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Perspectives of Heritage Language and Learning Experiences:
A Case Study on Young Adult Chinese-Canadians

by

Liping Liu

A THESIS

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Abstract

This qualitative multiple-case study, which focuses on the perception of five young adult Chinese-Canadians, explores how individuals from diasporic backgrounds perceive themselves, their heritage languages, and their Chinese language learning journeys. Drawing on a framework of investment model (Darvin & Norton, 2015) and apply it to the heritage language learning context, I report and interpret the interview data through cross-case analysis. Findings show that the participants embrace their hybrid and fluid identities. Both Mandarin and Cantonese-speaking participants show shifting attitudes toward Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) learning and generally from reluctance to enjoyment. What and how they invest in CHL learning are primarily mediated by the imagined communities among which they desire to be a part, and how the capital they possess is valued by the knowledge authorities. This study carries implications for immigrant family language policies, CHL classroom experiences, and suggests possible further longitudinal research.

Keywords: Chinese as a heritage language, immigrants, identity, investment

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List of Symbols, Abbreviations, and Nomenclature

Symbol	Definition
CFL	Chinese as a Foreign Language
CHL	Chinese as a Heritage Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
HL	Heritage Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition

Chapter 1 Introduction

> At that time, it [Chinese language] was just another thing that I think I should have learned, but I didn't want to. Now it's something I kind of value more in a cultural sense. Because I am Chinese, I should kind of try to hold on to that and teach it to the people after me. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

This quote comes from a young adult Chinese-Canadian student, one of my five study participants in Calgary, who moved to Canada prior to grade one or were born in Canada. In a snapshot, Luke's words capture attitude changes of Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) learners whom I examine for this thesis, with the notion 'Chinese (languages)' understood as an umbrella term for all Chinese language varieties such as Cantonese, Fujianese, and Mandarin (He, 2006; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Zhang, 2012).

CHL learners are exposed to at least two languages, usually Chinese and the dominant language in a host country, simultaneously or sequentially in their day-to-day lives (Valdés, 2005). As a generalization, CHL learners tend to use more English gradually, in Canada for example, and less Chinese, since English is one of Canada's official languages (Duff & Li, 2014; Duff et al., 2017).

Studies over the past decade have shown ongoing scholarly interest in immigrant attitudes toward and perceptions of their heritage languages (HL) and CHL learning (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Wong & Xiao, 2010). Some have found that immigrant parents usually hold favorable views promoting heritage languages to their children; nevertheless, their teenage kids sometimes find the learning unnecessary since the language is mainly spoken at home or, in some cases, not at all (Montrul, 2016; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Other studies have focused on the perception shifts of young adult

heritage language learners—usually from indifference to favorable—since they get older and come to appreciate their connections to their heritage languages and culture (He, 2012; Mu & Dooley, 2015). They sometimes regret not having learned them more and look for opportunities to resume CHL learning at the university (Li & Duff, 2014). Lo-Philip (2010) hence considered attitudes toward HL learning a process, or more precisely, an identity process. As will be discussed later, this process is fluid. It is a place of struggle between many forces, such as locally prevalent ideologies about the minority languages, family inculcation, institutional mediation, and the learner's agency (Duff et al., 2017; He, 2006; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Norton, 2015; Wong & Xiao, 2010).

Inquirers have been asking questions like how do immigrants and their successive generations perceive themselves and their heritage languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Spolsky, 2004; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009)? If HL learners change their language attitudes over time, then what causes the changes, and how do they change over time (Duff, 2017; He, 2006, 2012)? What do immigrant families provide to support the heritage language development of their children (Little, 2017; Mu & Dooley, 2015)? How do community HL schools help immigrant children with HL learning, and what is the dilemma (Duff et al., 2017)? How are heritage languages involved in public schools, such as in high schools and post-secondary institutions (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017)? And how do CHL learners with dialect backgrounds (the term 'dialect' is used in this study to indicate Chinese language varieties other than Mandarin) perceive their CHL learning (He, 2012; Wong & Xiao, 2010)?

However, Li and Duff (2014) have noted that, compared with studies on young children, fewer qualitative inquiries, for example, in-depth case studies, have been carried out with regard to HL learning experiences of older children and young adults. They pointed out that even fewer

studies have been done to investigate the connections between the investment of older children and young adults in learning and their identity perceptions, or how their identities and investments change over time. Both learner groups of Mandarin and with other Chinese language variety backgrounds should be included in the conversation.

Context of the Study

Over the past two decades, the demographic features of the migration of Chinese people to Canada have witnessed dramatic changes (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). Once dominant immigrants from Cantonese-speaking areas such as Hong Kong and Guangdong province have been outnumbered by those from other Mandarin-speaking regions of mainland China. According to the latest Canada Census (2017), the number of immigrants from mainland China to Canada 25 times outpaced those from Hong Kong during 2011 and 2016. By May 2016, those who recognized their mother tongue as Mandarin outnumbered those as Cantonese by about 27 thousand people.

Nevertheless, the most frequently spoken Chinese variety in Calgary, no matter at home or work, as a mother tongue or as knowledge, remains as Cantonese (Statistics Canada, 2017). Based on these data, an inference can be made that there are more second and third-generation Chinese-Canadians who may recognize their heritage language as Cantonese. Meanwhile, most of the more recent first-generation immigrants may identify their mother tongue as Mandarin. As for CHL education, weekend heritage language schools were dominant until the Calgary Board of Education started to offer English-Mandarin bilingual programs in recent years. Nevertheless, it is a fact that many young adult Chinese-Canadians did not get chances to attend bilingual schools when they were little but usually took community-based CHL weekend school courses instead. Recognizing the value of Mandarin as the majority and official language of Mainland

China, a growing economy, CHL learners who speak another Chinese language variety, such as Cantonese speakers, tend to attend Mandarin courses. More extended history with Cantonese variety, home language as Cantonese, yet trending CHL learning in Mandarin Chinese, such a portfolio of scenarios for Cantonese-speaking CHL learners in my study in the city of Calgary makes this city a unique context where to locate my research.

Purpose of the Study

With the hope of increasing the number of in-depth qualitative studies concerning young adult immigrants, especially the connection between their identities and investments in CHL learning, and Chinese language learning experiences of both Mandarin users and speakers of regional variants of the Chinese language, I analyze the attitudes of young adult Chinese-Canadian immigrants in Calgary regarding their heritage languages, that is, Cantonese and Mandarin and other Chinese language varieties, and their CHL learning experiences. Using a case study approach (described below), I explore the attitudes and CHL learning trajectories of the five participants. I interpret and compare their progressing ethnolinguistic identities, how the participants reflect on their attitude shifts in their CHL learning investments, and how their experiences are similar or different based on their diverse backgrounds.

Research Question

How do young adult Chinese immigrant students in Calgary perceive their heritage languages and CHL learning experiences? My research question is composed of three sub-questions:

1. How do my participants position themselves and their heritage languages, and how do their attitudes change?

2. How resources or forms of capital that they possess are treated in their CHL learning, and how does that influence their learning investments?

3. How do my participants relate their CHL investments to their imagined future?

The first sub-question works to figure out how the sense of self of each participant changes over time and how these changes influence or are indicated by their CHL learning attitudes. The second question, addressing their CHL learning experiences, examines how the resources and previous knowledge they possess are treated during their learning process and how do those affect their learning engagements. The last question explores the connection of their CHL learning investment with their imagined communities. To answer these questions, I carry out semi-structured interviews with my participants and perform thematic analysis as a way to compare the cases. In this study, I draw on Darvin and Norton's model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), a theoretical construct integrating identity, ideology, and capital. I interpret and adapt their construct to the CHL learning context as a lens through which to analyze both how my five study participants perceive their HLs and CHL learning experiences and how their perceptions and investment in CHL learning change over time.

Significance of the Study

By looking into young adult Chinese-Canadian immigrant perceptions of their heritage languages and CHL learning experiences, I observe identity shifts (shifts which might not be found in studies with younger kids). I also bring in problems that Chinese speakers of regional variants encounter. One such issue is the attitude changes of Cantonese-speaking learners of Mandarin.

My analysis builds upon the ESL theory developed by Darvin and Norton (2015). I take their construct and apply it to the CHL learning context (Nordstrom, 2019). I do this as a way to

examine how the interplay of ideology, identity, and capital works to mediate CHL investment (explained in detail below).

I interviewed five participants. Their opinions provide perspectives on their diverse forms of CHL learning at different periods from childhood to young adulthood. It is my aspiration that their voices will be heard by various groups. For example, stakeholders—found in places like public schools and communities—may consider providing CHL learners with more adaptive and productive learning experiences. As for immigrant parents, they might want to reexamine whether their family language policy keeps in step with, informs, and is informed by their children's fluid and emerging identities. Through this qualitative study, I hope to make a modest contribution to the existing literature.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of five chapters. After this introductory part providing general information about the study, I review previous literature in the second chapter, such as primary studies on CHL attitudes and CHL education. In the third chapter, I discuss the research paradigm, the theoretical framework, and the research tradition adopted in this thesis; the data collecting and analyzing methods are also clarified. Subsequently, I present data analysis and research findings in chapter four in the form of multiple themes. And in the final section, I answer my research questions and discuss major findings by relating them to other literature; the limitations and implications of this study are also mentioned at the end.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

In this part of the thesis, I review the literature on related topics. First, I discuss the definition and my understanding of the terms ‘heritage language’ and ‘CHL learners’. Then, the immigration history of Chinese people to Canada is briefly reviewed. Subsequently, I collect the previous studies on the immigrant attitudes toward their heritage languages (HLs), especially Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) and its learning, including family language ideology and policy, immigrant children’s responses, and opinions of CHL learners who knew a Chinese language variety other than Mandarin. After that, I look at how CHL learners are supported with their heritage language learning in schools and at home.

Heritage Language and Chinese Heritage Language Learners

Define heritage language: Its speakers and learners.

The notion of ‘heritage language’ is usually defined from two different perspectives in the literature. In a personal stance, researchers have widely agreed on its connection with one’s ethnic and cultural heritage. Early in 1983, Cummins has described it as “the community ethnocultural language” (p. 1). Since then, similar definitions are adopted by other scholars, such as “the language associated with one’s cultural background, and it may or may not be spoken in the home” (Cho et al., 1997, p. 106). What is highlighted in the broad definition is the feature of heritage rather than personal proficiency in the language (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). When it comes to a national stance, however, the term refers to the immigrant, indigenous, and colonial languages that exclude the dominant languages of a specific region (Cummins, 2005; Fishman, 2001; He, 2012), that is, any language other than English and French in the Canadian context (Cummins, 1991).

Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) has reviewed the naming debates of heritage language,

mentioning that the term sometimes gives readers an impression of the past but not the future. Besides, the name is in an inferior status as opposed to the majority languages of a specific country as well. The term 'international language', instead, is preferred in the Canadian government documents (Cummins, 2005; Duff, 2008b) for "a more forward-looking global focus" (Duff, 2008b, p. 82). 'Heritage language' that I am discussing in this thesis comes from a personal perspective and is related to the cultural and linguistic heritage of individuals. This validates the use of the term heritage language here and distinguishes it from a second language or a foreign language for heritage learners (He, 2006; Lo-Philip, 2010).

When it comes to the definition of heritage (language) learners, the debates often surround language proficiency. As Wiley (2001a) has summarized, there are understandings of heritage language learners from two points of view. From a language revitalization view, supportive voices have noted that students can be regarded as heritage learners as long as they have cultural connections to the language and affiliation to the ethnolinguistic group, no matter they have learned or used the language or not (Cho et al., 1997; Cummins, 2005; Fishman, 2001); whereas others viewing from a pedagogical stance have argued for minimum knowledge on or exposure to the language (Valdés, 2001; Wiley, 2001a). Though the definition has not been unified yet, I adopt an inclusive definition of heritage language learners to this thesis, which refers to "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to nonspeakers who may be generations removed but who may feel culturally connected to the language" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 221). Language proficiency nevertheless is not the only debate in defining the heritage language learners. Learners speaking different varieties of a language further complicate the situation (Wiley, 2001a). One typical example is the situation where some of the participants of this study attended Mandarin classes while claiming Cantonese as their

heritage language.

CHL and CHL learners in Canada.

Li and Duff (2014) have defined Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) learners as "students who have had at least some prior exposure to a Chinese language (or 'dialect') in the home" (p. 220). Wong & Xiao (2010) also approved taking "an all-inclusive approach with a broad definition, considering both Mandarin and dialect speakers as 'heritage' students" (p. 152).

He (2006) has noted that 'Chinese', a shared language spoken by billions of Han Chinese, is like an umbrella covering numerous variants. Despite using Mandarin based on the Beijing variant as a standard language in mainland China, almost all Han Chinese people speak or understand a regional variant of Chinese of their hometown. Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, as a special case, recognizes Cantonese as its official language. This Chinese language variety is also spoken in Guangdong province in southern China. Besides oral speech diversity, the Chinese language has two writing systems now in use (Duff & Doherty, 2019; He, 2006)—the simplified scripts of Chinese characters mainly in use in mainland China and the traditional scripts mainly in Hongkong and Taiwan. As its name suggests, simplified Chinese texts are based on traditional scripts but with strokes of many characters decreased, aiming to help with wiping out illiteracy. The simplification process of Chinese characters had lasted for hundreds of years, but the simplified characters were only standardized after the foundation of the People's Republic of China. And as another innovation against illiteracy, Chinese linguists in the 1950s borrowed Latin alphabets to create 'Pinyin'—an evolved written phonetic system for Chinese characters (Wong & Xiao, 2010). Not only did that help to educate Chinese who cannot read and write characters decades ago, but the Pinyin system also played a significant role nowadays in teaching novice Chinese language learners domestic and abroad.

The history of Chinese people emigrating to Canada began around 1858 (Con et al., 1982). Since then, both the purpose of migration and areas of inflow and outflow varied in different periods. When Chinese people first emigrated to Canada in the mid-19 century, most of them were less-educated peasants from coastal areas in Southern provinces such as Guangdong (speaking Cantonese) and Fujian (speaking Fujianese/Min variant), which were forced to open as treaty ports. As coolies, railroad workers, and miners, they mostly gathered in Victoria, British Columbia. After the completion of the railway construction, Chinese migrants began to move eastward and scattered in almost every part of Canada. However, it was also a fact that discrimination played a role in Chinese immigrants' life in Canada, and that peaked with the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act. The act directly restricted the growth of Chinese migrants in Canada. It was described by Con et al. (1982) that by the end of World War Two, Chinese in Canada were a "declining, aging population" (p. 209). Though the actions against prejudice never stopped, it was not until the end of World War Two that the climate of non-discrimination was upheld by the United Nations Charter. Besides, the shared victory of China as an ally largely pushed forward the repeal process of the 1923 Act, though that has lasted for approximately 20 years. Canada's immigration point system in 1967 once again helped to resume the number of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Most of them were residences from Hong Kong who were well-educated, speaking Cantonese, as skilled labor for construction (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). Another peak for immigration of Hong Kong residence to Canada was during the 1980s-1990s when they were not sure about the future of the land. As opposed to that of Hong Kong, the emigration of mainland China residents to Canada after World War Two came later, but finally made possible and became more convenient since the Reform and Opening-up policy adopted in 1978. Since then, immigrants from Mandarin-speaking regions to Canada gradually outnumbered

those from Cantonese-speaking areas.

According to Census Canada in the year 2017, Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin, Min Dong, Min Nan (including Taiwanese), and Wu (Shanghainese) are listed in the category of Chinese languages, and almost 95% of those who speak Chinese languages at home are Cantonese or Mandarin speakers (Statistics Canada, 2017). Although statistics showed that Chinese immigrants who speak Mandarin largely outnumbered those who speak Cantonese as a home language, it is undeniable that Cantonese has a more extended history among immigrants in Canada. Meanwhile, in the frequent international exchanges, Mandarin is endorsed with more economic value and spoken by a larger population (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018; Duff et al., 2017). Many parents from Cantonese speaking families send their children to Mandarin classrooms in Canada, which causes mismatches in language varieties or scripts for learners (He, 2008).

Attitudes Toward CHL and Learning

How a heritage language (HL) is perceived in a region is primarily related to local ideologies toward minority languages. Language ideologies here, or language beliefs, as Spolsky (2004) noted, “designate a speech community’s consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire” (p. 14). As those ideologies vary in different contexts, local language policy orientations give a hint of how minority languages are perceived in host countries. Ruiz (1984) concluded three general types of HL orientations of language dispositions and roles for language planning situated in any social context: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource, which can also be regarded as three trajectories of immigrant attitudes toward their heritage languages. For instance, some immigrants may take their own heritage languages as a barrier against their efforts to

assimilate into mainstream society, some as their right to speak, as a cultural resource, or holding more than one of these orientations. For immigrant parents, their HL perceptions can easily influence their next generation through family language policy and HL development plans and expectations on their children (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

The globalization and gradual rise of China as a big economy in the global trade markets gained the Chinese language more values (Bell, 2013; Duff & Li, 2013, 2014; Zhu & Li, 2014), such as in getting access to "economical advantageous job possibilities" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, p. 38). Since the opening-up of the global markets, minority languages in immigrant countries have become significant resources in the international trade, collaboration, national security and so on (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017), urging popular host countries to hold open attitudes toward minority language within. Chinese, as the language of a rising economy and spoken by billions of people, began to receive attention by researchers in terms of CHL learning and education in diasporic communities, as well as teaching Chinese as a foreign language (Duff et al., 2017; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Duff et al. (2017) summarized four reasons for the attention that the Chinese language gets:

> (1) the sheer scope and scale of Chinese people's migration and mobility; (2) the affordances of new, high-speed, and relatively low-cost information, communication, and transportation technologies allowing people to connect with Chinese communities and languages near and far; (3) the financial means, political will, and efforts that many communities are able to mobilize in support of CHL education; and (4) the increasing visibility and economic and political clout of China and, by extension, changing perceptions regarding the utility and importance of Mandarin in particular. (pp. 409-410)

Family language ideology.

How heritage languages are perceived and practiced at home are pivotal components in the topic of HL attitudes within a family speech community. Spolsky (2004) identified three integrated elements in language policy. When narrowing it down to a family domain, these three parts are family language ideology, family language practice, and family language management.

Spolsky (2004) mentioned linguistic and non-linguistic forces that influence family language policy. Curdt-Christiansen (2014) made further elaboration from four aspects—sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical conditions:

> The sociolinguistic force provides sources for beliefs about what language is good/acceptable or bad/unacceptable. The sociocultural force provides a reference for the symbolic values associated with different languages. The socioeconomic force is associated with the instrumental values that languages can achieve … The sociopolitical force has a very powerful influence on individuals' language behavior as political decisions on language policy, especially language-in-education policy, can provide or constrain access to sociopolitical 'equality'. (p. 38)

Studies concerning HL attitudes of Chinese immigrants, their HL maintenance, and language shifts have been undertaken in anglophone countries throughout the time (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Little, 2017; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). For example, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) investigated the attitudes of Chinese-American immigrant parents in the US and their children's response to CHL learning. Curdt-Christiansen (2014) looked at contradictory family language policies in Singapore.

