-.098
23. I learn Chinese because I want to maintain the Chinese culture.	.109	.644	.055	-.063	.388	.444	-.150	.073
25. I speak English with my parents.	.170	.062	-.073	-.331	.759	.222	.015	.165
26. I feel comfortable when talking to others in Chinese.	-.021	.259	.090	-.125	.248	.619	-.633	-.086
27. I avoid talking with others in Chinese because I do not want the others to be aware of my Chinese heritage.	-.058	-.538	.027	.012	-.143	-.333	.609	.001
28. I learn Chinese because it is useful.	.039	.664	.040	.078	.479	.426	-.170	-.002

29. My Chinese teachers understand my meaning better if I speak Chinese.	-.113	.241	.158	-.114	.203	.500	-.192	-.001
30. I speak to my family members in Chinese in order to maintain the Chinese language.	.202	.453	.070	.006	.426	.734	-.283	.088
31. My friends don't like speaking Chinese. .147		.060	-.163	-.109	.319	.012	-.100	.585

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.