In the US context, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) investigated the heritage language

ideologies that immigrant parents promoted to their children, as well as immigrant children's reactions. The research involving 18 Chinese immigrant families showed positive parental attitudes about encouraging their children to learn CHL for their ethnic identity reinforcement, family link strengthening, and gaining a resource for academic advancement and future career. Interviews inherited strong ethnic identities from immigrant parents who reminisced themselves about their cultural roots. Moreover, the parents encouraged their children to learn Chinese since it is a significant symbol of Chinese culture and ethnic identity. Meanwhile, some parents urged their children to learn Chinese for their own good. They worried about not being able to form deep conversations with their children because it was hard for them to communicate freely in English. If immigrant children were, in the opposite extreme, nearly native in English while much less fluent in Chinese, their gap in meaning-making might even jeopardize their family bonds.

An example of national language policies affecting that in a family domain was told by Curdt-Christiansen (2014). While the study was carried out among 20 bilingual families in Singapore, the data is not surprising to show parents' acknowledgment of cultural and socioeconomic benefits that CHL can bring to their children. However, facts were also noticed that local language policy and its educational system largely shaped language policy in the family domain and that, in a way, forced parents to compromise for lower expectations on their children's Chinese proficiency and provide fewer materials for literacy. Though Li (2006) argued that immigrants' worries about speaking or developing their HLs are all about "their perceptions of their minority status in the host society" (p. 355), Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) pointed out that individual immigrant families or communities are not powerful enough to fight against assimilative forces of the majority. That leads to a hypothesis that the emphasis on

HL education by host societies might be the best solution for the transmission of positive HL attitudes from immigrant parents to their children.

Immigrant Children's HL attitudes.

Literature frequently shows favorable parent attitudes on CHL development. However, their ideas are not always advocated by immigrant children. Interviews Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) organized show different HL attitudes immigrant children held from their parents. They did not feel as relevant to Chinese languages and culture as their parents did. Some said they learned HLs since they had to obey their parents, and few of them took HLs as necessary or essential in their lives. The authors provided their analysis of those opposite opinions. They found that among all children interviewees aged between 7 and 13, younger kids tended to show more interest in learning because the classes were fun, and they spent more time with parents, which means they might have more opportunities attending Chinese cultural activities. Older kids, however, spent more time in regular schools and on social activities, they hence objected to HL courses because those occupied their time. Another reason was that, as also mentioned by many CHL learners, they considered Chinese a hard language to learn. As teenagers, they did not fully understand the values of Chinese that their parents told them, but only to restrict Chinese languages to family dialogues. From the interview, it can also be noticed that the fear of discrimination by other English-speaking peers contributed to the avoidance of using a minority language outside the home.

Afraid of being discriminated by peers and desire for assimilation into the mainstream culture are important reasons immigrant adolescents shift to majority languages rapidly. Duff and Li (2014) argued that children and adolescents are more likely to feel ambivalent in their investments in HLs. They attributed that to their vulnerability to social pressure from

dominant-language-speaking peers when they do not conform linguistically and culturally. This pressure, as Duff and Li (2014) noted, results in a complete shift to the dominant languages of the host countries, which immigrant children often regret later.

The possible changing identity and attitudes of immigrant children in terms of their HL development brings in the topics of motivations in language learning. Norton (2010), however, suggested a different term. She considered motivation a notion usually "conceive of the language learner as having a unitary, fixed and ahistorical personality" (p. 354); to contrast, the construct of investment as an improved notion, stands for "a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction" (p. 354). Highly motivated language learners, therefore, may also be excluded from good learning experiences that impact their learning investments. Further interpretation of Norton's identity and investment theory will be elaborated in the theoretical framework section.

The construct of investment, though in the English as a second language (ESL) field, also provide an insight into longitudinal research and CHL attitude shifts over time and spaces. Li and Duff (2014) conducted a study on CHL students who participated in the Chinese language program at a Canadian university. The following-up semi-structured interviews, three years after the original survey study, were conducted with the involvement of four of the previous participants. The data indicated that participants' motivation to learn and use HLs was highly mediated by their social networks such as with parents and peers; their migration during those three years told that changes in language learning decisions were also related to geographical circumstance, learning opportunities, their educational experiences, as well as surrounding language ideologies (Li & Duff, 2014).

He (2012), with some of her ten hypotheses reviewed, similarly accounted for language

attitude changes of CHL learners. For instance, the rootedness hypothesis correlates university CHL learners' attitude changes from indifferent to positive to their desire to remain connected with their family background since they are "fully grown and ready to embrace their cultural heritage" (p. 595). The benefits and positive-stance hypotheses emphasize the economic opportunities rewarded with reference to the enhanced language status of Chinese. The enrichment hypothesis, right pointing to the adolescent fear of discrimination, accounts for the young adult efforts of CHL learning when they "see themselves as linguistic and social equals to others" (p. 596).

HL attitudes of CHL learners with dialect background.

It is a challenging task to find a comfortable position along the continuum of host and home identities. Yet things can become more complicated when some CHL learners also have to situate themselves in power dynamics within the Chinese language. That points to heritage learners with backgrounds of regional variants of Chinese. Given Chinese as a collective term including Mandarin, Cantonese, and all the other Chinese language varieties, as well as the climate that Mandarin, the standard and official language in mainland China, is usually granted with more economic value globally over other Chinese varieties (Duff et al., 2017), many Chinese immigrants who know a regional variant of Chinese choose to or are told by their parents to take Mandarin classes rather than those of their real mother tongues.

Wong and Xiao (2010), noticing the problem, carried out a study in the US among immigrant families with diverse Chinese language variety backgrounds. They analyzed data in three themes, which were imagined Chinese communities and dialects, linguistic hegemony and transculturation, and language investment and globalization. The interviews suggested that almost all participants owned multiple identities, part of Chinese, and part of American.

Nevertheless, the Chineseness was fundamental as an ethnic core, as Wong and Xiao noted, "simply because they have Chinese surnames or genealogy" (2010, p. 159). Both immigrants from Mandarin and other regional variant backgrounds tended to include themselves in the co-ethnic network (Zhang, 2012). However, the latter ones viewed their mother tongues over Mandarin as their heritage languages and uniqueness, and they thought of their mother tongues when the term 'Chinese' was mentioned. The situation was addressed with the notion of 'imagined community' in Norton's work (Norton, 2010, 2013, 2015; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Regional variant-speaking immigrants imagine their roles in larger Chinese-speaking communities besides those of their own Chinese language variety, and learning Mandarin is an opportunity for them to connect to the extended Chinese communities (Wong & Xiao, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This opinion accords to Lo-Philip's (2010) arguments that "HL literacy learning be viewed as identity processes that encompass the acquisition of voice as a means of learning how to design the self and others" (p. 283).

In contrast, in Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe's (2009) study, though most of the parents with Min variant viewed the variety as their first language, they refused the common notion that immigrant children's HL equaled to their family language. They identified Mandarin as valuable, and none of them showed the expectations of letting their children keep their mother tongue. The authors attributed that to the superiority of Mandarin as a national and standard language, as well as lacking in written form of Min variant. The above example also accounts for the strong advocacy from participants on their actual mother tongue in Wong and Xiao's work (2010) since most of their participants were from regions such as Hong Kong and Taiwan where the Chinese language varieties they speak and the traditional Chinese scripts they write with are granted as official.

Support for Heritage Language Learning

Language policy and ethnic identity.

Identity is contextual (Fishman, 2010). Ethnic identity, specifically, refers to "one kind of identity associated with a cluster of features or practices that are claimed by individuals or groups or assigned to them by other actors in a specific socio-historical, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic context" (García, 2012, p. 80). In other words, ethnic identity can be our own sense of selves, and meanwhile, it can be the product of how others perceive us. García (2012) then reviewed the interaction between language and ethnic identity. It started with the essence of languages. García revisited Bakhtin's (2010) agreement on the expressive rather than the communicative essence of language—"Language arises from man's need to express himself, to objectify himself" (2010, p. 67). Likewise, Norton (2013) also supported Weedon's (1987) thoughts that identity is constructed in and through language:

> By extension, every time language learners speak, read or write the target language, they are not only exchanging information with members of the target language community, they are also organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. As such, they are engaged in identity construction and negotiation. (Norton, 2013, p. 4)

These expressions, in my understanding, include how we ethnically perceive ourselves. Then the linkage between language policy and ethnic identity also becomes explicit.

Fishman (2010) has made this connection precise by noting that "languages and ethnicities are more continuous and gradual than has been initially anticipated by local politicized historiographies and ethnographies. Because the subdivision of continua is inherently perspectival, it is also inherently reversible by social planning and language planning" (p. xxxiii).

Wiley and Valdés (2000) identified patterns with respect to the language shift, which maintained that a complete shift from one's heritage language to the majority language usually takes three to four generations. But it was found later that the language shift became increasingly rapid (Wiley, 2001b). What Fishman (2010) has argued provides the possibility for reversing or slowing down the language shift through language policies at multiple levels and for embracing hybrid ethnolinguistic identities at large.

Family support for HLs.

How language is practiced and planned does not necessarily reflect individual attitudes on language varieties or items. By saying language practices, Spolsky (2004) meant "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (p. 5). It can be the choice of what variety of language to use, or more specifically, of any linguistic items, such as "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language" (p. 9). Forces that intervene in language practices, for instance, language guidance from parents, are called language management. In Spolsky's words, it includes any "language intervention, planning or management" (p. 5), aiming to modify or influence the language practices and beliefs of a community.

Duff et al. (2017) pointed out a common family language policy scenario that if both parents are Chinese-speaking and most possible with the first-generation immigrant parents, they tend to promote a Chinese-first family language policy, which may be reinforced by the presence of Sinophone grandparents. But if one of the parents is not Chinese-speaking or with low Chinese proficiency (Li, 2006), plus the fact that grandparents or other extended family members

are not around, a rapid shift from Chinese to English is expected once the immigrant children begin formal school and get in touch with native English-speaking peers.

When the multiple identities of immigrant children may be overlapping and competing (Darvin & Norton, 2015; He, 2012), for example, the ethnolinguistic identity from home environment and the one from monolingual education and social activity with native peers, strategic family language planning helps with HL development (He, 2012). Studies regarding family CHL attitudes have found that parents usually encourage and are supportive of HL learning when it comes to their children. They even play essential roles in providing younger CHL learners with learning resources. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that immigrant parents support their children by speaking Chinese as a home language, becoming HL teachers themselves, taking advantage of community resources, and providing their children trips to China. Little (2017) reported similarly from her investigation, yet adding more digital-oriented means of literacy supports like online media as learning tools.

Mu and Dooley (2015), from CHL learners' perspective, told how CHL learners responded to family inculcation and how those supports contributed to their CHL proficiency. Young Chinese-Australians, in the survey and subsequent semi-structured interviews, recognized family encouragement, informal home instruction, and family use of CHL schools as three main types of familial inculcation. They talked about how their family members were involved in their CHL learning. Their testimony proved that positive feedback from family members did encourage them to speak Chinese with their families, even if they had low heritage language proficiency. Likewise, family members' willingness to communicate with participants in Chinese also stimulated them to learn the language. Mu and Dooley (2015) have also highlighted a typical Chinese parenting profile, which is "a combination of authoritarian and authoritative

styles—high demand and control coupled with responsiveness" (p. 507). The sense of responsibility prevents authoritative seniors from leaving youngsters alone after setting an expectation but to check on their learning progress even just through some casual dialogues. Those gentle pushes, as participants report, together with parental actions such as providing learning resources or also being a learning companion, all benefit youngers' heritage language learning.

CHL in classrooms.

> With respect to immigrant heritage languages in Canada, the commitment of parents and communities to the preservation of their familial languages and cultures has remained reasonably strong in the late 20th and early 21st centuries; however, that does not necessarily result in HL retention by younger generations, programmatic funding, or supportive language education policies. (Duff & Li, 2014, P. 46)

Researchers such as Duff et al. (2017) noted recent broader scholar recognition on the cognitive, social, affective, and economic benefits of multilingualism both in schools and societies. In addition to the growing capital of the Chinese language (Duff & Li, 2013, 2014), more support was seen in the institutionalization of CHL, such as CHL in community classes and full-range pre-k to adult Chinese learning programs in public schools and post-secondary institutions. With such a trend, they suggested that a better understanding of CHL learners' interests and needs is necessary, and efforts in making CHL learning a meaningful and engaging process with institutional support are even pressing.

In her decades of research with numerous collaborative scholars, Duff has been tracking down issues and results among studies on HL education, especially those of CHL education in the Canadian context (e.g., Duff, 2008b; Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff & Li, 2009; Duff et al.,

2017; Li & Duff, 2008). Her teams (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017), in recent years, have provided comprehensive reviews of the emerging HL studies and trend of research on CHL learning and education in Canada.

In their reviews (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017), they noted that community schools in diaspora contexts constitute a large part of all CHL education institutions due to ambivalent governmental and societal support for multilingualism of HL learners in mainstream public schooling. In a community-based setting, CHL schools share challenges with those of other HLs, such as problems about providing "suitable and affordable space, funding, sufficient time to support learning to advanced levels (e. g., with once-weekly classes), the quality and training of teachers, curriculum and materials, language ideologies that have a political basis and so on" (Duff et al., 2017, p. 412).

Research in terms of community HL school education often focused on the resources. Given teachers often being well-intentioned yet untrained volunteers and teaching materials often being full of Chinese ideologies (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff & Li, 2013; Duff et al., 2017), what teachers and materials intentionally or unintentionally socialize students into are not compatible with CHL students' multifaceted identities and unique experiences (Archer et al., 2010; Francis et al., 2010; Zhu & Li, 2014). Zhu and Li (2014) found in Confucius institute classrooms that the course design tends to fall into over-accommodation, and things taught are not what people usually use in social interaction. Francis et al. (2010) have also noticed the transmission of stereotypical Chinese customs and traditions in Chinese complementary school classrooms. Chiu (2011) has undertaken a study on textbooks shared by community CHL schools in Canada, examining how textbooks worked to socialize students into proper Chinese and how they can negotiate students' identity. Two types of textbooks in use were respectively provided

by mainland China and Taiwan. She found that the values embedded in both books and the world the textbooks portrayed were different from what HL learners experienced in daily lives. Chiu (2011) argued that instead of trying to make HL students ideal Chinese children in the textbooks, community Chinese schools should embrace students' hybrid identities and provide students opportunities to think through their relationship with their heritage culture and complex identity trajectories, aiming to create "a hybrid but coherent identity which allows them to travel comfortably between cultures" (p. 81).

Chinese courses in the public school, despite the scarcity in the number of bilingual programs and optional Chinese courses, could have been a window for CHL students to develop their heritage languages. But again, ethnic students sometimes are excluded from or othered in Chinese language classrooms due to their supposed overqualified Chinese proficiency (Zhu & Li, 2014). Though usually designed for Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) learners, some programs attract CHL learners as well. However, the different needs of heritage and non-heritage students are often ignored (Zhu & Li, 2014). As compensation, designing separate classes for two groups of learners is suggested; if unable to, instruction adaptation to two groups in the same classroom should at least be considered (Wiley, 2001a; Zhu & Li, 2014).

CHL education for immigrants with backgrounds of regional variants of Chinese is another focus of recent studies specialized in Sinophone diasporic communities, usually discussing the identity issues between Mandarin and Cantonese speakers. Duff and Li (2014) have concluded the changes in the Chinese language varieties provided in CHL schools in Canada, which is mainly from Cantonese to Mandarin, corresponding to the changes in demographic features over time. Nowadays, Chinese language learning programs providing Mandarin much outnumber those also provide Cantonese track, especially in public schools in

major English-speaking countries except for Britain; As for post-secondary institutions, Chinese-related courses with Mandarin instruction are rather dominant (Duff & Doherty, 2019). Duff's team (Duff et al., 2017) thus suggested that there should be more choices on the speech and script types for students in their track of CHL learning.

Conclusion

Li and Duff (2014) noted that compared with young children, less qualitative research such as in-depth case studies were conducted concerning older children and young adults' HL learning experiences. And even fewer works investigated how their motivation or investment in learning is related to their identity perceptions and how that changes over time. As they have also noticed, there is a research trend toward understandings "based on individual, contextualized cases of learners' educational and emotional connections with Chinese from various educational and social experiences" (p. 220). Duff et al. (2017) redirected these trends and suggested that "more research, ideally of a very situated, longitudinal nature, is therefore needed across CHL learners' lives and trajectories in different contexts, both national and transnational" (p. 419). Moreover, being reminded of is a missing discussion of CHL learning in later adulthood and how learners socialize the next generation to use Chinese, especially in the situation where different generations of Chinese immigrants claim diverse ownership of the language. Future studies on the institutionalization of Chinese language programs, in their opinion, is another trend focusing on how to provide learners who are diverse in backgrounds, goals, and needs with appropriate curricula, materials, and differentiated approaches for adapted learning experiences.

To follow the trends and contribute to the literature expansion, I conduct this study involving five young-adult Chinese-Canadian immigrants with diverse backgrounds and different Chinese language varieties spoken. Investigating into their changes of attitudes toward

CHL and CHL learning, I conclude their hybrid and shifting identities, their non-linear CHL learning trajectories, and their imagined futures in relation to their Chinese language learning and hypothetical language policies on their next generation.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the philosophical assumptions that I bring into this qualitative study, the theoretical framework I adopt, and how the perspectives in the theoretical framework inform those assumptions. With no less importance, I then discuss how the design of a collective/multiple case study works to answer my research questions. Subsequently, I present information about my participant recruitment process and my data collection and analysis methods.

Philosophical Assumptions

As stated above, I conducted this study to explore the perceptions of young adult Chinese-Canadians in Calgary concerning their heritage languages and their Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) learning experiences. I employed a qualitative design for two reasons. First, as a novice researcher, I decide not to follow a mixed-method design, which I personally think I should pursue when I am more of a sophisticated inquirer. Second, it is a tradition of the community I am studying with to give more values to qualitative designs, which is also a factor influencing my choice in methodology.

Inscribed in qualitative designs are specific philosophical assumptions in general, which scholars have concluded for me. Now, I write philosophical assumptions into my qualitative design in terms of what they are and how I apply them to my design. According to Creswell (2013), some similar beliefs are often found among qualitative study inquirers, such as denying the absolute objective truth. This epistemological belief enables researchers to be an insider of an inquiry and get close to the participants for acquiring their subjective ideas as evidence. Likewise, the ontological belief of multiple realities tells researchers to report different perspectives from participants. As for the axiological view, qualitative inquirers admit that our own values play

roles in the studies. For instance, I should acknowledge that my identity as a Chinese student who is native in Mandarin and simplified Chinese scripts and my experiences of learning English as a second language enable me to add my interpretations to experiences of my participants, and finally form a collaborative report on the data. For methodological belief, qualitative researchers tend to describe the contexts of the study and the participants in detail, and in the end, generalize findings following an inductive logic.

After the inquiry into philosophical assumptions behind qualitative studies, I continue to discuss the research paradigm that I choose to apply to this study. Interpretative frameworks (Creswell, 2013), or research paradigms (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012), as scholars explained, are theories that frame the theoretical lens in studies. The theoretical framework that I bring into this study is the construct of identity and investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), which is based on a poststructuralist perspective. Norton and Morgan (2012) reviewed that meaning, identity, and power are themes of central interest to poststructuralism. In addition, a poststructuralist view amplifies "the system's dynamism and instability" (Morgan, 2007, p. 952). For instance, Norton (2013) considered a poststructuralist conception of identity as multiple, a site of struggle and change with its "focus on language as the locus of social organization, power, and individual consciousness" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 669). Poststructuralism serves as a subset of postmodernism (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Pavlenko and Norton (2007) even used these two words interchangeably in their work as they noted that "the terms poststructuralism, postmodernism, or critical inquiry serve as an umbrella for a variety of theoretical approaches" (p. 669). Poststructuralism/postmodernism is in controversy in terms of its position in the research. Creswell (2013) viewed postmodernism as a research paradigm, whereas Bloomberg and Volpe (2012) categorized it into a research tradition. Yet there is another view from Guba

and Lincoln (2005) arguing postmodern paradigms as an umbrella that includes postmodernist critical theory and constructivism, and they directly categorized poststructuralism as a version of critical theory (p. 212).

In this study, I adopt Guba and Lincoln’s (2005) categorization and decide to bring in critical constructivism as the paradigm of my research. I combine critical theory and constructivism due to my research purpose and the adopted theoretical framework.

The primary purpose of my study is to understand participant perceptions of their heritage languages and CHL learning experiences. From a poststructuralist lens that focuses on their identity and investment, I try to reconstruct their subjective meanings, which is the constructivism feature of my study. And the poststructuralism perspective in the adopted theoretical framework provides the critical theory feature of my research. I consider my research paradigm as critical constructivism instead of critical theory because my primary research purpose is to reconstruct meanings, rather than mainly seeking transformation and emancipation like what critical theorists do. Similar philosophical assumptions that both constructivism and critical theory enact also justify the combination of critical constructivism as my research paradigm. For example, they both believe that realities are multiple and are formed through our lived experiences and interactions with others; knowledge and findings are subjective and are co-constructed by the researcher and the researched within a specific social and cultural context; individual values are valued (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Guba & Lincoln; 2005; Merriam, 2010).

I managed to give a brief illustration of why I embrace critical constructivism as a paradigm to guide this study, with the fact that I take up a poststructuralist theoretical framework, as well as the philosophical assumptions inscribed in the paradigm. Subsequently, I describe in

detail the construct of identity and investment that I adopt to shape my sub research questions and further discussions.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, I adopt Norton's (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2010, 2015; Norton Peirce, 1995) construct of identity and investment in second language acquisition (SLA) as a theoretical framework. This construct, developed for two decades, initiated when Norton, in 1995, indicated the restraints of the notion 'motivation' in the SLA literature. Claiming that the concept of motivation usually identifies language learners with "unified, coherent identity" (1995, p. 19), she informed that some learners, though highly motivated, do not invest correspondingly into language acquisition. She then argued that "an understanding of motivation should therefore be mediated by an understanding of learners' investments in the target language—investments that are closely connected to the ongoing production of a language learner's social identity" (p. 20).

This sociological complement to the psychological construct of motivation in applied linguistics serves as a demonstration of "the socially and historically constructed relationship between language learner identity and learning commitment" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). Lo-Philip (2010) has concluded when reviewing Norton's work that her notion of investment highlights, different from instrumental or integrative motivation, the relationship that language learners have to their social worlds. This relationship is exactly how Norton defined identity from a poststructuralist perspective, which is "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 45). In other words, identity is "multiple, a site of struggle, and continually changing over time and space" (Darvin & Norton,

2015, p. 45).

The new construct of identity and investment developed by Darvin and Norton (2015) is an update on previous works of Norton for this digital era where learning spaces are hugely extended online and offline. By integrating investment with ideology, identity, and capital, this construct-theory breaks the unity and coherence associated with traditional conceptions of learner identity and acknowledges the effects that the conditions of power can bring to learners in different learning contexts. Darvin and Norton (2015) defined the notion of ideology as follows:

> Constructed and imposed by structures of power and reproduced through hegemonic practices and consent, ideologies are dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion, and the privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations. (p. 44)

"The valuing of languages, the establishment of language policies, and the construction of ethnolinguistic identities are inscribed by language ideology, and hence any examination of linguistic exchanges is inevitably an extrapolation of ideological forces at work" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 43). That is how they highlight the importance of ideology in this new construct. By drawing on the notion of ideology, they accounted for how students are included in or excluded from the right to speak in communicative activities or even the right of entry in certain learning spaces. They called this kind of ideological manipulation the "systemic patterns of control" (p. 43). To relate ideology to the educational context, they inherited Bourdieu's notion of reproduction to indicate the confrontation between institutional educational practices and the construction of legitimate knowledge. They argued that ideology represents a complex and layered space where institutional forces and learner agencies interact or contradict one another

sometimes.

Capital is another essential part of the construct of identity and investment. Bourdieu (1987) defined it as power and extended it from economic to cultural and social aspects. Examples were listed in Darvin and Norton's (2015) work, such as wealth and property representing economic capital, knowledge, educational credentials, and appreciation of specific cultural forms as cultural capital, and connections to networks of power as social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The value of resources is mediated by ideological structures in particular societies and communities. And the notion of symbolic capital is applied when a form of the capital is "perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4).

By involving capital in the dialogue, Darvin and Norton (2015) conveyed two ideas. First, learners enter learning spaces online or offline equipped with capital, which refers to their material resources, previous knowledge, and social networks. Second, some types of capital, which may not seem to be valuable in specific learning spaces, should also be taken advantage of and be transformed into values in the new context. They should be treated as affordances rather than problems to be solved.

As a site of struggle and continually changing over time and spaces, identity has been further elucidated as "a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). Precisely, learner identities are about how they position themselves with forms of capital they possess; meanwhile, others are also placing the very learners in a possibly different way. While their habitus structured by ideologies make them think or behave in certain ways, it is learners' desires—or their imagined identities—that appeal for engaging in certain investments where they exercise their agencies in learning. In the learning process, if the resources they possess are granted with value, it can serve as an affirmation of

their identity and legitimate their desire to invest; if not, the investment they desire to make may be obstructed by devalued capital. Then again, it is their imagined identity, in other words, their desires to be a part of the imagined community in the imagined future, that exert their agencies to benefit or resist what their capital can bring them.

I have interpreted the model of investment integrating ideology, capital, and identity in the above paragraphs as to how it was constructed by Darvin and Norton (2015). In brief, ideologies, especially institutional ideologies locating in a power position, determine the value of capital that learners bring into the learning process. And the value of capital further encourages or restrains learning investments. Meanwhile, learner identities (how learners position themselves), and how they imagine their future, also act to interact with or resist the influences of institutional ideologies by including learner desire and agency in learning investment. As they have also reviewed, most of the featured studies drawing on this framework are in the ESL learning field. Yet, I apply this model to my research in the CHL learning context because I find it helpful in framing research questions and in understanding my research findings.

Qualitative Case Study Design

In brief, I apply a qualitative multiple case study design to my research, with the help of a poststructuralist lens of the identity and investment model to understand and interpret my research findings and frame my discussion. In the following part of this chapter, I write in detail about why I choose a qualitative case study design and how this design works to answer my research questions.

The main research question I ask is how young adult Chinese immigrant students in Calgary perceive their heritage languages and Chinese heritage language learning experiences.

Based on Norton's (Darvin and Norton, 2015) construct of investment, the theoretical framework I apply to this study, I frame three specific sub-questions, which are:

1. How do my participants position themselves and their heritage languages, and how do their attitudes change?

2. How resources or forms of capital that they possess are treated in their CHL learning, and how does that influence their learning investments?

3. How do my participants relate their CHL investments to their imagined future?

The first sub-question aims to figure out how the ethnolinguistic identities of my participants change over time and how fluid identities influence their CHL learning attitudes. The second question pays attention to their CHL learning experiences and examines how the resources they possess are treated during their CHL learning processes and how the value of their capital affects their learning engagements. The last question connects both their investments in CHL learning and their future identities, trying to account for their current language learning efforts with their future goals of being a part of their imagined community.

All these three questions are not simple 'yes or no' questions, but rather are concerned with complex experiences and ideas. To answer them, I need to hear the voices of CHL learners in detail. Hence, I carry out a qualitative multiple case study, hold semi-structured interviews as a data collecting method, and perform thematic analyses among cases.

First of all, in qualitative research, as defined by Creswell (2013), researchers collect data "in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study" (p. 44); it helps to show the "importance of rendering the complexity of a situation" (Creswell, 2014, p. 40). These features of qualitative study fit my purpose of exploring into the voices of individuals, trying to "understand how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what

meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2010, p. 457). Since people's opinions are "variables that cannot be easily measured" (Creswell, 2013, p. 48), a qualitative study is perfect for tackling that complexity. As the final reports involve the voices of participants and interpretation from the researcher, I can conclude themes "from the bottom up" (Creswell, 2013, p. 45) in terms of their answers, and more importantly, in terms of reasons behind their answers. With its function of understanding the individual perceptions of experiences, the qualitative study can be served to answer my specific research questions.

Within the framework of the qualitative design, I prefer to apply a case study approach to my research. According to Creswell (2013), case study design can be used to "provide an in-depth understanding of the cases or a comparison of several cases" (p. 100). Involving a detailed description of participants, the essence of this design is to present a unique situation (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). These characteristics of case study comply with my intent to explore and understand the individuality of each participant's attitudes with detailed stories that build on their unique backgrounds. With analyses within and across cases, thematic features of their answers are drawn from relatively comprehensive perspectives.

A case is a bounded system, a unit of analysis, "a unit that is selected for study around which there are boundaries" (Merriam, 2010, p. 456). A qualitative case study, therefore is, "an in-depth study of a bounded system in which meaning and understanding of the phenomenon of interest are sought" (p. 456). Merriam (2010) concluded that what defines a case is the unit of analysis rather than the topic of investigation. The unit in my case study, therefore, should be young adult Chinese-Canadian immigrants, but not their perceptions of HLs and CHL learning experiences that I aim to investigate (Stake, 2005). As Merriam (2010) has summarized, one of the strengths of a case study is that it accounts for the context where the case itself locates. I, as

the inquirer of this case study, serve as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis and inductively construct findings and make the end product richly descriptive.

Case Selection

Merriam (2010) considered the logic of purposeful sampling as to "select the case that will yield information that can best address the study's purpose" (p. 458). I thus set the criteria for case selection. Since my study focuses on young adult Chinese-Canadian students in Calgary, students at the university level are a group reasonable to choose from. Scholars have a consensus to select atypical cases or cases with maximum variation (Merriam, 2010; Stake, 2005, 2006), but the reality of my case selection process is that I did not have abundant cases to choose from. I narrowed down the site of case sampling to the University of Calgary, where I can get access to potential research respondents. I located potential participants through a snowball rolling method. Yet finally, only five participants were willing to take part in my research, and no Canadian-born third-generation Chinese-Canadians were included (For a full body of the consent form, please see Appendix A). I assume a paradoxical issue in the uniqueness and atypical as a pursuit of case selection, especially for a multiple case study. That is because sometimes I do not know whether a case is atypical or not until I collect data and do analysis. Moreover, if there is a standard for testing whether a case is atypical or not, it is a standard based on the ideology and value of the researcher. From a different perspective, as Duff (2014) argued, profiles of immigrant students are very diverse even if their time of stay in the host countries is similar, and we can trace this diversity from "differences in their proficiency levels across skills, dialects they speak, political, social, and cultural backgrounds stemming from the places they come from or identify with, their aspirations, and the means by which they learn and use Chinese" (p. 221).

Table 1

General Information of Research Participants

Pseudonym	Linda	Emily	Anna	Kate	Luke
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male
Place of Birth	China	China	China	Canada	Canada
HL	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Cantonese	Cantonese
Home Language	Mainly Mandarin	Mainly Mandarin	Mandarin Only	Mainly Cantonese	Mostly English
Former HL learning	Weekend CHL School	Weekend CHL School	Weekend CHL School	Multiple Spaces	Weekend CHL School (Quit)
University Year and Major	Junior Engineering	Junior Engineering	Senior Social Sciences	Junior Social Sciences	Senior Social Sciences
Taking University Chinese Courses	No	No	Yes; Chinese History	Yes; Mandarin and Chinese History	Yes; Asian and Chinese History

Data

Data collection.

According to Hendricks (2016), the type of data collected must also be aligned with the research questions. Considering my qualitative methodology and case study design, I suppose the most appropriate way to collect data is the interview. Compared with the narration, interviews allow me to establish dialogues with my research participants face to face. During the meetings, I exam students' opinions and notice their gestures and facial expressions. These can all be included in my field notes as references for transcript coding. As for the type of interviews, a face-to-face semi-structured interview with each participant (Creswell, 2013) would be a suitable choice. As Merriam (2010) noted, a semi-structured interview includes a package of structured questions, but "neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time" (p. 459). With prepared open-ended questions, I can make sure that what I want to know is answered by all of my participants and arrange subsequent questions according to their previous

answers (For a full list of interview questions scheduled, please see Appendix B). Through this process, participants are not constrained to specific questions but are encouraged to "speak out related issues that are important to them" (Hendricks, 2016, p. 92).

I arranged one interview with each of my participants at a quiet study space on campus or in a library. In order to make sure they were clear about the questions I may ask and to provide them more time to think, I sent them an interview schedule beforehand by email. Since all of the five participants declared English as their first language, I conducted all the interviews in English. However, English is not my first language. Before the meeting, therefore, I reminded my participants of the possible misunderstandings that might occur during the interview, and all of them showed their kind understanding. Then, I had relaxing dialogues with each of them for several minutes to build up a rapport between the researcher and the participants.

In the interview schedule, I listed an outline of questions I could ask. But as those were semi-structured interviews, the following-up questions were usually asked according to prior answers from the participants, which enabled me to know more details. In the previous plan, I thought taking field notes would be an assist for me to obtain more information. However, it was not until the real interviews that I realized just being a listener and focusing on what they were telling me were the most suitable way for me to know what to ask next, yet not to be distracted. As a consequence, the consented audio recordings of the interviews were kept as a significant basis for data transcription.

A problem with my data collecting process is that the interview is the only method I conducted. It compromises the validity of the findings for a research approach that encourages multiple sources of data. However, the purpose of this study excuses the difficulties of including other data collecting methods such as observation. By carrying out this study, I hope to know the

perceptions of my participants toward HL and CHL learning experiences. The information I intend to know is not a current issue, but rather a life story. With this feature, I could not decide what to observe. Though many have agreed that a case study is more suitable for examining contemporary issues (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2010; Yin, 2014), Merriam (2010) also introduced a type of case study focusing on the life story, which is called a biographical case study, for collecting the first-person narrative. As for artifact analysis, I have to acknowledge that I should have included it in my data collection design. But the fact is that the information about the artifact that I might want to exam appeared during the interview. However, only one meeting with each participant was arranged, and further opportunity of meeting with artifacts was not planned.

As a remedy for stronger data validity, a strategy of membership-checking (Creswell, 2014, p. 289) was considered. After the data transcription, I took a step forward to ask for feedback from five participants on the accuracy of my transcripts. The review is more than checking mistakes or clarifying words that I cannot figure out, but I also encouraged them to add more information that they would like to tell. More importantly, with more experience acquired when interviewing the first few participants, I noticed questions that could have been asked to help me with in-depth analysis yet had not been applied to the first few participants. So I noted those neglected questions in the transcript for the participants to answer. That is what Merriam (2010) has mentioned about the better questions to ask through timely transcription and analysis. As a consistent principle, being voluntary is what I emphasized in participant transcript review. Finally, three participants reviewed transcripts of their interviews or provided information to additional questions.

Data analysis.

When talking about the data analysis and interpretation process, Creswell (2014) pointed out that "it involves segmenting and taking apart the data as well as putting it back together" (p. 282). As it suggests, a sound strategy for interpreting qualitative data is thematic analysis (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2012). Themes are common patterns across the units of data I find through analysis and comparison (Merriam, 2010). Within themes identified, several sub-themes are established for more specific categorization. Merriam (2010) suggested that multiple case inquirers should first analyze the data within each case, followed by a cross-case analysis. As for case presentation, I decide not to write both about the within-case and cross-case analyses, but as Merriam (2010) has noted, to first write a descriptive narrative of the portrait of each case as it gives readers vicarious experience (Stake, 2005), and then to write the report of cross-case analysis.

Generalization is an issue people may question about a case study. A point Merriam (2010) has made about those who question the capability of generalization of a case study is that they raise this question only if they embrace a positivist understanding of knowledge accumulation. As many researchers have argued, what is essential about a case study is not to generalize, but its transferability (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012; Duff, 2008a; Stake, 2005). A case study report is about researchers, integrating their own values, reporting, and interpreting the meanings that research respondents construct. As Merriam (2010) noted, "it is the reader, not the researcher, who determines what can apply to his or her context" (p. 461).

Chapter 4 Findings

After transcribing and analyzing data collected from interviews with the five participants, I have extracted four themes of the cases, which are about hybrid identities, non-linear Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) learning trajectory, power dynamics, and imagined future. I first provide a snapshot of each of the five cases to readers in this chapter. Then I describe my analyses and inductive findings in detail with the support of collected interview data. Pseudonyms are applied to all participants.

Case Profile

Linda.

Linda came from Jiangsu, a coastal province in eastern China. Her family moved to Canada when she was six. They first stayed in Quebec for three years before settling down in Calgary. Linda attended kindergarten in her hometown in China; then in Canada, she took courses at a French-speaking school from first to third grade. After that, almost all of her formal education was in English. At home, Linda kept a habit of speaking Mandarin most of the time with her family members, including her younger brother who was born in Canada. With both her parents fluent in English, her grandmother was the only family member to whom Linda had to always speak in Mandarin. Meanwhile, the members who knew English sometimes use both languages to find the best way of expression. Interestingly, Linda’s father and grandmother spoke in a Jiangsu variant to each other, whereas they never talked in the variant to Linda.

Apart from attending regular school on weekdays, Linda began to go to a community-based CHL school since her move to Calgary. Against her will at first, she was not willing to take extra weekend Mandarin courses. However, she gradually found the learning worthwhile and ended up with graduation in grade twelve. Linda was not a frequent visitor to

China, with the latest trip six years ago. By the time of the interview, she was a junior engineering student focusing on her study and was not taking any Chinese related courses.

Emily.

Emily was from Shengyang, a northeastern city in China. When she was five, her parents took her to Canada seeking for new opportunities. Staying in Toronto for two years and then in Vancouver for several months, they finally chose to settle down in Calgary. Now Emily lived together with her parents and grandmother. Mandarin is the primary language they spoke at home, as well as the only language Emily can use to communicate with her grandmother. The family traveled to China every two or three years to visit their extended relatives.

Emily did not take CHL community school courses because of parental decisions; instead, she voluntarily started taking weekend language courses in fourth or fifth grade. The learning process was harder than she thought would be. The difficulty of Mandarin learning became more apparent when it met the surging workload in high school. Though difficulties arose, Emily managed to finish her CHL courses in the last year of her secondary study. She was a junior university student in engineering when the interview was performed, and she was not taking any Chinese related courses on campus.

Anna.

Anna was brought to Canada when she was only two years old. It was her father who first got a job in Calgary before the whole family decided to move. However, Anna's grandparents still lived in Beijing, their hometown. They came to Canada to visit the family in summers and returned as winter arrived. By contrast, Anna never had a chance to visit back to China in the past 20 years. Even so, she was able to speak reasonably fluent Mandarin. It is a result of the Mandarin-speaking-only policy adopted in her family, under which both Anna and her

Canadian-born brother had to follow the rules at home to avoid punishment.

Anna was sent to weekend CHL classes since she was four. She had a passion for learning Mandarin yet did not seem to be happy with her learning experiences. After entering university, she chose to take Chinese history courses as a knowledge extension. Anna was a senior year student in social sciences at the time of the interview.

Kate.

Kate was born and raised in Calgary. Several years before her birth, Kate's parents immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong before its return to China. Years later, the family began to visit their hometown more and their extended family members residing there, as well as cities in mainland China. Though both Kate's parents knew English well, the family was used to communicating mainly in Cantonese at home.

Kate recognized Cantonese as her heritage language, yet she started to take Mandarin courses in kindergarten with her parents' decision. Not satisfied with frequent dictations as a way of assessment, Kate then turned to a private tutor. In senior high, she started to take optional courses in Mandarin in her public secondary school. Kate did not appreciate Mandarin learning until she got a chance to experience life in mainland China with local students during the summer break before university. As a junior university student at the time of the interview, she was taking extra Mandarin and Chinese history courses on campus.

Luke.

Born in Calgary, Luke has been a resident here for more than 20 years. Most of his extended family members have also been living in the same city. Though his mother was fluent in both Cantonese and English, the whole family spoke English as a home language because of his father, who was also born in Canada and was not able to speak much Chinese. The only

occasion when Luke had to talk in Cantonese was when he visited his maternal grandparents, who knew little English. Luke did not have a clear concept of which city in China his family came from. Nevertheless, an inference can be drawn that his family came from Guangdong province of southern China, with the evidence that Luke once visited back his hometown in mainland China while identifying Cantonese as his heritage language.

Despite an English monolingual family language environment, Luke's parents decided to send him to CHL school, where he was supposed to learn both Cantonese and Mandarin. It was not a pleasant memory for Luke, a primary school student who had little knowledge of Cantonese, let alone Mandarin. Getting frustrated with learning, Luke quit weekend language courses years later. He did not take any other Chinese-related classes after that until he found a university Chinese history course exciting and decided to attend it. By the time when the interview was performed, Luke was a senior university student in social sciences.

Followed by a brief portrayal of each case is the findings from within and cross-case analyses. In this section, I present the themes of findings discovered in the data and corresponding evidence.

Hybrid Ethnolinguistic Identities

The hybrid and multicultural identities of my research participants are a significant theme of the findings that I noticed throughout the interview data. All of the respondents acknowledged being Chinese a part of their identities. Meanwhile, as they grew up in Canada, being Canadians took up another part of their sense of selves. In this section of the chapter, I illustrate how the five participants situated themselves in their identity portfolios, especially their ethnic and cultural-linguistic identities.

Chinese languages as a bond.

Even though having settled in Canada for about 20 years, most of my participants' families kept Chinese as their home language. Not only did family communication in Chinese transmitted parental attitudes on heritage languages to younger immigrants, but it also strengthened connections between younger immigrants and their Chinese-speaking extended family members, as well as helped to reaffirm Chinese languages as a part of their identities.

Linda, Emily, and Kate: Chinese together with English at home.

Of all five participants, Linda, Emily, and Kate were in relatively inclusive family language environments: speaking mainly in Chinese together with English occasionally to maximize the accuracy of expression and understanding.

"They [my parents] are pretty fluent [in English] as well, but they are quite a bit more comfortable in Chinese anyway" (Interview with Linda, 2017). Linda, Emily, and Kate told me that though their parents can communicate well in English, they were more comfortable at home speaking in Chinese. Chinese here refers to Mandarin for both Linda and Emily's parents and Cantonese for Kate's parents.

Proficiency and preferences of parents in language use make sense of language policies they adopted at home. Though the parents of those three participants were fluent in English after more than 15 years of living in Canada, they were not as competent when they just immigrated as they are now in terms of English communication. I infer that they had to communicate with their children in Chinese most of the time in the first few years of the immigrating, and that is how their family language practices first established. The situation, however, has been changing. Linda and Emily, who were six and five when they just arrived in Canada, are pretty native in English now, let alone Kate who was born in Canada. By contrast, Chinese languages remained

as the language with which the parents felt most comfortable speaking. This gap was ideally narrowed with the evolved family language practices whereby the three participants and their parents switched between two languages for the best way of expressions and in-depth family dialogues. Moreover, Linda thought it was a habit for her to talk in Mandarin as well with her Canadian-born younger brother. Kate even felt disappointed to have to use more English when talking to her younger sister at home: "She tends to speak more English. So I find that we were speaking more English at home, which kind of sucks 'cause I like to speak more Cantonese" (Interview with Kate, 2018).

Not only is Chinese a medium to strengthen the bonds between my participants and their parents and siblings, but it is also the only solution for my participants to communicate with their grandparents who were also in the same city in these three cases, as well as with other extended relatives and Chinese-speaking communities. For example, Emily and Linda were in similar situations where they both had their grandparents living together with the families, and both of them had to talk to their grandparents in Mandarin since the elders did not know English at all. Though Kate's grandparents did not live together with her family, being able to communicate with them was a big part of the reasons for knowing more Cantonese, "I want to be able to speak to my grandparents, 'cause they only know Cantonese" (Interview with Kate, 2018).

Emily mentioned her thoughts on further community connections through Chinese, "I speak it at home, and I think it's very important to keep that because I'm able to communicate with my extended family and everyone," she said, "it's a mix of both [Chinese and English] sometimes" (Interview with Emily, 2017). With most of her extended family members in China, Linda paid frequent visits back to her hometown. Likewise, Kate also visited back to Hong Kong frequently. She loved to hear local people talking and speak Cantonese with them.

Anna: Mandarin-Only at home.

Family bonds via Chinese seem to be too strong in Anna's case. Unlike the three participants mentioned above, Anna was not allowed to speak English at home. Mandarin was the only language she could use to communicate with her parents and her younger Canadian-born brother. The connection between this Mandarin-only family language policy and language proficiency of parents was even more evident in this case. Though Anna's father spoke fluent English, her mother knew little English. Anna also agreed on this connection, "Maybe," she said, "'cause you can't communicate with mom without Chinese" (Interview with Anna, 2018). Though I was not able to thoroughly analyze the emotion embedded in her words, there must be a part showing her knowledge of how salient the Chinese language is to bond with her family members.

Anna had never traveled back to China. With all her extended family members residing in China, Mandarin seems to be a rather important tool of connection. "They [Anna's grandparents] kind of go back and forth between China and Canada. They only come during the summer; they are back as soon as winter kicks in" (Interview with Anna, 2018). When her grandparents came to visit, Chinese became a necessity of communication. Using Mandarin as the communicative language also applied to her Chinese-speaking friends in Canada. Unlike the other participants, most of Anna's friends can speak Chinese, and she talked in Chinese to her friends more often than other participants did. High Chinese speaking proficiency resulting from her family language policy is a foundation for her preference.

Luke: English as the home language.

Luke, on the contrary, identified English as a language of his core family bonds. The monolingual family language practices also justified itself with the language proficiency of the

parents considered. Luke's father was born in Canada and spoke little Chinese. His limited Chinese language proficiency was a decisive factor of nearly monolingual English as the family language, even though Luke's mother knew both Cantonese and English well.

The policy went well within the core family; the real problem, however, emerged when Luke had to visit his maternal grandparents, who barely knew English, just like the grandparents of other participants. Though in the same city, Luke and his grandparents did not live together, and this also contributed to isolate Luke from a heritage language environment. Communication with his paternal grandparents was more natural since they knew English well. Nevertheless, they usually preferred to speak in Cantonese. Luke admitted that he had difficulties in communicating with his maternal grandparents, which, however, did not seem to be a big problem for him, thanks to a translation strategy.

> It's not too bad since there are always people around me who can help me translate. But personally, I want to have a bit more of a personal communication with them [Luke's maternal grandparents] and be able to talk more. Because I can't speak very fluently in Cantonese, sometimes they don't understand what I say, so I rely on my family a lot to do that [to translate]. But it doesn't really make them feel bad about that since at least they know I try to make an effort to communicate with them. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

Despite the translation strategy, Luke acknowledged his expectation to have personal conversations with his maternal grandparents without any help and have more connections with them. "I'm not as close to the grandparents on my mother's side than my father's side since I can talk to my grandparents on my dad's side in English very easily, and it's not like that with my mom's side" (Interview with Luke, 2018), he claimed.

Through the reports and interpretations above, I tried to show how Chinese languages bonded my research participants with their Chinese-speaking family members and communities. Luke's case, as counter-example, also showed how little knowledge in his heritage language could drive him away from his Cantonese-speaking-only grandparents.

Self-Positioning: Participant interpretations.

In this theme, I present the data on how my research respondents position themselves according to their unique experiences of involving in both English and Chinese languages and cultures, as well, how their self-positioning has changed as they grow up to young adulthood.

Being a part of both.

Growing up and educated in Canada yet with parents and grandparents from China, English as the first language and the primary communication tool while treasuring Chinese to bond up family members, these features of my research participants account for their hybrid identities and inclusive self-positioning. Followed are examples of how my participants tried to locate themselves.

"I hope it [losing the Chinese language] never happens because I think being a Chinese is part of my identity" (Interview with Linda, 2017). Linda mentioned her hybrid identities when talking about her thoughts on losing her Chinese language. This concise response from her is a general sum-up of the idea that all my participants have shown in their identity kits. More specifically, all five participants considered both their Chinese and Canadian parts of identities very significant to them from cultural and historical perspectives:

> I have spent most of my life here in Canada because I came here when I was five, so I would say that makes up a large part of my identity. But I do consider Chinese a significant part of my identity because of my family, the way I was raised, and our

> culture. I identify more with my Canadian identity because I grew up here … I consider myself relating to both identities. I have come to accept both as a part of my life. (Interview with Emily [Transcription Review], 2018)

> I'm from Hong Kong … I still say I'm Canadian just 'cause I've never lived for a long time in Hong Kong. But it is part of my heritage like it's part of where I'm from … I also identify as Canadian just 'cause I know Canadian culture, Canadian norms and rules. I do know Hong Kong, but I've never lived there. (Interview with Kate, 2018)

> I kind of consider myself just Chinese-Canadian, in culturally in terms of my history, my heritages, what I've learned from. And I'm a Chinese, but most of my life, well, my entire life is here. So, I'm Canadian in the fact that I've gone to the school and I've met many friends from here; I know English, and I know the culture there too. But Chinese-Canadian is kind of a combination in the fact that I know what my parents and grandparents went through when they immigrated here. So, I kind of respect that heritage and I kind of want to hold on to that part. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

From the interpretation of these three participants on their hybrid identities, I notice that they all acknowledged the existence of both Chinese and Canadian parts in their identities in terms of their family immigration histories and their own local experiences. More importantly, they were delighted to embrace both parts as a whole.

Most participants mentioned that being bilingual and bicultural provided them more chances to view the world from different perspectives. For example, Emily occasionally enjoyed watching Chinese dramas and listening to Chinese music. As she got close to relevant cultures, thanks to keeping her heritage language, she felt like experiencing two different worlds and felt lucky to be able to view things from different perspectives. "One of them is the culture and

society that I grew up in here, and the other one is my family and my community" (Interview with Emily, 2017), as she explained. Linda also appreciated being able to speak two languages because she can be a part of both language communities. "I enjoy it," she laughed, "'cause it's like being part of a lot of different communities, I guess. So it feels like you belong everywhere. You know what I mean? Like you get the best of all before else" (Interview with Linda, 2017).

While Anna acknowledged her hybrid identities as well, she tended to think more about her differences from those in either group. For example, she amplified her physical appearances when I asked about her identities. "I'm not sure," she said, "Um…Canadian on paper, but physically I'm still Chinese, and I always will be a Chinese. 'Cause like 'look, Chinese!', and there is no way you can change that. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

What is noticeable in Anna's interview is that she cared much about how others positioned her. I found similar scenarios when asking the five students about their thoughts on being bilingual and bicultural. Anna was the only participant who talked about how other native Chinese people perceived her, which brought her confusion. Followed is an excerpt from her interview.

> Anna: I identify as Chinese, but I don't know what it is actually like there. And I met this one person recently actually who said I don't have any '中国人的气派', whatever that is. What is that?
>
> Interviewer: 中国人的什么 [I was asking for Anna's repetition]？
>
> Anna: 气度 [Anna corrected a word].
>
> Interviewer: 气度 [I repeated once, wondering the meaning of the word]？

Anna: 没什么中国人气 [She again corrected her expression], and I was like, 'WHAT'?!

Interviewer: I don't know whether you repeat [have retold] that correctly so…

Anna: Basically, I think what she says is I don't seem Chinese. (Laugh) Like I don't know, I think I'm pretty Chinese.

(Interview with Anna, 2018)

I insist on presenting this clip from the interview with Anna because I suppose it an appropriate way to show how Anna cared about being positioned by someone else from either culture and how Anna herself dealt with such positioning. As this excerpt showed, she told me what once a Chinese person commented on her in terms of her Chineseness. I noticed how Anna at first was surprised and confused since she thought she was pretty much Chinese. When she realized the conflict between other's judgments and her own sense of self, she began to doubt her self-positioning. However, she also started to analyze how different she was from native Chinese people, in terms of the way to act or talk, and why these happened. She thought her lack of knowledge about China affected her Chinese part of the identities.

> I'm not sure, 'cause I still have the language, but I can admit that I have been here for pretty long, and it can probably affect how I behave, dress, speak, anything. It can have affected how I behave, I may not behave like a Chinese, I may not dress like a Chinese or speak like one, so it probably affected me a lot … I have never been to China, 'cause I don't know how Chinese people behave. Like…affect my identity as a Chinese a little bit. 'Cause I don't really know Chinese fashion, and I don't know how Chinese people behave. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

Anna was the only participant who tried to retell her experiences more precisely with the assistance of the Chinese language. In the above excerpt, she intended to repeat the exact words that someone once used to judge her. In the beginning, Anna used a word that did not make sense to me contextually. I brought forward my doubts, so she used another word that I did not think to make sense either. After I presented my doubts on her Chinese expression for the third time, she shifted to English. I had no intention to put myself in a powerful position during that conversation; instead, I simply expected from Anna a word that I assumed to be reasonable. However, as I reconsidered it, I might, though unintentionally, have compromised her claim of ownership of the Chinese language and her right to utter with Mandarin. Likewise, such an incident could happen elsewhere when Anna talked to native Chinese speakers, which might as well influenced her self-positioning and her knowledge of the language capital she had possessed.

Chinese language and Chinese identity.

I noticed a Chinese part existing in the identity portfolio of all the five participants as they interpreted themselves in multifaceted views. But how did Chinese languages play their roles in that part of their identities? From the interviews, I came to know how they treasured their heritage languages as a representative of their Chinese features.

"Sometimes for my family, I feel like I should be learning to read and write [Chinese] more because it's my native language," Emily explained, "and I regret that I don't know how" (Interview with Emily, 2017). I suppose the 'native' Emily mentioned referred to 'ethnic' or 'heritage' since she wanted to learn Chinese for her family members, who transmitted her ethnicity and heritage.

Kate and Linda also revealed how they cherished the opportunity of speaking their HLs at home; otherwise, there were almost no other places to use them. Kate acknowledged that in contrast with her speaking Cantonese at home, her younger sister tended to speak more English. "She doesn't really speak Cantonese or Mandarin to her friends; it's mostly English, especially if she grows up here". Though Kate was in a similar situation as well, she added, "But I would like to practice Cantonese 'cause you don't really practice outside of the home" (Interview with Kate, 2018).

Linda also mentioned that she had few chances of speaking Chinese outside the home except for hanging out with friends who mainly spoke Chinese, which did not even happen often. She gave a positive response to using Mandarin as a home language. "It's good, it's good," she said, "because it gives you a chance to practice Chinese. And I think if I didn't have that, I would have lost the language rather quickly".

> I hope it [losing the Chinese language] never happens because I think being a Chinese is part of my identity. I'm proud of it, and I want to keep in that … I don't need to know it [the language], but I would very much like to know and keep it. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

Linda has made explicit the connection between her Chinese part of the identities and her heritage language. Chinese languages are not a necessity to settle in an anglophone host country. But Linda expressed her willingness to keep and learn more about the language. It is then hard to deny her pride in the cultures she inherited from her family, which included the Chinese language.

Anna confirmed her appreciation of the strict family language policy imposed by her parents, with the reason that Mandarin-only at home helped open more doors for her since she

can speak Mandarin Chinese quite fluently. “I thought it worked,” she said, “at least both my brother and I speak the language, and there are a lot of friends who actually lost the language. So, I think we are lucky that our parents care so much” (Interview with Anna, 2018). Besides, she shared her thoughts on how essential speaking a Chinese language was to keep her Chinese identity.

> I guess it does play a role in how we identify ourselves. ‘Cause if we don’t speak that language and we only speak English, we are probably more likely to identify as Canadian or American, English, or whatever else. But if we still have the language, we will probably still have ties to where we are from, and roots still play a factor, and we are still gonna be Chinese. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

Anna’s comments also resembled Emily’s ideas on the connections between her heritage language and identity. Followed shows the complementary words Emily added after reviewing her interview transcript.

> I do think identity is related to heritage language proficiency. It allows you to understand the culture better and allows you to read and write and gain more knowledge into the culture. I do think that my lack of proficiency in Mandarin has caused my Chinese identity to be smaller because I’m not exposed to the same experiences or knowledge. (Interview with Emily [Addition], 2018)

While Anna and Emily closely connected knowing Chinese languages to their Chinese identity, Luke provided a different view. He interpreted his Chinese part of the self as an understanding of culture and the history of his family. Meanwhile, he did not consider that a lack of Chinese language knowledge prevented him from calling himself Chinese. “I still am different in certain ways. I have a different background from most people” (Interview with Luke, 2018),

he said. However, it should be noticed that Luke made such comments based on his lack of Chinese language knowledge. That is why I suppose that he might have a different opinion if he had learned more or would learn more Chinese. However, I am not able to verify my supposition with existing data.

Non-Linear CHL Learning Trajectory

The participants did not form their hybrid identities in one day. It was hard to have a direct view of how their identities developed over time, but their CHL learning trajectories gave clues. Interview data suggested that none of my participants had a linear learning trajectory, and their CHL learning attitudes fluctuated according to diverse experiences they had in different phases. What was similar about the CHL learning of my participants was that most of them started this journey forced by their parents.

A reluctant start.

Emily was the only participant who claimed it was her own will to attend CHL classes when she was little. "It was my idea," she said, "'cause I wanted to learn more of my language" (Interview with Emily, 2017). Her remarks surprised me a bit since all other participants claimed that they were sent to CHL classes by their parents. My surprise was soon lessened in the fact that Emily did not make her decision until fourth or fifth grade whereas the others were all sent to CHL schools at a younger age, such as first few years of the elementary school for Linda and Luke, and even earlier in the kindergarten for Anna and Kate. Did Emily's parents not want their daughter to take CHL classes? Not really. "I think they wanted me to, but I also think they wanted it to be my idea" (Interview with Emily, 2017). Emily told me that her parents never pushed her to do anything she did not want to. Yet even though she made her own decision, classes on weekend mornings were not a great enjoyment.

> It's hard 'cause it was Saturday mornings, and I think everybody likes to sleep at that time. You have to make more sacrifices 'cause it's an extra thing. But I think it's important to know your own language. (Interview with Emily, 2017)

Additional courses on weekends were for sure one of the reasons why my participants were against CHL courses; even Emily mentioned that. And more reasons were noted by other respondents. "But at the time I hated it, 'cause it was just hard learning it" (Interview with Linda, 2017). Linda started to take community-based weekend CHL courses in the first few years of her elementary school. According to her, it was the learning difficulties that impeded her from enjoying the classes at the beginning. Since she spoke the language at home, making progress in reading and writing Chinese characters may be the actual difficulties that bothered her.

As another cause of the reluctance, the meaning of CHL learning was mentioned by Kate and Luke in different circumstances. "Like, why need to learn Chinese? I can speak English. That's why" (Interview with Kate, 2018). Though Kate did not specify 'Chinese', I was quite sure that she meant Mandarin Chinese. Kate's home language was Cantonese, but she revealed that she had never received further education in it. She was sent to learn Mandarin Chinese from the very beginning because her parents told her that taking Mandarin courses instead of Cantonese ones would be more helpful for her future job opportunities considering the much bigger population base of the former.

As young as when Kate was still in kindergarten, she did not understand nor appreciate learning another Chinese language variety, which she was not exposed to in her daily life. Luke, who did not even speak Chinese at home, had more to complain when his parents sent him to the weekend CHL school learning both Cantonese and Chinese without consulting him.

> It wasn't something I wanted to do since for me it was just like more work to do on

weekends when it could just be relaxing. It wasn't something I really wanted to do back then. I just kind of thought it as a nuisance. I didn't understand why I was trying to learn Chinese at that time, other than my parents told me it'll be good for jobs in the future maybe. But I can't grasp as a kid. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

Spending extra hours on weekends to learn a complicated language that did not seem to be useful concluded the negative attitudes most of my participants had on CHL learning when they were younger kids. With complaints alike, differences resulting from their backgrounds can also be noticed. Emily and Linda did not question the meaning of learning Mandarin because it was their home language; similarly, Kate was confused about why she had to learn Mandarin because she spoke Cantonese at home. Meanwhile, Luke was in a monolingual English family language environment. Learning Cantonese and Mandarin thus seemed unattractive to him even though he identified Cantonese as his heritage language.

A reluctant start turns into?.

Extra classes on weekends, the difficulty of making progress in Mandarin or Cantonese, no idea why the language should be learned, these were all reasons why my participants were reluctant to take CHL classes at the beginning, but the paths then diverged. Linda and Emily continued learning till the graduation at grade 12, struggling to balance between schoolwork and weekend classes; Anna finished earlier since she started earlier but kept doubting how the lessons should be delivered; Kate tried several forms of classrooms to find her preferred one; Luke gave up learning years later because he did not enjoy CHL courses at all. Presented below is the development of their CHL learning attitudes before the turning points hit them.

Linda and Emily: Better to continue.

Linda and Emily managed to continue their learning at weekend CHL schools to the

graduation in grade 12. They seldom complained about the CHL classes in the interview and were quite satisfied with the fact that there were places for them to learn their mother tongue and heritage culture. Meanwhile, however, they brought forward problems such as insufficient hours to learn and in a struggle to balance between regular and weekend school workloads.

"I feel like it's hard to learn when you only got…'cause we only have three hours on Saturdays, and it's hard because you have to manage your regular school with Chinese school" (Interview with Emily, 2017). Though challenges were ahead, Emily commented on her CHL classes as a pleasant experience. In my opinion, this was based on her own will when starting learning as well as her acknowledgment of the value of knowing her heritage language.

By contrast, Linda began her CHL courses upon her parents' will. Reluctant at first though, she had her reasons to continue:

> It was my parents' decision at first just because they wanted me to learn it. And I just finished it. I mean, I could have stopped, I guess, but I wanted to finish it because at that point I was at a fairly high level, and so like…you might as well finish it at that point. And I also enjoy learning it. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

Linda's words showed her learning attitude shift from disapproval to enjoyment during the learning process. Unwillingly though at first, she gradually found learning Chinese enjoyable. Similar to Emily, she thought weekend hours taken for Chinese classes were worth it. Meanwhile, a real problem in their learning was a lack of confidence or a sense of fulfillment due to little progress, which once again changed their attitudes in high school time. It was when the school workload increased, and the weekend Mandarin classes seemed to become a huge burden for them.

> It's difficult to learn, and then you are learning so slow that sometimes it feels like there

> is no progress, especially in Chinese school because you don't learn a lot, there is not enough time to learn a lot. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

Though with attitudes toward CHL learning wavering, Linda and Emily completed their community-based CHL lessons in the last year of high school. Their persistence, no doubt, much came from their awareness of and identification with their heritage language and culture, yet this was not the whole story. Proper encouragement and guidance from the parents also bolstered their confidence in overcoming difficulties and finding pleasure in learning.

Anna: What was boring and unpleasant.

Several times in the interview Anna showed her appreciation for Chinese language and CHL learning. However, CHL learning in community schools seemed not to be a satisfactory experience for her.

> What I got was a lot of memorizing poems I don't know the meaning of. They gave us homework, and then we do the homework, we hand it in, we get a mark, and that's it. There's a test a month, and that's it. They don't teach anything cultural, and they don't really teach us how to read, so much as 'repeat after me'. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

Given the Mandarin-only family language policy, Anna might have owned nearly native oral Mandarin proficiency at her age when she began taking CHL lessons. It enabled her to have a clear mind on what skills she was weak in and what she expected to learn more in the classrooms. In the above excerpt, for example, Anna acknowledged that she preferred to acquire more knowledge in reading Chinese characters, as well as the culture-related topics. But the weekend CHL school did not provide her with what she expected. With a relatively high-level skill in Mandarin-speaking, Anna requested for more Chinese literacy skills. But as she testified, the only writing practice she had was dictations of Pinyin and Chinese characters.

> I wanted to learn, but by the time I got out of it, I was like this is so freaking boring. I wanted to learn the language. It was fun. But I feel like there was too much repeat after me. I guess I got too old for that stuff. (Anna, 2018)

Indicated from Anna's complaint was that she would like to invest in Chinese learning, but what and how CHL school taught was not appropriate for her. 'Boring' and 'not really teaching us anything useful' were frequently heard in the interview with Anna. Moreover, she complained that some teachers were so strict that they looked down on the students for having to take classes to learn their heritage language; and some were very impatient and even got annoyed sometimes when asked for an explanation.

Her feedback on teaching method and teacher identity raised questions on whether some community-based CHL schools, one of the few choices for CHL acquisition, can analyze and tackle the problems that CHL learners were facing and develop appropriate curriculum for students in diverse Chinese proficiency levels. The attitudes of CHL teachers in Anna's case also revealed the fact that some community school teachers may lack proper training beforehand. Otherwise, they should know about the characteristics of CHL students they were dealing with and why both students and teachers were there in the classroom.

While Anna complained about the CHL courses a lot, she did not think it demotivated her language learning because she had many pleasant experiences there as well, such as making good friends and knowing some helpful teachers. Ironically, however, her most pleasant memory during CHL school time was, as she recalled, to hang out with friends after classes, which had nothing to do with the classes Anna was taking, where she was supposed to learn Mandarin she loved.

Kate: Shifting Chinese varieties and changing learning spaces.

Born in Canada and speaking Cantonese as a primary family language, Kate, however, began her Mandarin learning journey before primary school, following her parents' order. Similar to Anna, Kate had strong opinions on how the courses should be taught. And she took one step forward. She discussed her views with her parents through productive conversations, which unlocked her learning experiences beyond CHL school and extended to private tutoring and high school elective courses. Despite all these learning experiences, the meaning of Mandarin learning still seemed to be out of Kate's reach. It occurred to me that Kate was fighting for an environment where she was most comfortable for Mandarin lessons she had to take.

Like all other participants, Kate started Mandarin learning in community CHL classes. In her case, the courses were organized in a church as she can remember. But not long did it take before she decided to quit. Disagreements on what Kate's parents called typically competitive Chinese school environments, as well as rote learning, were the main reasons why her parents took her out of the CHL school. Besides, Anna told them that she was not in favor of frequent dictations.

> It's kind of like the school system in China is very competitive, where you always have to have like a lot of tests and memorizing stuff, I guess they didn't like it as much. I guess they just didn't like the environment, and how they are teaching me Chinese, I'm not sure why. I remember I don't like the dictations. There were a lot of dictations. So I guess I told them I don't like this. I might have influenced them a little bit, but they still want me to learn Mandarin just because as a child you don't understand how important it is to learn a second language, especially Mandarin which is so widely spoken. And it would help you so much in business and your job everything. So that's why they still put me

with a private tutor, so more like at your own pace, and less dictation, I remember that. (Interview with Kate, 2018)

It was evident that Kate's parents took an active part in evaluating Kate's Mandarin learning environment. Productive dialogues among Kate's family members and similar attitudes on how language should be acquired drove them to make changes. Since her parents insisted that Kate should continue learning Mandarin, private tutor became a feasible solution for them since the way of teaching and the pace of progress can be discussed and individualized.

Kate gave positive comments on her tutor, considering her tutoring as helpful. However, it seemed to have revealed something when she explained how it helped.

> I went to the ** High School, and they offer Chinese in the system in the school, and you can take Chinese 10, 20, or 30. Grade 10 you will take 10, grade 11 you will take Chinese 20, and 30 will be grade 12. So, I found that my private tutor with Mandarin did help me for grade 10 and 11, 'cause it covered a lot of the same thing. It would be like the Pinyin, and like food, a lot of clothing, family, so that was covered, so I did well for that. And then it got a little bit harder in grade 12 just because it was stuff that wasn't covered in the private tutor. (Interview with Kate, 2018)

Followed is my analysis of the so-called 'help'. Kate quit weekend CHL school in grade two and continued to take tutor courses. The tutoring continued until before the high school since she told me that she was not taking tutor courses while having high school Mandarin classes. It means that Kate took seven or eight years of Mandarin tutor courses, but what she thought it helped her was making things easier for her high school elective Mandarin courses. Relating this to what Kate had questioned about 'why need to learn the language', it became clear that Kate by then had not comprehended the meaning of her Mandarin learning since the long-term tutoring

was mainly helpful only as a preparation for other high school Mandarin courses. She found no other places to use Mandarin knowledge.

Differences between Kate's attitude and that of Anna's can be concluded from another viewpoint: Anna loved learning Mandarin, but she did not like how her CHL school teachers taught the language, whereas Kate got the luck to access individualized tutoring and then high school optional Mandarin courses while those were more likely to fulfill her parents' expectations by then.

However, I said 'by then' because Kate's high school Mandarin teacher played an essential role in her taking Mandarin learning more seriously. One of the factors was the passionate instruction. In the interview, Kate stressed several times that the teacher was passionate about Chinese teaching. "He really likes that language, and he wanted to teach us" (Interview with Kate, 2018). Besides, a trip to mainland China at the end of her high school was another big help for her visualizing the significance of further learning of Mandarin and Chinese history. I will leave relevant stories to later for analyzing her learning attitude turning point.

Luke: Quit CHL school early.

What distinguishes Luke from all other participants in terms of CHL learning experiences is that he gave up taking CHL lessons five years after he started and never went back to any type of Chinese language-related courses until attending the university. The weekend CHL school that Luke went to taught both Cantonese and Mandarin yet focusing more on Cantonese. This arrangement should have been more adaptable for Luke since most of his family members spoke Cantonese. Nevertheless, Cantonese speaking family members at hand did not enhance his learning experience partially because Luke's parents spoke neither of the Chinese varieties at home.

For participants like Linda, Emily, and Anna, they started to take Mandarin lessons when Mandarin was in use in their daily communication, at least at home. For Kate, Mandarin was not but similar to her mother tongue Cantonese; meanwhile, her parents always told her how useful Mandarin as a language could be, and they were happy to help Kate with her learning. Assets such as speaking Chinese at home as well as family influences played significant roles in keeping these four participants learning Chinese. Luke, on the contrary, spoke no Chinese except for occasionally simple conversations with his grandparents. Lacking in daily exposure to the language hardly ever prepared him for weekend CHL courses. In the interview, I found most of Luke's memories of his CHL learning experiences and the help from his parents unfavorable.

> When I was there, it was kind of a struggle for me all the time because I didn't know what to write or what the teacher was saying. So once that was happening, I kind of frustrated at the whole time. And when tests come, I don't know what I'm writing on here; I'll just try hard. Then when report card time comes, and teachers meet my parents, they'll always be like 'oh he needs a lot of work blah blah blah', and my parents just like…push harder, but I don't understand what I'm doing. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

In my understanding, Luke did not enjoy taking weekend CHL lessons at all. Two points can be summarized from what he claimed above: Luke had difficulties in understanding the course contents, nor did he know for what he attended the courses. These two problems were interconnected and primarily originated from his family language policies. Luke did not have a family language environment involving Cantonese even though that was the first language of most of his elder family members. Luke spoke English at home and was accidentally deprived of one of the few opportunities to speak in his heritage language. Instead of guiding and encouraging Luke to learn Cantonese for necessarily independent dialogues with his extended

family members, Luke's parent instead acted as a translator. As time went on, Luke felt less connected to the language since his parents did not emphasize it anyway. His parents did not take Chinese languages seriously at home; Luke did not take CHL school seriously by the same token. He could hardly be ready for the CHL courses since he did not own a particular knowledge foundation for it; meanwhile, he lacked enough motivation for acquiring CHL knowledge and catching up.

It is thus not hard to understand why Luke was so against CHL classes. He was neither prepared technically nor emotionally. If he had had assets to understand what teachers taught and were in a family environment where Cantonese was emphasized, he might have enjoyed CHL courses more; or if he had been more passionate about the CHL learning, he would have obtained more knowledge. Unfortunately, neither assumption was valid. "Maybe because I just did not have an appreciation of wanting to learn Chinese at that time" (Interview with Luke, 2018), he claimed.

Family involvement in CHL learning usually helps learners in knowledge and resources. The facts in cases of the four female participants were good examples to prove positive parental supports; nonetheless, it did not work out well in Luke's case. For instance, homework was not pleasant for Luke. It may not be enjoyable for the other participants either, but since Luke was so against it, his parents who tried to help were likely to make the situation worse. "I don't know what I was doing, and they got very frustrated with that, so they kind of like yelled at me to do better, even though I wasn't understanding it," Luke said, "they are not good teachers" (Interview with Luke, 2018). Luke did not explain what he meant as 'good teachers'. It could be that they did not know how to help Luke with the homework, or in my analysis, they did not think much about why Luke could not learn better. Luke's teacher imposed pressure on his

parents to tell him to work harder, and his parents also got frustrated when he could not meet their expectations. But did they consider how suffered Luke could be?

Having struggled with weekend courses for about five years, Luke quit from CHL school. “I did not learn anything,” Luke admitted. His parents ran out of patience finally, compromising to take him out of the weekend school. “They are kind of tired of trying to get me to do all the stuff” (Interview with Luke, 2018). With the CHL learning plan failed on Luke, his parents also decided not to force his younger brother to try extra CHL programs on weekends.

In the interview, Luke, as a young adult, talked about how he felt about his early-age CHL learning experiences and how his decision to quit resulted in increasing difficulties in resuming learning Chinese languages later.

> Earlier I was against it. I know it’s different for a lot of people because sometimes they just receive it better than I do. But for me, earlier on, it was just something that I kind of rebelling ‘cause I didn’t want to do it. And that made it harder for me going forward because then I was just not having the knowledge that I need before. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

Meeting the turning point.

Almost all my participants went through a reluctant start with CHL learning when they were little, yet their attitudes and CHL learning journey diverged dramatically. Linda and Emily continued taking weekend courses at the same time fighting with difficulties, trying to find the value and enjoyment in learning; Anna was into Mandarin learning, but the CHL school disappointed her in terms of classroom experiences; Kate as a Cantonese-as-home-language learner did not seem to internalize the reason for learning Mandarin though she tried to find comfortable learning environment during more than 12 consecutive years of learning; Luke gave

up learning Chinese before middle school when he and his parents got frustrated. But these were just the beginning. Years later, turning points came to my participants in terms of their CHL learning journey since their learning status changed when the university life was right around the corner.

Kate: Valuing Mandarin learning in immersive environments.

A subtle turning point of attitudes on Mandarin learning hit Kate earlier than other participants. It was her high school Mandarin teacher who played a crucial role in triggering Kate's changes. He recommended Kate to apply for a short-term student exchange program between Canada and China, during which Kate learned and tried to speak Mandarin in an immersive environment. These brought her passion for taking Chinese history and Mandarin courses later at the university. Though Kate had vague memories of the program detail, she explained that the organizers gathered Kate, together with a dozen other Canadian high school students who knew some Chinese language or who were interested in the culture, and organized a trip to Yunnan, a southwestern province of China.

During Kate's last summer break before the university, therefore, she spent a week getting in touch with Chinese high school students, took intensive Mandarin courses, attended cultural activities, and was invited to experience their local lives. "I would say that for me was why I want to learn Mandarin further because you learned to appreciate that. You can talk to other people" (Interview with Kate, 2018), Kate commented after telling her experiences interacting with local Chinese students. Then she talked more about her opinions on learning Chinese in an immersive cultural environment:

> I like the cultural immersion of it where you are actually in China, and you can actually use your skills. I find here a lot of people just want to speak English, so it is hard to

> practice. In that environment, not a lot of people speak well because there's a lot of foreigners, then it was okay to make mistakes, which is how you learn.

Through this exchange trip, Kate began to visualize how she could use Mandarin to connect larger Chinese communities beyond Cantonese-speaking groups. It is, in her words, a changing point in attitude, which motivated her to continue taking Mandarin courses at the university.

> But you actually learn to appreciate now, like at the university level, you learn to appreciate learning or knowing a second language, and knowing parts of your culture, kind of puts you closer to your culture 'cause if you speak the language. (Interview with Kate, 2018)

Kate did not take learning Mandarin seriously because she did not appreciate learning it. When she got an opportunity to be in an immersive environment with Mandarin-speaking student groups, she began to enjoy the language because Kate realized that she could use it to connect people. Also, I suppose that the trip to Yunnan kindled her interest in knowing more Chinese culture embedded in the Chinese languages. That was why she took both Chinese history and Mandarin courses at the university level. As she described, though the history course was given in English, the professor provided students with names or terms in traditional Chinese script. In a relaxing classroom environment where students were not to get tested, Kate acquired knowledge about Chinese history and Chinese philosophical thoughts, such as Confucianism, that would not usually be talked about in daily conversations. "It is nice to learn it in class" (Interview with Kate, 2018), Kate commented.

Anna: Eager to know unknown.

Anna and Luke were supposed to have their CHL learning journey way apart based on

previous experiences. But they met a similar turning point at the university somehow, by taking an elective Chinese history course. How did these two students with opposite attitudes toward CHL learning end up taking the same Chinese history course at the university? Let us focus on Anna's case first.

Anna has been interested in learning Mandarin and considering it to be a beautiful language. However, she commented on her only experience of Mandarin courses at CHL school as boring. "They don't teach anything cultural" (Interview with Anna, 2018), she told. Cultural knowledge was a significant clue in the attitude change of her CHL learning trajectory. Due to the Chinese-only language policy at home, Anna owned a high Mandarin-speaking proficiency, self-commented as nearly native. However, she was the only one among all participants who had never traveled back to China before. These contradictory facts about Anna gave the possibility that most of her knowledge about China were from surrounding contacts, including those passed on by her teachers and parents, as well as information from media and books. But she never had a chance to experience an immersive environment of large Chinese communities on her own. Speaking fluent Chinese but owning no systematic knowledge about China, this conflict in her identity and her curiosity about China urged her to seize the opportunity when it appeared and finally chose to take Chinese history courses at the university.

A native Chinese commented on her not looking like a Chinese made Anna confused for a while, but also made her realize how little she knew about China even though her mother talked all about Chinese topics by the dinner table. Anna was not able to judge or reflect on them since she had little related knowledge. Taking history courses may be a good idea to reduce her confusion by acquiring knowledge about Chinese history and culture. Additionally, Anna complained about not learning anything about how to read from CHL school while she wished to

get more Chinese language literacy skills. In contrast, she told me that now by taking history courses, she resumed her passion for putting more effort into reading Chinese characters since she had to understand related reading materials.

Luke: Consider to resume Chinese learning.

In contrast to Anna, Luke did not speak Chinese at home and had a hard time in CHL school. He struggled, quit early, and did not take any Chinese-related courses ever since. How could he suddenly think of taking Chinese history classes? It is not hard to understand if we take a step back and look at his early-year experiences.

Luke found no meaning in learning Chinese early on because he was not in an environment where his parents encouraged him to speak Cantonese—his heritage language. He once hated the CHL learning experiences he had, but that resistance was not toward Chinese languages and cultures themselves. Despite seldom speaking Chinese at home, Luke seemed to have more connections with other Chinese immigrants by attending gatherings and activities with his grandfather in his family association. As a young member of the association, he got familiar with the language and stories of other Chinese-Canadian immigrants. This exposure to Chinese immigrant communities was vital for his connections and identification with his Chinese heritage. As another evidence, Luke acknowledged in the interview that trying to speak with his maternal grandmother in Cantonese was a personal interest even though no one required him to do so. 'Personal interest' appeared several times in the interview, and it also accounted for the reason why Luke chose to take extra Chinese-related courses later at the university when a satisfactory learning environment was provided.

> I would say personal interest and my own cultural thing that kind of drives me. As for the demotivation, it's like in my mind I always think of it as a really hard thing to do, and it

> kind of discourages me because, well, I don't know where to start … When I ask my grandparents or parents to teach me it, they don't know where to start either. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

Even though Luke did not gain many enjoyable memories of CHL learning in the early stages, his interest in Chinese language and cultural bonds with the community have not been cut off but was growing quietly. He once had quit CHL school partially because of the difficulties of Chinese learning, and now, to resume learning was even harder. University history courses, therefore, were a perfect opportunity to start over. Though Luke identified himself as inherited Chinese backgrounds, he was exposed to little information concerning Chinese history or culture in the previous learning and daily conversation. University elective courses with professional lectures, knowledge about Chinese history and culture, and a comfortable classroom environment were quite suitable for Luke as an adult learner who made his own choice to learn. Taking history courses inspired Luke to acquire more Chinese language in order to read documents with Chinese characters, similar to that in Anna's case. With his passion for Chinese history went on, he might pick up Chinese language learning again someday.

> When I was younger, it was always just a pain to me, so it was harder for me to learn 'cause I wasn't very passionate about it. Right now, since I have like passion for Chinese history, it's something I kind of wanna trying to pursue again at some point. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

Emily and Linda: Chinese learning is not a priority.

For Linda and Emily, entering the university meant that Chinese learning was more by their own choices. In contrast to the other three participants, they stopped taking any Chinese-related courses once entering the university. As they revealed, the main reason was that

they seldom had opportunities to take those courses since they had a tight schedule as science students. However, I would like to make an inference that they were also not in desperate needs of Chinese associated classes. Emily and Linda finished weekend CHL courses smoothly, no many complaints, or quit like Luke. The CHL schools they attended provided Chinese cultural knowledge, and they were able to visit back to China sometimes. These were completely different experiences from those of Anna's. They were used to speaking in Mandarin at home and did not experience a Yunan trip like Kate, who reshaped her attitudes since then and began to appreciate Mandarin and Chinese culture. To sum up, Linda and Emily did not lack appealing knowledge served as an impetus to take extra university courses, let along when they had a busy schedule.

> In high school, learning was kind of forced on you. Sometimes you just took it for granted that you just have to learn things. So then now in university, nobody is forcing you to do it. But then you realize you have to force yourself to do it. So then you don't take it for granted as much, and you definitely appreciate learning things a lot more, especially languages as I think. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

What Linda talked about in the interview suggested her will for informal CHL learning as an adult learner. Emily, as well, preferred to continue with CHL learning in a casual environment, trying to find and stick to enjoyable learning methods since language learning was a long-term task.

> I think it's important to find something you can keep doing consistently every day. For some people that might be watching a Chinese TV show with subtitles or listening to music and learning the lyrics. Just something that you can see yourself doing every day without it feeling like too much work because you have to be able to keep it consistent.

(Interview with Emily, 2017)

Linda and Emily's preference in informal CHL learning was partly based on their busy schedule. In addition to that, after ten years of CHL learning under the surveillance of their parents and teachers, they would like to have a self-driven relaxing learning environment. Emily's suggestions on herself to make the learning enjoyable was significant for informal learning since people got distracted easily. However, as longitudinal tasks, how will Linda and Emily's learning plan turn out is beyond the knowledge of this study.

Power Dynamics

When transcribing data regarding CHL learning experiences in and outside the home, power dynamics appeared to be another important theme. It included what happened at home between immigrant parents and their children, between teachers and CHL learners in the classrooms, and of course, among Mandarin, Cantonese, and other Chinese language varieties.

Parents and children.

Power dynamics at home were visible in most cases. They were well depicted with the fact that most parents sent their children to CHL schools without asking for their consent. In addition to that, power dynamics were also prominent in their family language practices.

The Mandarin-only policy in Anna's family, as its name indicated, forbade Anna from speaking in languages other than Mandarin. As Anna told, she and her younger brother got punished when breaking the rules.

> If we open our mouths and the first thing that comes out was English, then we lose TV time, or we lose game time, or we are grounded, or we lose whatever snack that we wanted. So, we lost the privilege every time we open our mouths and speaking English. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

Anna accepted the policy without argument and showed her appreciation for it for saving her Chinese speaking capacity. However, I was confused about why she obeyed such rigid rules. Followed is an excerpt from the interview dialogues.

Anna: I just kind of accepted it and went with the flow.

Interviewer: With the flow?

Anna: Um-huh. Um, how to explain ‘go with the flow’?

Interviewer: Go with the flow, ‘顺其自然’?

Anna: Yeah.

Interviewer: Why?

Anna: Um…大人定的规矩，就那样，作为晚辈的就只能……只能听了咯 [Rules set by seniors are just… juniors just have no choice but to obey them.]

Interviewer: How does this kind of opinion or your viewpoint come? Why do you think like that?

Anna: I think it has too much to do with Confucius.

(Interview with Anna, 2018)

Anna’s explanation in terms of not arguing with her parents about the Chinese-only policy was that she, as a younger generation, should obey parents’ words. That, in her words, was inherited from Confucian moral thoughts. Tracking down to the origin of her Confucian knowledge that she claimed to have learned, I found that she was taught with some at the CHL school, but most were told by her parents. However, a question appeared that whether Anna internalized Confucian thoughts and knew how to apply them, or she just followed what her parents told her about the related knowledge. In my analysis, Anna was in the latter situation.

It occurred to me that even native Chinese students who learned Confucian thoughts systematically would argue with parents sometimes, how could a girl brought up in Canada consider herself to be supposed to fully obey her parents' rules, based on Confucian thoughts? I now present two inferences. Anna had never been back to China after the immigration and was told most of the relative culture by her parents. Hence it was possible that her parents conveyed incorrect information. It could happen due to their misunderstandings or outdated interpretation, or they might tell the self-justified precept on purpose in order to make Anna obey their rules. I was not able to confirm my inference with the available interview data. However, a question should be raised: What if immigrants like Anna misunderstood their heritage culture acquired under parents' authority and lived in 'lies' since they did not have enough direct contact with the culture?

Power dynamics in Anna's family, appreciated by Anna for keeping her heritage language, enabled her parents to socialize her into an ideal daughter through transmitted language and culture. But it also caused further identity problems which I have analyzed before. What made Anna's case distinct from others was that despite taking advantage of both Chinese and Canadian identities, she tended to notice more differences between herself and other native Canadians or Chinese. For example, she was sensitive about her Asian physical appearance and the comments from native Chinese on her Chineseness.

I connect Anna's identity sensitivity with her rigid family language policy and power dynamics because her family environment seemed to split her from the world outside her home. Anna spoke English most of the time at schools or universities, but no English was allowed at home; Anna experienced Canadian lives but heard no Canadian topics by the dinner table at home; Anna spoke fluent Mandarin but knew little about Chinese history and culture. Her hybrid

identities were not in balanced development, with her bilingual and bicultural features unappreciated at home. The two worlds in her identities were not encouraged to be connected, but rather to be split within the home environment, impeding the advances of either part of her identities. That might be a reason why Anna was so eager to know more about China by taking Chinese history courses at the university. She wanted to position herself more confidently, as I thought.

Family power dynamics in Luke's case can also be noticed in his family language policy. While I asserted that home language practices of Anna's family showed explicit power relations, I interpret the language planning of Luke's family as an unconscious result of parents' power over children. As I have reviewed, there are three components in the family language policy—attitude, practice, and planning (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Spolsky, 2004). We can have insights into the favorable stance that Luke's parents held toward Chinese languages, given their decision on sending Luke to CHL classes at a young age. Meanwhile, Luke's parents kept using only English as a family language of communication even though Luke's mother was native in Cantonese. Additionally, his parents preferred to translate for Luke when he had dialogues with his Cantonese-speaking grandparents.

On the one hand, Luke was asked to learn CHL well; on the other hand, he could not sense the value of CHL learning from his implicitly manipulated family language practices. These discrepancies between the family language ideology and actual language practices blurred his attitudes on CHL learning. In contrast, the family language planning of the rest three participants showed adaptation to the hybrid identities of both parents and their children. The values of both CHL and English are emphasized by immigrant parents and transmitted to their

children via bilingual family language practices, and this benefited the Chinese language learning of Emily, Kate, and Linda.

Teachers and students.

It was interesting that the power dynamics in the classroom were also prominent in Anna's case, and some even affected her investment in CHL learning. Anna mentioned that some of her CHL teachers made it explicit to the students that they should be ashamed for having to come to CHL classes to learn Chinese. As analyzed before, this ideology came from the fact that some native Chinese speakers positioned CHL learners as embarrassing to have to learn their own heritage language. This ideology ignored CHL learners' previous experiences and knowledge. And as it was a misleading statement conveyed by CHL teachers in the classroom, CHL learners tended to feel pressured and hurt. As a consequence, they might ask fewer questions because they did not want to be regarded as more ignorant; hence, they invested less in CHL learning. There was another example of teachers' power over students, which confused Anna and left her with uncomfortable classroom experiences.

Anna was left-handed, for which reason she was criticized by her CHL teachers and punished when writing Chinese characters with her left hand. "他们说，左手写字的话你就是傻子 [They said that you are a fool if you write with your left hand]" (Interview with Anna, 2018). Anna told me this in Mandarin in the interview, trying to recreating what happened in the classroom.

> It was like…writing Chinese with a left hand apparently was bad. So, they grabbed a ruler and beat my hand every time I wrote with my left hand. '中文字是右手写的，不是左手写的 [Chinese characters are supposed to be written with your right hand, rather

than the left one]'. That's what she said, like…almost every week to me. I never would understand why … I'm not sure why my teachers decided that left hand was taboo. (Interview with Anna, 2018)

Anna was confused, but she still followed their words because otherwise, they beat her hard on her hand hard. What differentiated this from Anna's unconditional approval on her family language policy was that she at least fought for an explanation on the decision from her CHL teachers. A question here stood out that why she reacted differently when facing similar absolute authorities on two occasions? Though an exact answer cannot be obtained from the data collected, a reasonable assumption can be made. Anna agreed on her family language policy for keeping her Chinese language skills, but she did not agree with the idea that writing Chinese characters with the left hand was wrong since her teachers did not give her a persuasive explanation. Their unreasonable punishment and evasion from answering lost themselves credit to Anna.

Mandarin and other Chinese varieties.

The theme of power dynamics between Mandarin and other Chinese varieties can be spotted in Linda, Kate, and Luke's cases as they were from southern areas of China, where the Chinese language variants had evident distinctions from Mandarin. Different family language policies of these three participants showed how power relations among Chinese language varieties resulted in their families' expectations for their CHL learning.

They do [speak a regional variant], not to me though, not to me. My mom doesn't speak dialect at all, and my dad speaks mainly to my grandma in dialect, Liyang Hua [Liyang variant]. But then, they don't speak it to me. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

Linda told me that her father spoke a Chinees language variant of Jiangsu province to her grandma, but they only talked to Linda in Mandarin. This behavior suggested that her father and grandmother knew the hegemony of Mandarin over their mother tongue as a standard and official language in mainland China, and they even did not care much about transmitting their mother tongue to Anna.

Both Luke and Kate's family members spoke Cantonese, but there were also differences in these two cases. From Luke's interview, I got to know that he went to his grandparents' hometown once, and that was in mainland China. Based on this clue, I made a judgment that they were from Guangdong province, where people spoke Cantonese as a family language. Since Cantonese-speaking immigrants from China to Canada had a long history as reviewed, Cantonese in Canada had a long history as well. A longer time of influence added Cantonese with values as a Chinese language variety in Canada, so Cantonese-speaking immigrants were more likely to keep this language variety. Since Luke noted that he was sent to CHL classes where both Cantonese and Mandarin were taught, I thought his family also noticed the growing value of Mandarin.

Kate was from Hong Kong, where her mother tongue Cantonese was not only a dialect but also was recognized as an official language. In addition to the different use of scripts, Cantonese was a unique culture for her to keep. Nevertheless, her parents chose to send her to learn Mandarin rather than Cantonese, as I assume, for the same reason with Luke's parents, recognizing the value and potential of Mandarin.

From the examples listed above, it is evident that the ideologies of various domains are strong mediating forces influencing the value of a language to be kept and learned. To further explain, in Linda's case, the Liyang variant, as a cultural capital granted with less social and

potential economic power, was abandoned through its transmission from Linda's grandmother and father to her. Cantonese, however, as it was granted with more social power as Cantonese-speaking group once had a relatively large population and long history in Canada, as well as its status as an official language in Hong Kong, an internationally well-known metropolitan region, was valued by Luke and Kate's families. Nevertheless, Mandarin, as an internationally recognized language with potentially substantial value, was a natural choice as the heritage language to keep and to learn for Linda's family, a preferred additional resource for Kate's family, and a part of the resuming Chinese learning plan for Luke.

Power dynamics between Mandarin and other Chinese language varieties, as well as that of simplified and traditional scripts, presented their part in Kate's CHL learning process. Though Kate's CHL courses taken were constant with Mandarin, she had to shift between simplified and traditional texts according to what lecturers taught. It was lucky that Kate survived between two similar yet not entirely mutual-intelligible spoken varieties, and only traditional Chinese characters were taught in both private tutoring and high school Mandarin courses for reading and writing. But dramatic changes came when she entered university.

Kate took two different university-level Chinese courses. For Chinese history courses, the lecturer provided them with materials in traditional Chinese scripts; for Mandarin courses, however, the lecturer taught only simplified Chinese characters. Anna thought that traditional scripts were much prettier than simplified ones and appreciated how traditional scripts could trace its origin to older pictographic Chinese characters. However, she also realized that some traditional words were too complicated to write while many characters in both scripts were alike. Kate, therefore, was kind of glad to switch to simplified texts yet also wanted to know traditional ones. "I've learned so many new words that are simplified at the university level that are now

more advanced than what I learned in high school, so I think I would only know those words in simplified, unfortunately (Interview with Kate, 2018).

Capital and Imagined Future

This is a theme all about the future and imagination. Interview data indicated connections among the capital the CHL learners had possessed and desired to acquire, their imagined identity, as well as their current investments in language learning. Moreover, their imagined language policies on and expectations of their hypothetical children were also connected with their reflections on the family language policies adopted by their parents.

Imagined community.

From the interview data, I found most of my participants attributed their language learning investments to what kind of communities among which they desired to be a part. All of the four ladies mentioned that knowledge in Chinese could bring them enjoyable experiences of connecting to more people.

> It's like being part of a lot of different communities, I guess. So it feels like you belong everywhere, you know what I mean? Like you get the best of all before else. You both get to be a part of the Asian community, and like, understand that kind of cultural aspect, but you can also understand, like, western culture, and so it feels like you can connect a lot more people, I think. (Interview with Linda, 2017)

Though the goal in CHL investment was not specified, this interview clip showed how excited Linda was to be able to talk in two languages and connect more people. Her desire to get a sense of belonging in different groups indicated her wish to expand her imagined community by learning Chinese well. Similarly, Kate justified her focus on oral Chinese skills rather than literacy proficiency with her desire to be able to communicate with more people. Apart from

interpersonal connections, Anna desired to read more stories in Chinese, which explained her anxieties at her lack of Chinese literacy skills. In addition, her wish to get more Chinese literacy skills could be an asset enabling her to access more reading materials in her history study. As for Emily, her parents' expectations for her to be sophisticated in Chinese reading and writing and her desire to be a part of the community who use Chinese as their own language also drove her into CHL investment to be more Chinese literate.

Luke distinguished himself from the other four participants in a way that his imagined community did not support CHL learning as a top priority. Instead, he prioritized Japanese learning because he hoped to travel to Japan and to be an English teacher there. Besides, Luke did not identify himself as a good CHL learner. "Chinese is, in my mind, very difficult to learn, so it kind of turns me off. So, I'll focus on other things until maybe I'm better of a language learner" (Interview with Luke, 2018). Though he realized that he had more cultural identification with Chinese, all past learning experiences made him exclude himself from a good language learner and gave him little confidence in CHL learning. In other words, he was confused about how to restart learning Chinese without professional guidance, nor was he confident in keeping practicing. With evidence collected from his interview, I sum up that Luke had a language development scenario in which he should learn Japanese first due to his imagined identity as an English teacher in Japan. In addition to that, Japanese learning seemed to be easier for him to start and build on because he had accumulated some from popular comic books and animations he was interested in. Subsequently, combining experience in Japanese learning and other opportunities talking to people who spoke Chinese, he might find a better moment to resume learning Chinese, since at that time he would have more language learning experience and better knowledge in regards to Chinese.

The differences in Luke's case from the other four cases were an impressive example showing how imagined identities were related to the capital one desired to invest in as well as the capital one already possessed. To further clarify, the four female participants tended to identify themselves to be ones connecting people in different communities because being bilingual and bicultural were factors that made the connections possible. Dialectically, to fulfill their imagined identity as a part of the Chinese communities, they needed to invest in CHL learning to get more cultural and social capital that is valued in achieving their imagined future.

As for Luke, he did not possess enough Chinese language knowledge as a supportive resource for himself to include 'a good CHL learner' in his identity. Meanwhile, his interest in Japanese culture equipped him with a foundation and affiliation in Japanese learning, which could support his nearer imagined future as an English teacher in Japanese. It accounted for the fact that he put Japanese learning as a priority and wished to resume Chinese acquisition later when he gained enough relevant capital, such as language learning experiences and Chinese knowledge from his study in Chinese history.

Imagined next generation.

As another part of the imagination, attitudes of my participants on how they would deal with CHL learning issues of their future kids were also included in the conversation. After analyzing the interview data, I noticed that their attitudes varied, but all corresponded with their previous CHL learning experiences and their reflections on them. Generally speaking, their opinions diverged into two categories. Anna, Kate, and Linda represented the first kind, where they claimed they would force their future kids into learning Chinese, whereas Luke and Emily hoped that their future kids could learn Chinese, but they would not force them to do that.

Linda, Kate, and Anna: Make the early decision.

Linda's parents held an open mind on her heritage language development. They did not require her to be fluent or have high expectations on her, yet they hoped that she at least kept the language. That was why they forced Linda into CHL school when she was little. And Linda, when growing up, also showed her potential for forcing her hypothetical kids to take Chinese-related courses. As she explained, the language would still be a heritage of her kids. When they were young, they may not be able to make the right choices; Linda, therefore, would make decisions for them as she hoped them to have some knowledge about the language at first. But when they got older, Linda would like to respect their own choices. This idea came from her experiences of CHL learning, which also started by force from her parents. Linda acknowledged that if her parents let her go with Chinese acquisition when she was little, she might not know Chinese now at all, which she would regret a lot. However, Linda was also aware of a fact that since her Chinese is not as good as that of her parents, it would be harder for her to help her kids maintain the language.

Kate echoed Linda's worries that when kids were young, they were not able to know the importance of their heritage language. "I mean, it's part of your heritage, and you don't really appreciate it until you are older. And you know, it's hard for me to learn the language now than when you were a kid" (Interview with Kate, 2018). Kate pointed out a paradox that immigrant children tended to appreciate their heritage languages when they grew older, while younger kids did learn a language easier. This paradox was what she once confronted and maybe was still going through. When asked about the possible opposing attitudes of her future kids on CHL learning, she answered:

You are just going! [Kate was laughing]. Too bad, you are learning it. I'm gonna just

> force them to learn it 'cause second language is good. You should know your culture; you should know your heritage; you should be able to communicate with people of your culture. And hopefully, they can learn to appreciate it. But I don't know. Maybe I'll force them, maybe not. But hopefully, they can actually learn so they can talk to people. I think it's more my goal versus like reading literature; it's mostly like conversation. (Interview with Kate, 2018)

Kate became emotional and insisted on persuading her imagined children into Chinese language learning. In my analysis, she was insistent not only because she thought being Chinese is also a heritage of her children's and they should know about the language, but she also wanted her children to start learning Chinese early; otherwise, they might be regret when they grew up and found the learning even more challenging.

Anna firmly insisted that she would adopt the same Mandarin-only policy at home with her future kids. "Because if you lose that language, I think you are losing part of your identity, and that's kind of really sad" (Interview with Anna, 2018), she said, apparently agreeing on her parents' Chinese-only family language policy to be a success in keeping her Chinese language proficiency.

Apart from trying to avoid the regrets they have been through from happening on their children, it was interesting to find how my participants tended to transmit their own CHL learning goals and heritage language capability as criteria for their children. For example, Kate highlighted language communication skills rather than its literacy knowledge because that was what she preferred in her own CHL learning. When Anna was asked about what if her kids were more interested in other languages, she answered, "But at the same time, they are still gonna have to at least know how to speak Chinese; they don't need to know how to read or write 'cause

I don't know how to read or write myself" (Interview with Anna, 2018). Insights were obtained from her response into how she set up standards for her kids' CHL learning based on her own CHL proficiency.

Luke and Emily: Being supportive but never force.

Even though most of the other three participants were somewhat reluctant when their parents put them into CHL schools, successful CHL learning experiences later on and their recognition of the value of Chinese languages drove them to impose the same enforcement on their hypothetical children. However, Emily and Luke decided to take supportive measures without forcing at all.

> I think it would be hard to teach them Chinese, just also like speaking and listening would be harder because I'm used to communicating in English in my everyday life. So, that would be difficult, but I would never force them to do anything that they didn't want to. And it feels like if you want to take this as a second language, you can, but that's hard. I would just encourage them like if you want to, then, that's something we will do. (Interview with Emily, 2017)

Emily's policy on her imagined children was kind of inherited from her parents since they never forced Emily to learn either. She also acknowledged that how her kids thought about the Chinese language might also be different from that of her own. They might also have weaker connections to the language and culture since Emily was less able to support her kids with the learning than what her parents did to help her.

Luke considered learning Chinese as 'important culturally', but he decided not to force his future kids to learn since he did not get good results from that. "If they eventually want to do it, then I'll support them; if not, then I am not gonna push them … It's something I want them to

do, of course, but it's not something I'm gonna force them to" (Interview with Luke, 2018), he said.

Luke was going to be supportive yet trying to avoid his imagined kids from the struggles which he went through as a kid. Different from participants who insisted on an early start of CHL learning, Luke considered going to CHL school at an older age as a good idea, because the kids might not know much about why they should learn their heritage language until they grew older. Besides, Luke was clear that he might not be able to help his kids with Chinese learning, so he decided to turn to ones who knew how to teach with private lessons or in public schools.

> I wouldn't try to teach them Chinese myself 'cause I'm not capable of doing that. I would get a tutor to help them out. So, if they are in a bilingual school or in a Chinese school, I would get a tutor to kind of go over extra lessons with them, and like somebody knows. (Interview with Luke, 2018)

To sum up, all of my participants' plans on CHL learning of their hypothetical children were quite reflective on their own CHL learning experiences. They proposed their policies based on a criterion that they did not want their kids to repeat the struggle and regrets that they had gone through. They suggested varied solutions in terms of CHL learning for the possible identity shifts of the next generation. My participants cared about CHL learning of their imagined children and wanted them to keep the language and culture as their heritage. As they acknowledged, however, it would be hard for them to help their children with heritage language learning or connect them to heritage culture since my participants were not fully proficient or connected either.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this section of the thesis, I integrate the previous analyses and findings to answer the three research questions. Within each item, I discuss primary findings based on my theoretical framework and relate the results to other literature. In the end, I conclude with the limitations of this study and give suggestions for future research.

Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Question one.

My first research question is: How do my participants position themselves and their heritage languages, and how do their attitudes change?

All my participants acknowledged that they have hybrid identities and being Chinese is a part of their identity kits. Most of them positioned a part of themselves as Canadians because of their long-time stay in Canada. The identity of being Canadians is inscribed in their minds as they grew up in the country, being educated and immersed in local cultures. Meanwhile, the Chinese part of the identity comes from the history of their family members who lived their lives in China, as well as participants' understanding of Chinese language and culture. Just like what Zhang and Guo (2015) have found, they negotiate their multifaceted identities and find themselves comfortable positions "by incorporating different aspects of varying cultures through the process of transculturation" (p. 216). All of my participants, now young adults, tend to enjoy participating in both Chinese and English-speaking communities and viewing things from multiple perspectives via their multilingual and multicultural backgrounds. Anna, though, tends to be more sensitive about how others position her. While she also identifies herself as both Canadian and Chinese, she emphasizes how others sometimes neither regard her as a Canadian because of her physical appearance nor a typical Chinese people.

Influenced by other people's judgments, Anna began to doubt that her way of behaving and her lack of knowledge about China made her less Chinese. Her experiences remind me of the ideas conveyed by scholars (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Fishman, 2010; García, 2012) that identity can be "a result of outsiders' perspectives and actions, whether other laypersons or more authoritative persons" (García, 2012, p. 81). Those judgments in Anna's case portray prevalent social ideologies on what Canadians and Chinese people look like, which, in Anna's case at least, influencing her own identities sometimes (Darvin & Norton, 2015). I infer, therefore, her constant pursuit for more courses and knowledge in Chinese history and language literacy acts partially as a defensive measure to justify and secure her self-identification. In other words, the capital Anna gained from acquiring Chinese language and cultural knowledge enables her to reproduce a sense of 'self' (Nordstrom, 2019; Norton, 2013).

Another finding concerning ideology in identity is the different views among my participants on the importance of Chinese language proficiency as an index of their Chinese identity. Most of my participants regard Chinese language knowledge as an essential part of their Chinese identity thanks to its assistance in understanding Chinese culture. Similar scenarios have also been reported in other studies (Bell, 2013; Blackledge et al., 2008; Francis, Archer, & Mau, 2009, 2010; Francis, Mau, & Archer, 2014), where the ideology is prevalent among diasporic Chinese communities that the ability to speak Chinese is crucial to one's identity as good and authentic Chinese person. Different voices from Luke then are notable that lacking in Chinese proficiency does not compromise his Chinese part of the identity because of his unique background. Similar voices were also heard elsewhere (Francis et al., 2014). I consider his viewpoint as definitely reasonable as there were both arguments among scholars showing advocacy for the close connections between ethnic identity and language (Bakhtin, 2010;

Fishman, 2010; García, 2012) and for the teasing apart of language and heritage or identity (Archer et al., 2010; Blackledge et al., 2008; Li & Duff, 2014). I do not consider the prevalent ideologies lower the voices like Luke's as I hold on to fluid identity in this study. This fluidity, in my opinion, can mean both the changing sense of self and the discursively constructed Chinese identity or Chineseness, that is, different interpretations of the composition of Chinese identities (Archer et al., 2010; Francis et al., 2014; Norton, 2013).

Given participants' fluid sense of self, it makes sense that their perceptions toward heritage languages and their Chinese language learning journeys are distinct and shifting as well. Generally, most of my participants went through a shift from reluctant and indifferent to enjoying or resuming CHL learning. The attitude changes from negative to positive were also described in many other works (He, 2006; Li & Duff, 2008; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). For example, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) have found that although immigrant parents showed favorable attitudes promoting CHL to their children, the younger immigrants, especially children and adolescents, sometimes held opposite views.

All my research respondents started learning Chinese in Community CHL schools, but not all of them were learning their mother tongues. Most of my participants were first forced to CHL schools under parental decisions, for offering a gateway to Chinese society, narrowing generational gaps, or the potential economic benefits (Francis et al., 2009, 2010). For Mandarin speakers, they fit in Mandarin learning classrooms; for participants with Cantonese-speaking family backgrounds, they were sent to learn Mandarin (Kate) or both Cantonese and Mandarin (Luke) by their parents. Among all five participants, those whose family language is the same with what they learned in the CHL school are the ones who are less reluctant with weekend courses. Early defensive attitudes were more easily spotted in the rest of the cases whose family

language is not compatible with the language they were learning in weekend schools. For example, Kate did not appreciate Mandarin learning at first because her actual mother tongue is Cantonese; Luke had painful CHL learning experiences partially due to his English monolingual family language practices. The problem points to the inconsistency between family language ideologies and practices, which results in ambiguous attitudes of immigrant children toward CHL learning (Li, 2006). This finding echoes Spolsky's (2004) claim that "language-management efforts may go beyond or contradict the set of belief and values that underlie a community's use of language and the actual practice of language use" (p. 14).

The inconsistency between home languages and language learned in the weekend school (He, 2008) is only a part of the reasons for reluctance I have heard from the participants. Other complaints include forced by parents to learn at first (Francis et al., 2010), feelings of unnecessary to learn due to restricted use of Chinese only at home (Duff & Li, 2014; Montrul, 2016), the time occupied by community-based CHL schools, Chinese as a difficult language to learn (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), and unsatisfactory CHL learning experiences (Li & Duff, 2008, 2014). However, no matter how many complaints my participants told about their CHL learning at young ages, none of them mentioned the pressure of possible discrimination from peers—one of the prominent reasons causing ambivalence in CHL investments of younger immigrants as noted by researchers (Duff & Li, 2014; Zhang & Slaughter, 2009). Local ideologies toward minority languages (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Li & Duff, 2014; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009) may account for the gap since my participants are in an environment where multilingual and multicultural resources are valued. Or it also makes sense that not mentioning does not mean nonexistence.

Generally speaking, all my participants confronted turning points of attitudes toward CHL learning around university years. I conclude the common traits in these turning moments roughly as changes in heritage language management or planning in various domains (Spolsky, 2004). Specifically, Emily and Linda view university as a changing point because it is when they can fully apply their learning autonomy instead of when parental forces were at work. This accounts for their preference to continue learning Chinese in informal environments. Kate, with an immersive learning opportunity of Mandarin, found the meaning of learning this Chinese language variety so that she decides to take extra university Chinese history and Mandarin courses. Anna, with the satisfactory classroom experiences of Chinese history at the university, reignites her passion for Chinese language acquisition. And even Luke, who quit CHL learning early, considers resuming CHL learning when he is in a comfortable language learning environment. These examples from my study connect to the mediating power that language policy (language management especially) has on ethnolinguistic identities discussed by Fishman (2010) and García (2012). The attitude shifts around university years also show what Li and Duff (2008) have described as contingent and multidirectional development of CHL in diasporic communities. A scenario could be, like in Luke's case, immigrant children shift to English early but reclaim their heritage language and identity when entering the university and discover their internal desire instead of "the externally imposed pressures of their childhood" (p. 20). Likewise, He's (2012) rootedness hypothesis also accounts for participants' desire of (re)connecting to their heritage language and culture, with the explanation that the change is because immigrant children usually do not fully understand the cultural and instrumental capital of the language until they grow up enough, no matter how immigrant parents underscore the benefits of learning Chinese, especially Mandarin. Moreover, the turning points at the university years also connect

to what He (2012) reviewed about the enrichment hypothesis that some heritage language learners become more enthusiastic about their learning as young adults because that is when they have already fully conquered the majority language and seen themselves equal to local others linguistically and socially. Learning Chinese then becomes a relatively relaxing activity as an expansion of their language repertoire.

The attitudes and changes of attitudes of the participants with knowledge of regional variants of Chinese in this study were analyzed and underscored. As mentioned before, my participants did not always take Chinese language courses in the variety that they spoke at home or that their family members used. This inconsistency compromised their passion for weekend language courses at the outset. The five participants all mentioned that they consider Chinese languages as a bond to connect them with their Chinese-speaking family members and others in Chinese communities. Though Luke did not make a direct statement, his words support the above inference as well since he acknowledged that his lack of Chinese proficiency alienated him from his Cantonese-speaking grandparents. Bell (2013) interpreted this tendency to maintain social group closeness as moral integration. In the analysis, I mentioned the language practices and planning of immigrant parents who spoke regional variants of Chinese. Linda's father and grandmother, though talking to each other in Jiangsu variant, intentionally spoke in Mandarin to Linda. They made Mandarin the most identified Chinese language variety for Linda within the family language transmission, so she did not experience a strong reluctance toward Mandarin weekend courses. Identical choices appeared in Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe's (2009) study that parents who spoke Min variant preferred to transmit Mandarin instead of their family language to immigrant children as the heritage language. For Chinese Cantonese-speaking students (such as Kate) who were told to take Mandarin courses, it is reasonable that they do not feel a

strengthened connection with surrounding family members and communities who do not speak Mandarin either. This contributes to the reason why Kate spent years taking Mandarin weekend courses but did not take them seriously until she took part in a short-term exchange program to Yunnan province in Mainland China. She admitted that the visit enabled her to use Mandarin to communicate with local students, and the trip played a significant role in motivating her to take extra Chinese history and Mandarin courses at the university. Her changes in learning attitudes can be related to the interaction hypothesis by which He (2012) implied that Kate's investments in Mandarin learning can get her "the reward of communicating in situated activities" (p. 596).

In my interviews with Kate and Luke, I did not sense the dichotomous perception between Cantonese speakers and Mandarin learning that scholars often noticed in their studies in the British context. Li and Zhu (2014) found that many Chinese parents and children view Mandarin as an asset for future careers while valuing Cantonese for its use in the family and social domain. Zhu & Li (2014) have seen negative attitudes of Chinese speakers of regional variants toward prevailing Mandarin courses. Some interviewees thought the more underscored Mandarin courses disqualify the use of Cantonese and other Chinese varieties or traditional Chinese scripts in the classrooms; some even regard special focus on Mandarin as threatening the cohesion of the local Chinese (mostly Cantonese-speaking) community since they "feel that they are being treated as foreigners by their own compatriots" (p. 337). Bell (2013) also argued for the pragmatic flexibility in language choice of Chinese immigrants in Scotland, for possibly the best economic and educational achievements, such as relocating immigrant children in a globally powerful position and an imagined future where their bilingual ability can be an asset. This tendency can also be spotted in the early years of Kate's Chinese learning as she took Mandarin courses while identifying Cantonese the most. However, conclusions cannot be simplistically

made. As I apply a poststructuralist view of identity and investment as a whole instead of the psychologically oriented notion of instrumental motivation (Norton, 2010, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995), I prefer not to tear apart the functions of different Chinese varieties. Kate's changing attitudes are in support of my viewpoint. Despite Kate's complaints about how Mandarin was hard to learn, she acknowledged her enjoyment in connecting and comparing both varieties and hence advancing both. Her parents, in support of her Mandarin learning, helped her with corresponding knowledge in Cantonese and were eager to know what she has learned in Chinese history classes. Her experiences in Mandarin learning is an example of how power dynamics in Chinese varieties enable her to renegotiate her identities and to expand her imagined Chinese communities (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Moreover, I notice the ambiguous use of the term 'Chinese' in the interviews instead of Mandarin or Cantonese, unless my participants had to specify to which variety they refer. Similar images were also reported and discussed in other studies. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that immigrant parents who spoke a Chinese variety other than Mandarin tended to use the term 'Chinese', which, as they argued, emphasized the commonness between them rather than their differences. Bell (2013) also noticed the slippage in the use of the term 'Chinese' by Cantonese speaking immigrants. She noted that "the former distinctions between Cantonese and Mandarin, Hong Kong and the mainland, are becoming less clear" (p. 46). She then concluded the changing attitudes in a British context:

> Cantonese-speaking Chinese Scots may treat Mandarin as a foreign language in terms of its political associations, and in the way they approach learning it. And yet something of their own sense of ethnic identity comes into play as they feel more closely aligned to Mandarin because they are Chinese. (p. 48)

However, as Duff and Doherty (2019) reminded, the ignored issues and tensions might have arisen “due to a growing sense that CHL learners should be able to access some form of education in the variety of Chinese that is their L1 or the Chinese they most identify with” (p. 153). It is a fact that Mandarin owns a wider communicative and socioeconomic status (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018), and can be a lingua franca of Chinese people in a cultural sense. Regional variants of Chinese, at the same time, are also a symbol of cultural and emotional attachments to most of the Chinese people (He, 2006). The balance between regional variants speaking and Mandarin learning requires efforts from various domains, such as families, communities, educational institutions, and nations to form a benign co-ethnic network (Zhang, 2012), as well as linguistic and cultural diversity and ecology (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018).

Question two.

My second research question is: How resources or forms of capital that they possess are treated in their CHL learning, and how does that influence their learning investments?

All my participants walked into CHL learning spaces with different forms of capital. For example, Anna, Emily, and Linda brought themselves with previous knowledge of Mandarin; Kate carried with her proficiency in Cantonese into Mandarin classrooms; Luke in the Cantonese and Mandarin classroom carried a scarcity of familiarity with Cantonese. The resources they brought into various learning spaces were judged by school teachers, their parents, and even themselves. These judgments with power dynamics at work resulted in diverse experiences and investments in their CHL learning journey (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Family language as Chinese is a resource that grants my participants with previous knowledge at the start of CHL classes. When Emily and Linda possess an average of Chinese

proficiency as capital (Duff et al., 2017; He, 2012; Spolsky, 2004), Anna, Luke, and Kate represent three different status of previous knowledge in CHL learning classrooms, which are overqualified, below the average, and partially intelligible knowledge.

Overqualified linguistic capital in Anna's case can be noticed from her complaints about the teaching methods and contents that were, in her mind, not compatible with her Chinese proficiency. With above-average proficiency, for aural and oral at least, Anna had higher expectations on what CHL school could offer, such as cultural knowledge and literacy skills. However, her requests were not well treated by CHL school teachers.

Luke's case provides an example of below-average linguistic capital as previous knowledge. Meanwhile, his CHL teachers and parents ignored that fact and expected more than he could achieve. They blamed Luke and were impatient with his unsatisfactory performances. These behaviors, adding to his reluctance to take CHL courses, deepened his negative impressions on teachers, his parents as learning assists, and even CHL learning itself. It finally resulted in his quit from the CHL school. Because of disappointing learning results in childhood, he, as a young adult, still identifies himself as an unsuccessful Chinese language learner. But it all starts with the family language policy. As I have discussed before, the ideologies Luke's parents held about Chinese languages were against the English monolingual family language practices they promoted. They would rather translate what Luke wanted to say to his Cantonese-speaking-only grandparents than provide Luke with opportunities to enrich his Chinese language resources. His Chinese language capital was first neglected at home.

Kate's case shows her Cantonese language capital being valued in Mandarin learning by CHL teachers and her parents. She was lucky that her private tutor and high school elective course teachers spoke both Mandarin and Cantonese and brought the value of two varieties into

the learning. Her parents also played decisive roles in helping Kate with knowledge transfer between two Chinese language varieties. As for Kate herself, even when she had to switch from traditional scripts to the simplified ones at the university Mandarin courses, she tried to compare two and appreciate both. In her learning, her Cantonese knowledge was not othered (Zhu & Li, 2014) but always treated as an addition to Mandarin learning, which promoted her learning investments. These parallel Li and Duff's (2008) argument that "these varieties have value in their own right as part of the learner's linguistic repertoire, and they may also serve to bridge the acquisition of standard forms" (p. 21).

Discussion on Kate's case gives an insight into integrating CHL learners' previous knowledge in other languages and other Chinese varieties into the classroom. It does not necessarily have to be in a bilingual program, but just asks for CHL teachers to value learners' language repertoire as a whole. Cummins (2005) addressed the value of ESL learner's heritage language (HL) and suggested ways to integrate their HL knowledge into mainstream classrooms. Why could this not apply to CHL classrooms? Wiley & Valdés (2000) have noted that "heritage language speakers are sometimes ridiculed for their lack of proficiency in prestige/literate-standardized varieties of language" (p. v). Duff and Doherty (2019) also mentioned the problematic preference of valuing native Mandarin-speaking teachers in CHL classrooms rather than previous CHL learners. They suggested that CHL learners as Mandarin teachers may, on the contrary, serves as a positive example for students by indicating that they can learn Mandarin well enough.

In the CHL classrooms where native Mandarin-speaking teachers were taking charge, students are sometimes ashamed by teachers with their non-native Chinese language and literacy proficiency. In Anna's case, such negative comments from teachers jeopardized her investments

in the classroom since her prior knowledge in Mandarin was devalued. This kind of higher expectation is, from another angle, an underestimation of CHL learners' "claim to ownership of Chinese and their histories as Sinophones" (Duff & Doherty, 2019, p. 150). As Duff and Doherty (2019) have argued, immigrants like Anna, who were once native Chinese language user, was demoted to the status of CHL learners just due to the diaspora environment. Another response to CHL teachers' high expectations on students could be seen in Li and Duff's (2008) work, where they noted that CHL students bring into classrooms with diverse prior expertise in Chinese in terms of different modalities or varieties, as well as with multifaceted identities. That is why they suggested that teachers "should not make unwarranted assumptions about affiliation or expertise on the basis of ethnolinguistic 'inheritance' alone" (p. 19).

Speaking of language modality, a problem identified in this study is the prevalent lack of Chinese culture and literacy knowledge of CHL learners. This complies with previous research (Xiao, 2006) that heritage language learners may be bilingual but not bi-literate. A consideration, therefore, is whether CHL class design underscores and puts efforts into pedagogy tackling the knowledge gap in culture and literacy (Carreira & Kagan, 2018). Li and Duff (2008) have pointed out that questions such as what learners already know, what they need to learn, and how to teach are not clear in the HL curriculum design guidelines and textbooks. Besides, if learners' prior knowledge and multiple identities presented in the classroom are ignored, they would find the learning disappointing and invalidating, thus refuse to invest (Li & Duff, 2008). For instance, Zhu and Li (2014) noticed a problem in Confucius institute that Chinese teachers tend to treat students like native Chinese people "when it came to morality, discipline, and certain behavioral norms" (p. 336). As Francis et al. (2009, 2010) and Nordstrom (2019) argued, heritage language classroom should be a safe place where students can interact with others with similar

backgrounds, rather than a place where teachers impose their authoritative power on students. So I refer to the suggestions that Li and Duff (2008) gave to teacher education for making them a strong force in motivating CHL students:

> (a) they need to examine their beliefs and attitudes toward HL speakers and their oral/written language varieties; (b) they must understand the linguistic needs as well as social-psychological orientations of HL students in order to maximize the effectiveness and suitability of their instruction. (pp. 26-27)

The authority of Anna's CHL teacher on teaching "stereotypical customs and traditions" (Zhu & Li, 2014, p. 337), as well as the observations from Li and Zhu's (2014) study that CHL students "reject the simplistic association of Chinese culture with only the past" (p. 134), lead to another finding and concern of this study—the problematic transmission of 'authentic' Chinese culture and value. When CHL learners' previous knowledge in Chinese language and culture is devalued, CHL teachers and their native Chinese-speaking parents become knowledge authorities, who can be in power positions to transmit desirable moral values and defend alien moral codes in the host society to CHL learners (Bell, 2013). In other words, they sometimes try to turn CHL learners into ideal Chinese instead of embracing their hybrid identities (Chiu, 2011). Anna's teacher scolded and punished her due to her left-handed writing but gave her no persuasive explanation, which compromised her willingness to invest in the classroom. Anna's parents, somehow, successfully made her obey a Chinese-only family language practice without any complaint. According to Anna, this is the result of her parents' socializing her into Confucian moral values. But the hierarchy showed during the knowledge acquisition raises the discussion of an ambiguous question—"who has the legitimacy to represent the authentic Chinese language and culture" (Zhu & Li, 2014, p. 337). The question presents itself in the interview data, but it is

hard to extend to a full discussion within this study. However, it reveals a fact that cultural preservation in diasporic communities can sometimes associates with ossification as “particular cultural elements are elevated and reified in ways that fail to appreciate the shifting, contextual and processual production and negotiation of culture” (Archer et al., 2010, p. 412).

Question three.

My third research question is: How do my participants relate their CHL investments to their imagined future?

In the findings, I mentioned two aspects of the issue. The first one is how my participants attributed their current investment in CHL learning to their imagined communities of which they desired to be a part; the other extends the question to their possible family language policy and educational planning, as CHL-learner parents, on their assumed future kids.

In my study, I have noticed a dialectical relationship between the capital my participants possessed or wanted to acquire and their imagined identity. Of what community my participants wish to be a part largely determines different goals they set for themselves in CHL learning. Bell (2013) applied linguistic domains (Spolsky, 2004) to explain the priority that immigrant families put on oral Chinese learning instead of literacy, as they most of the time only need oral language to communicate in the home. Here in the construct of language learning investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2010, 2013), I look at the findings with imagined communities. For example, Emily mentioned several times that Chinese is her language, and she regretted not being able to use it to the full extent. She showed her willingness to be a member of the native Chinese language user community, and that is why she insisted on self-directed learning even if she did not take any Chinese related classes at the university. Anna showed intense desire to visit China or get learning opportunities there. These all require more literacy skills, which Anna was

lacking in and therefore was working on. Linda enjoyed being welcomed in both Chinese and English language communities, and that contributes to the reason why she focused more on oral Chinese skills for connecting people. Likewise, Kate invested in Mandarin as a way to expand her imagined community, where she would be able to connect to more Mandarin-speaking Chinese (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). As a consequence, Kate took oral Chinese proficiency more prioritized than literacy skills. Luke, however, perceived himself to be an unsuccessful CHL learner. Meanwhile, he was more desired to be a part of the community of English teachers in Japan. These account for the reason why he prioritized Japanese learning as well as his plan to resume Chinese acquisition later, even though he has already reignited his interest in CHL learning.

As for their language policies on the next generation, I found that all my participants embraced positive attitudes on passing on Chinese languages to their imagined future kids. Moreover, their future language policies on their children are all reflections of their own CHL learning experiences and the policies that their parents imposed on them. Even their expectations on CHL skills of their imagined kids are corresponding to their own CHL proficiency. For example, Linda, Anna, and Kate intended to also force their children into CHL learning like what their parents did. An interesting finding is that even though Kate was reluctant when her parents first sent her into the CHL classroom, she tended to think like her parents when she hypothetically switched to the role of a parent. Francis et al. (2010) interpreted such an idea of preventing possible regret in the future as “a moral justification” (p. 107). The participants who promised to give their kids freedom also justify themselves. Linda made this choice because her parents did not force her to learn either, whereas Luke thought that for young kids who do not realize the meaning of CHL learning, it makes no difference no matter how hard parents force

them to learn. Additionally, Luke emphasized hiring professionals to teach his imagined kids. After all, the involvement of his parents worsened his CHL learning experiences, which made him decide to prevent that from happening again. All of them realized that it could be harder to teach their children Chinese since the kids might be less connected to their heritage languages and culture (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Meanwhile, my participants would not be as competent in Chinese as their parents were when guiding their own kids.

Literature is scarce concerning the third or even fourth generation of immigrants whose parents are also CHL learners. Within the knowledge of this study, I am not able to know whether my participants will do as what they imagined and impose their policy on their children in the future, and whether or how their own learning status will change. That is what Duff's team (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017) reminded us of the research gap on longitudinal research. It seems to be a trend for tracking changing heritage language attitudes and learning in different life stages of Chinese descendants in diaspora contexts.

Implications

The findings show that the incompatibility between family language ideology and language practices affects immigrant children's willingness to invest in CHL learning. If immigrant parents plan to promote heritage languages to their children with relevant courses, I suggest that they should also include the language in the family language practices. The primary purpose is to show immigrant children how they can use the language. When the family language policy reflects their hybrid ethnolinguistic identities, immigrant children should be more ready for their HL development with both relevant knowledge and their own reasons to learn.

Through heritage language promotion in the home, some heritage culture and value are also transmitted by patents to HL learners. Mediated by power relations regarding relevant

knowledge between immigrant parents and children, HL learners accept such culture and value easily and consider HL knowledge from parents as a professional source. However, knowledge from parents is not always updated or correct. Hence I suggest that immigrant parents arrange more discussions with their children about the knowledge conveyed and encourage them to think critically. Outdated and ossified knowledge may be conveyed in HL classrooms as well, and sometimes they are amplified by materials applied and teachers' ideology (Archer et al., 2010; Chiu, 2011; Li & Zhu, 2014). Consequently, I suggest targeted training for heritage language teachers on how to balance power relations, such as by listening to students' voices more and embracing learners' multifaced identities.

HL learners own diverse prior knowledge when they enter the HL classrooms; accordingly, they have different expectations and learning goals for the courses. For example, Anna required more advanced literacy knowledge since she had already possessed high oral proficiency in Mandarin; meanwhile, Luke did not set high expectations for his learning results since he brought little prior Chinese knowledge in the classroom. Hence teachers are not supposed to assume students' ownership of the language they are about to learn (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Li & Duff, 2008). Ideally, students with diverse prior knowledge and learning targets should be able to find the appropriate choices of courses. However, if students with different backgrounds are in the same classroom, I suggest that HL teachers should know more about the characteristics of HL learner groups as well as the individual needs of students. HL teachers, therefore, might think to provide an inclusive and balanced package of language, literacy, and cultural knowledge, flexible choices of learning tasks and suggested reading materials, as well as to adapt to students' emerging interests brought forward in the classrooms.

Limitations

With the five cases, I explored into young adult Chinese-Canadians' perception of their HL and CHL learning. Fluid attitudes of my participants on their heritage languages and CHL learning, mediating factors in their learning investments, and their future goals in CHL investment were included in this conversation. In the initial plan, third-generation immigrants, with both of whose parents were born in Canada, were listed in the prospective cases in the hope of making the findings more diverse. Due to my limited ability to locate individuals in that immigrant group, I failed to find such participants or include them in the conversation. However, data found showed that the background and experiences of participants mattered more than the years of their stay in Canada.

As for the data collecting process, one major limitation of this case study is that interviews with the five participants were the only source of data, which limited the data triangulation. However, membership-checking after the data transcription acted as compensation. Besides, due to my limited expertise as an interviewer, I unintentionally asked leading questions to my participants sometimes, and some emerging following-up inquiries were neglected.

Suggestions for Future Research

As the participants of this study are young-adult CHL learners who usually attended CHL learning for a decade, I succeed in identifying trajectories of their attitude changes regarding their heritage languages and CHL learning experiences. However, childhood and adolescent experiences and perceptions are sometimes vague in the memory of my participants. Although this study has accomplished a part of what longitudinal research tries to achieve about the trajectory tracking, what scholars (Duff & Doherty, 2019; Duff et al., 2017; Li & Duff, 2008) suggested of 'longitudinal' as life-time research is challenging to conduct due to all kinds of

difficulties. If it is possible, extended questions that cannot be answered in this study might be explored. For example, how do their investment in CHL learning in informal learning spaces work out; are they still keeping their CHL learning commitments as older adults; what methods are they using to assist them with literacy acquisition; what problems are they actually confronting and what language policies are they actually imposing on their next generation (Duff et al., 2017; Norton & De Costa, 2018).

Apart from CHL learner identities and investment in learning, this study also extends the discussion to CHL education when participants were talking about their CHL learning experiences. Li and Duff (2008), in their review, have reminded us of too little literature on the effect of mismatches between the expectations of students and the program requirements, those of children and parents, as well as gaps between vernacular knowledge and more formal academic registers. I heard complaints from my participants on their CHL learning experiences but could not make further judgments as their words were only one side of the evidence. However, what kind of programs and classrooms can be engaging and effective for CHL learners? The answers to these questions might be found through classroom observation and other data collecting methods, focusing on more specific topics such as program curricula, materials, instruction approaches, program goals, and teacher identity (Duff et al., 2017; Norton, 2017).

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Appendix A

Informed Consent

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:
Liping Liu, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Werklund School of Education

Supervisor:
Dr. Sylvie Roy

Title of Project:
Perspectives of Heritage Languages and Learning Experiences: A Case Study on Young Adult Chinese-Canadian Immigrants

Sponsor:
Not applicable

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception of Chinese-born (those who at least acquired certain heritage language skills before moving and have completed elementary and secondary study after immigration), Canadian-born second and (or) third-generation Chinese-Canadian young adult immigrants, trying to understand and compare their thoughts on their identified heritage languages, and on their learning experiences if applicable.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

As a research participant, you are invited to take part in an in-person interview about your attitudes towards your heritage language (the language spoken at your home or spoken by your parents and grandparents) and its learning experiences. Before the interview, you are supposed to complete a preliminary questionnaire which will be e-mailed to you. It includes basic questions regarding your background, heritage language attitudes and learning experiences, serving to conduct a more focused and efficient interview. An interview schedule with sample questions will be e-mailed to you as well. The interview will be conducted based on your answers to the preliminary questionnaire in the form of semi-structured one, which means the interview answers provided is also a direction guide for the

interview. You are encouraged to provide information in detail if you like and I, as an interviewer, may ask you more individualized questions according to your interview answers. For example, questions such as "Could you please tell me in detail about your heritage/culturally connected language" will be asked, for which you can talk about the language you identified as your heritage language and the reasons. The interview will take approximately 45 minutes to an hour.

In order to improve the accuracy of the interview data and release the burden of the researcher who will be taking field notes while interviewing, the researcher requests for the audio record during the interview.

After the interview, the transcription of your interview data and some analysis footnotes will be e-mailed to you if you like. You are encouraged to review the transcription of your interview answer and my preliminary analysis and provide me with your feedback within two weeks after you receive the transcription through e-mail. You are eligible to ask for deleting any data that you are not comfortable with the presentation in the following-up written thesis, revising any misunderstood transcription or analysis, and are welcomed to provide me with additional information. The reviews and suggestions are completely voluntary.

Your participation is completely voluntary. It is your free will to refuse to participate altogether or in parts of the study. In the preliminary questionnaire and during the interview, you may decline to answer any and all questions. You are eligible to quit the research at any time. However, complete withdrawal can only occur before the data analysis process. After that point, the anonymized data will remain in my research for analysis.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your age, whether you are Chinese-born or Canadian-born second-generation or third-generation immigrants, and the age when you immigrated if you are Chinese-born.

The audiotape of the interview will only be used for the accuracy of information and for helping with the transcription. Only the researcher and her supervisor can access to the audiotape and it will never be shown in public.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some, or none of them. Please review each of these options and choose Yes or No:

I grant permission to be audiotaped: *Yes: ___ No: ___*
I wish to remain anonymous:
Yes: ___ No: ___
I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: *Yes: ___ No: ___*
The pseudonym I choose for myself is: ____
You may quote me and use my name: *Yes: ___ No: ___*
I wish to receive the transcription of my interview data: *Yes: ___ No:*
___
I wish to receive a one-page report on the initial findings: *Yes: ___ No: ___*

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

In the preliminary questionnaire and during the interview, you will be asked questions regarding your background, personal experiences and attitudes, which you may not want to answer. You can decline to answer any and all questions during the interview.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You are free to discontinue participation at any time during the study and all your data collected will be erased after your confirmation on the withdrawal. No one except the researcher and her supervisor will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers to the questionnaire and the interview. Pseudonyms with the agreement of you will be used in the written report. And all other information that may make you identified will be removed.
All your information provided is in the research is available for you to review, such as the transcription. All your information presented in the written report will be under your informed consent. The anonymous data will be stored on a computer disk in the password-protected personal computer of the researcher for five years, at which time, it will be permanently erased.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) ____

Participant's Signature: ____________________________________Date: ______________

Researcher's Name: (please print) ____

Researcher's Signature: ____________________________________Date: ______________

Appendix B

Werklund School of Education
Interview Schedule

Heritage Language Maintenance: Semi-structured interview **INTERVIEWER GUIDE** *Participant Name:* ___________________________________ *Location* _____________________ *DATE:* _____________________

A. *Interviewer: REVIEW terms of and sign consent form with participant.*
B. *Interviewer: RETAIN Consent Form*

C. *Interviewer: READ to Participant:* **This interview will take approximately 1 hour. I really appreciate your participation. I will ask you a series of questions and record them. Then later, you will have a two-week window to review the interview transcriptions and edit them for meaning as you like, to offer corrections. Do you have any questions? Are you ready to begin?**

D. *Interviewer: Turn Recorder on. Begin Interview. (Interviewer: KEEP THIS completed guide and file).*

Questions

1. How long have you been staying in Canada since you moved/ were born?
2. Could you please tell me in detail about your heritage/culturally inherited language?
3. What do your heritage/culturally inherited language and culture mean to you?
4. How is your heritage/culturally inherited language involved in your daily life?
5. If applicable, could you please talk about your heritage/culturally inherited language learning experiences? What do you think of those experiences?
6. If applicable, could you please talk about when and how your heritage/culturally inherited languages are spoken? What do you think of those experiences?
7. If you are in favor of developing your heritage language skills, what do you think could be done or could have been done to improve learning and using environment?
8. If you have kids, would you like your kids to learn your heritage/culturally inherited language? Why and how?

Thank you for participating in this interview. Your answers are tremendously important to my study!